

**Policy, protest and power:
contemporary perspectives and
engagements of post-crisis social
movements within the British
welfare state**

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In memory of Mark Fisher
(1968 – 2017)

&

***Dedicated to the international
anti-fascist movement***

“Normally, when one challenges the conventional wisdom – that the current economic and political system is the only possible one – the first reaction you are likely to get is a demand for a detailed architectural blueprint of how an alternative system would work, down to the nature of its financial instruments, energy supplies, and policies of sewer maintenance. Next, one is likely to be asked for a detailed program of how this system will be brought into existence.

Historically, this is ridiculous.”

David Graeber

“If, in fact, representational politics is only unreasonable, then it is to... moments of rational disruption, those events and occurrences that interrupt the everyday flow of a political discourse which thinks it’s being practical but is... incredibly unstable, that a true kind of [liberation] emerges.”

Nina Power

Abstract

Contemporary social policy in the UK is at a critical impasse: the ongoing government austerity programme has presented an unprecedented challenge to civil society organisations, trade unions and social movements as to questions of social justice and inequality. These challenges have manifested as: (1) tackling entrenched neoliberal narratives surrounding the welfare state; (2) organising and coordinating direct action and a (non-) institutional response. From the perspective of post-crisis social movements (such as Occupy London and UK Uncut), there has been a focus on non-institutional methods – often manifested in the form of direct action – to address social and economic injustices. The efficacy of such decisions to act have been widely researched. However, whilst the interest in researching links between activism and policy outcomes is strong, the lasting impact of such interventions on government policy – and, in particular, social policy – is less well-known.

This thesis utilises fieldwork (conducted between 2013 and 2015) in order to better understand the relationship between post-crisis social movements and social policy. The investigation utilises mixed methods, including a deep textual analysis covering a spread of documents from trade union movements, social movements and political parties active in the UK between 2010 and 2015. In addition, it also utilises an analysis of interview data, collected from participants active in the same organisations. It examines institutional and non-institutional forms of activism – deployed in the post-crisis context – and analyses the potential for such activism, in pursuit of understanding how ‘outside’ voices and fringe political movements can engage with and even influence social policy – but also how they can be dismissed. Further, it will pose questions for social policy scholars as to how social movements can challenge certain policy prescriptions and be effective in both an institutional and non-institutional sphere.

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March 2018

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

A revised and reworked version of **chapter two** in this thesis has been published as a journal article: White, G. (2016) 'Social Movements and Social Policies: Political Challenges Under Austerity in the UK', *Contention: The Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Protest*. 3(2) pp.17 – 32.

Several elements of this thesis are to be published as a chapter in an edited book: White, G. (forthcoming) 'The return of the left? Post-crisis social movements, anti-austerity activism and social policy in the UK' *in*: J. Ibrahim & J. Roberts (eds.) *Contemporary Left-Wing Activism: Democracy, Participation and Dissent in a Global Context*. Oxford: Routledge.

Introduction

i. Overview of the thesis

The development and evolution of welfare states, and of social policies, are the subject of many differing theoretical explanations. These include, but are not limited to: economic capacity; institutional capability; and, the structural needs of capitalist economies. A common theme that brings these theoretical accounts together includes power resources, or, class struggle. Such accounts emphasise the role of the working class, or, organised labour movements, for example, the coming together of the poor, or workers, in order to agitate for social reforms, and push for rights at work, and improved rights to social provision. In classical scholarly thought on social policy, these demands made up the basis of the social contract that dominated welfare states from 1945 until the 1970s and explain its reversal in the 1980s (Pierson, 1996). More recently, theories of class struggle appear to have less obvious application to social policy development in the 1980s onwards and theories tended to downplay class struggle somewhat. Where class struggle has been the focus (Castles, 2004) it was the absence of working class power and struggle that has been argued to lead to the retrenchment of the welfare state (Korpi, 1983).

In 2007/2008, the global financial crisis triggered an upheaval of democratic norms, ushering in a period of government austerity across European welfare states, as well as across North America. Primarily, in terms of social policy, the crisis challenged the aforementioned theoretical accounts of class struggle, power and welfare state

organisation. Moreover, the crisis gave rise to a new set of challenges – where huge state resources were spent on propping up the financial system, following by equally significant cuts to welfare during the so-called age of austerity (Farnsworth and Irving, 2012). The backlash against austerity was driven, in part, by the rise of popular, working class, agitation, manifested as: critiques of neoliberal capitalism; the rise of populism; and, the ascendance of (anti-) austerity narratives.

Given the emphasis on class struggle as a driver of social policy (noted above), we would expect that, if class struggle retained any relevance to the contemporary welfare state, the 2007/2008 crisis would have triggered both a class-based response to the crisis, and a subsequent attack on the cuts to social welfare systems, not to mention the diversion of resources towards bailing out the banks (Farnsworth, 2012). In the absence of institutionalised resistance to this, notably within the Labour Party and British trade union movement, the space for resistance and agitation was left open for ‘disorganised’, and non-institutional, social movements. What we would also expect to see at the juncture of the crisis and subsequent austerity is the emergence of an alternative social policy.

The reality, as revealed in this thesis, is that a clear social policy discourse did not emerge during the period of austerity in quite the way we might expect. The empirical investigation in this thesis presents a complex picture of perspectives and engagements on matters of social policy and the welfare state. Crucially, the framework of the thesis is set up to understand such engagements through the prism of institutionalised actors (organised, and formally constituted groups operating within formal policy processes, including trade unions), and non-institutionalised actors

(unorganised, spontaneous and/or informally constituted groups operating outside formal policy processes). In terms of the substantive empirical work, the research undertaken in this thesis focuses on two of the most recognisable non-institutionalised, post-crisis social movements: Occupy and UK Uncut (see: Bailey et al. 2016; Halvorsen, 2012; Langman, 2013; Worth, 2013). Formed out of an amalgamation of interests, these two groupings formed the bulk of all anti-austerity and other progressive, non-institutional political activity between 2010 and 2013. Both were, of course, international movements (see: Halvorsen, 2012; Madden and Vradis, 2012; Mason, 2013; Sotirakopoulos and Rootes, 2013). In examining these two organisations, the thesis sheds new light on how the perspectives and engagements of these examples of post-crisis social movements differ with the more traditionally 'organised', institutional working class movements – i.e. the British trade unions.

In examining the radical and progressive discourses that emerged from post-crisis social movements – and investigating their potential for application to social policy – this thesis offers an original contribution to knowledge as follows:

1. The empirical work on post-crisis social movements reveals new insights into contemporary social policy debate, particularly with regards to economic inequalities;
2. Data collected on the emergent and 'disorganised' social movements reveals complexity in the development of new ideas, particularly in the nexus of social policy formation and protest movement organisation;
3. The interview data highlights ongoing tensions between the institutional groupings of traditional working class organisation (i.e. the trade union

movement), and the prefigurative political innovations of post-crisis social movements;

- a. Further, the empirical work in this thesis reinforces the theoretical understandings of post-1980s welfare state engagement, particularly from the trade union movement – i.e. those theories that highlight the limitations of traditional forms of working class organisation under neoliberal capitalism;
4. The empirical work in this thesis establishes that post-crisis social movements variably use social policy as *instrumental thinking*. More precisely, this means that those movements will use ideas related to social policy as an instrument of protest – i.e. to gain support for their principles or outlook – rather than as a rigorous and detailed plan for delivering welfare or social security;
5. Finally, the empirical work suggests that, at least initially, the spasms of post-crisis ‘agitation’ were limited in terms of informing new social policies. However, given the rise of ‘Corbynism’ (which didn’t form a key part of the thesis but is discussed in the conclusion), suggests that there may be a time-lag and evolution to the processes in which the economic crisis led to agitation, which, in turn, leads to policy transformation – although this point goes beyond this investigation.

Having set out an overview of the thesis, and its contributions, the following sections will systematically detail how the investigation will proceed, and, importantly, how the thesis is structured.

ii. Framing the thesis

To begin with, the study of social policy and of social movements are distinct areas of inquiry. Social policy in the UK is a field of study that incorporates within it the study of welfare states which, by definition, tend to bias institutional, formal politics and policy-making institutions. Social movement studies, on the other hand, more commonly focus on non-institutional politics and the actions and activities of people seeking to affect some form of change outside of – although not exclusively – the parameters of top-down institutionalism. The space between these two is, of course, contested and it is where a great deal of interesting and important debate and ‘agency’ are exercised. But this space is neglected in academic study and represents a gap in our understanding of the relationship between social movements and social policy.

This research project draws on different disciplines, including social policy and contemporary social movement studies, in order to understand the nature, and contributions of, protest groups in a post-economic crisis context. The thesis uses the eruption of civil society activity across UK (and across England more specifically) after the financial crisis of 2007/2008 to highlight some of the social and economic conditions created out of government austerity. The crisis in economic governance, and the general malaise of the welfare state, are used as the backdrop to understanding the actions of social movements in demonstrating against the impacts of government austerity. Through a process of analysing the demands of such movements as tangible policy objectives, the thesis looks at ideas that have been present in post-crisis discourses, and whether such groups have articulated an agenda for progressive and coherent visions in social policy. The thesis brings

together an array of empirical work (using document analysis and semi-structured interviews) which analyse the elements of the contemporary trade union movement in the UK and the relationship with post-crisis social movements. The aim being to address the increasing gulf between institutional and non-institutional actors (concerned with questions of social justice, inequalities and so on), and, how they might contribute to a contemporary vision and/or future for social policy. To be clear on what this thesis does not address, it will not be an investigation in to all forms of protest. It should also be stated from the outset that this thesis will not be an investigation in to the rise of the right-wing and far-right movements as a result of the economic crisis.

It is necessary to give an account of how external shifts in political and policy discourses – and indeed actions – in the UK have directly influenced the course of the research. The primary context in which the research is set concerns the period of post-economic crisis (henceforth, post-crisis) in the United Kingdom – a period which was sparked by the crisis of 2007/2008 and ushered in an austerity government of the Conservative and Liberal Democrats in 2010. It should be said from the outset that the economic downturn affected economies across the western world: The United States of America and much of Europe being at the epicentre. Governments across Europe were quick to adopt similar – if not more stringent – policies of austerity¹, but it is the UK context in which our focus remains. The backdrop of the crisis is important in the sense of understanding the rise of post-crisis social movements, such as Occupy London and UK Uncut. The focus here is not on potential paradigm shifts, or

¹ Portugal, Ireland, Greece, Italy and Spain, to name but a few European nations that suffered debilitating cuts in government spending.

progressive change, but the notion that ideas borne out of the movement should be taken seriously as demands for alternative visions of social policy.

The rise of post-crisis social movements in the UK were buoyed and catalysed by the surge of the Occupy Wall Street movement, which began in the New York in 2010 as a response to the absence of stringent sanctions on the financial sector. Many of the responses to the crisis – as advanced by some of the movements that will be focussed on in this research – can be summarised by Mark Blyth’s (2013) exposition of austerity politics and government as inherently damaging:

That austerity simply doesn’t work is the first reason it’s a dangerous idea. But it is also a dangerous idea because the way austerity is being represented by both politicians and the media—as the payback for something called the “sovereign debt crisis,” supposedly brought on by states that apparently “spent too much”—is a quite fundamental misrepresentation of the facts. These problems, including the crisis in the bond markets, started with the banks and will end with the banks. (Blyth, 2013: 22)

As for responses to the crisis, it is the focus on social movements within this research, and the application to social policy, in which the context is set. Clearly, any government taking measures to reduce spending of public services and the welfare state is the concern of social policy – especially where the balance of power and responsibility are tipped in the direction of increasing inequality. Frances Fox Piven and Lorraine Minnite (2015) have been particularly instructive on this:

“Publics are recurrently told by their leaders that they must tighten their belts, settle for less, forget their personal needs, their private dreams for the greater good. The reasons given for this call for austerity are various. War made

necessary by foreign aggressors, pestilence visited upon us by higher powers... We the people must sacrifice for the greater good. But the call for sacrifice, for austerity, often obscures a strategy for extraction by those who have more from those who have less. (Fox Piven and Minnite, 2015: 143)

It is questions of present inequality, and the balance of burden, that underpin the fundamental investigations in this thesis. Questions raised by citizens, surrounding the uncertainty of austerity government, arguably, should be answered by government – the contemporary proliferation of anti-austerity movements confirms this. The wider question to be answered here is how we can understand the responses of such movements as part of the patchwork of policy discourse and analysis – indeed, the relationship between social policy and social movements.

iii. Research aims, objectives and questions

This research project uses empirical work to understand how post-crisis social movements contribute to, or influence, the complex mosaic of social and political discourses² in the discipline and practice of social policy. It is, further, an examination of the shifting and fluid nature of the state (its government and its policies) and the relationship to the actions of such movements against post-crisis and austerity governance – taken either in the institutional or non-institutional form. The thesis will investigate how contemporary social movements campaign on and engage with core social policy issues, and, more practically on the functions of the welfare state – and

² When discussing social and political discourses, there is a distinction to be made: 1. affecting 'political discourse'; 2. achieving structural change. In this investigation, I aim to address both.

its services. A key concern of the research is to understand how such ideas are communicated, and, where they are used to mobilise citizens into challenging prevailing social and political discourses.

In stating what contributions this thesis makes, and how it has been planned, I will outline as to how it differs to other contemporary research projects on the subject matter, indicating what this thesis does and does not aim to do. The research *does not* aim to investigate any particular social movement in detail, nor is it a study of any one group or organisation with a singular focus on any one policy objective. The research is also *not* an investigation into the sociological aspects of social movements – for instance, their formation or structural aspects. Further, it *is not* an investigation in to the right-wing political movements that have surfaced in Britain after the crisis. The author is aware that there have been several recent studies that have attended to these questions (see, for example: Halvorsen, 2012). It is the purpose of *this investigation* to examine the relationship between social policy and social movements in the post-crisis era.

This research project has evolved and progressed through many iterations, and, consequently, the research questions have responded to the changing political environment. It has been my intention to reflexively examine how the research questions frame the study, as both the political and academic terrain has shifted. Thus, at the centre of this project are three questions that will be explored critically and analytically throughout:

- RQ1. What was the impact of the economic crisis on social movement activity in the UK after 2010?

RQ2. How have post-crisis social movements engaged with social policy and contemporary issues in the British welfare state?

RQ3. How did non-institutional and 'disorganised' social movements discourses converge or diverge with the institutionalised discourses of trade unions, in the aftermath of the crisis?

The first of the research questions deals with identifying *key social and political issues* defining the post-crisis era, whilst the second poses questions regarding *processes*: how do the views of social movements translate as social policy ideas? The final question comprehensively investigates the *outcomes* of such actions, in pursuit of making sense of post-crisis political discourses. The empirical work of the thesis is set between 2010 and 2015, but the wider timeframe can be judged as anywhere between 2007/2008, when the economic crisis began, and up to 2017, where the story – at least for this project – ends with the new and emerging literature, and changes in the UK political landscape.

In using the above research questions as the frame for the thesis, this research takes a radical approach to questioning the aims and objectives of social policy, and the potential for influence from radical external actors and organisations. There are several, more specific, questions, which have additionally motivated this research. For example: what, if any, are the key messages from the left on post-crisis politics? Is there a new thinking emerging from the crisis era on the relationship between the state, capital and the individual? What does resistance to the austerity agenda look like, and, how have social and political movements mobilised around the question of austerity? Such questions provide a theoretical underpinning for the direction of this thesis, and

further critique of the aims and objectives of contemporary, post-crisis social movements.

Given the above, there are several practical questions to consider in outlining the direction of this thesis. To fully address the research questions, it is necessary to investigate the actions of critical voices, or agents of transformation – i.e. those seeking to shift the direction of travel in policy and political discourse. This will include but is not limited to: ‘disorganised’ social movements; trade union movements; online transnational networks; student groups; new or emerging political parties; and, unaligned groupings of individuals and activists. As will be investigated in the following chapters, and specifically the methods chapter (**chapter three**), there are several reasons as to why it is these voices, and agents of change, are part of the focus for this study.

iv. Thesis structure

As has been discussed, the investigations made during this research project have been undertaken in several iterations. It will be necessary to discuss later in the methods section of this thesis (**chapter three**) as to the specific changes to the research design, and how they impacted on the study more broadly. However, for now, I will set out the structure of this thesis and the key contributions of each chapter in answering the research questions.

This thesis contains six chapters which, in turn, set out specifically their contributions to answering each of the research questions. The literature review is split into two

chapters. **Chapter one** presents traditional and historical accounts of welfare theory, as well as tending to the broader concepts in this thesis: policy, protest movements and political notions of power. It also introduces the theoretical framing for the methodological work carried out later in the thesis: the role of institutional and non-institutional engagement. **Chapter two** brings the thesis in to the contemporary period, discussing the current political context within which this research is situated: austerity government as a response to a period of multiple crises, sparked by the economic downturn of 2007/2008. It takes a wide view on the **research question (RQ) 1** in that it articulates some of the ideas that have been key to challenging the narrative of government austerity.

Chapter three details the mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis deployed in this thesis. As will be discussed, there are two main strands of data analysed in pursuit of answering the research questions: interview data – collected in 2015 – and analysis of documents produced online. The two sets of data work to complement each other in understanding how movements, unions and organisations responded to the political demands of the economic crisis. The data is also integral to uncovering policy objectives, and if such ideas have translated as material political actions, or indeed legislation.

Chapter four is, firstly, an examination of the types of left-wing organisation that have been present after the economic crisis, with a focus on two key organisations – namely, Occupy London and UK Uncut. Secondly, it is an investigation in to the relationship between institutions, organisations and social movements in a post-crisis context. Through a process of qualitative analysis of organisational literature, this

chapter provides the methodological groundwork for successive chapters, which interrogate the complex relationship between different individuals and networks acting to challenge government policy. The chapter picks up on the identification of issues in chapter two (thereby answering **RQ1**). In addition, through a process of document analysis, this chapter begins to provide some of the groundwork to answer questions outlined in **RQ2** – that is, social movement ideas viewed as policy objectives. **Chapter four** also directly addresses the question of social movement demands as social policy outcomes is directly addressed. The approach taken of focussing on the ideas presented by social movements – again using document analysis – to investigate thoroughly both **RQ2** and **RQ3** is central to this chapter. In particular, the chapter looks at several ‘key players’ in a post-crisis context that have had a measurable impact on social and political discourses, as well as the policy agenda. The spread of organisations concerned are taken from trade unions organisations, post-crisis social movements and other associated civil society groups. In this chapter, the complex mix of ideas posited by these organisations are given attention as to ascertain which have the necessary traction and longevity to permeate social and political discourse in a post-crisis context. The overarching aim is to examine the relevance of such demands to social policy as both discipline and practice.

Chapter five analyses interview data collected from trade unionists, activists and organisers in post-crisis social movements in the UK. The interviews for this research were conducted in 2015, and a semi-structured approach was taken – details of which will be described in the methodology chapter. The process of data collection was intended to be iterative, informing the stages of document analysis and interview data, and, to an extent, this has happened. The chapter therefore addresses the core issues

of social policy outcomes, raised both in chapters four and five, and relating them directly to the knowledge and experiences of the interview participants. In addition to assessing such ‘insider’ knowledge, and its relevance to the research questions, this chapter details some of the political differences and tensions *within and between* different movements and organisations – providing an account of how this impacts on the nature of post-crisis political mobilisation. Notably, this chapter makes a clear effort to answer and understand **RQ3**. The outcomes of actions taken by individuals, groups and movements is central here, in both interrogating the viability of social movement activities. Importantly, it also helps to demonstrate how the ‘decision to act’ by social movements (and its advocates) has implications for social and political discourses – not least those that permeate debates in social policy.

Finally, **chapter six** brings the thesis to a close. It is both a thorough exposition of all previous work, and an afterword for the thesis. It takes account of the theoretical and methodological work undertaken during this project, and examines each of the research questions in turn, concluding as to how social movement activism is contributing to the domain of social policy. In addition, this discussion and analysis chapter introduces the most recent shifts in the political landscape in the UK, describing how significant changes have raised new questions for social movement research in social policy. A concluding section of the thesis suggests how future research might be conducted considering the evidence presented.

Chapter one

History and context in social policy

This chapter is an introduction to the relevant literature that examines social policy and the core concerns of this thesis: policy development and evolution especially in relationship to agitation, conflict and class struggle. It maps out prominent theories on the welfare state, which have relevance to discussions of the influence of social movements. The chapter makes attempts to understand the historical context of changes in the welfare state, and how movements can make interventions in this process. More importantly, the chapter introduces the concept of welfare state development and its perceived role in UK politics. This is crucial in setting out its relationship with the contemporary trade union movement, and post-crisis social movement actions that have sought to influence the direction of travel. The chapter will, notably, provide the groundwork for successive chapters in terms of a thorough commentary and analysis of how policy, politics and power intersect within the British welfare state.

Across the contemporary political landscape, social movements play an important role in civil society. Their influence on social, political and cultural issues has been documented extensively by academics examining the purpose of groups that organise around certain problems (Burstein, 1999; Della Porta, 2006; Giugni, 1999). From the perspective of social policy, some academics have recognised the importance of social movements in the development and formation of policy (Martin, 2001; Yeates, 2002). In terms of organisation, power and action, social movements have made

significant contributions. Issues such as (under) employment, social security, inequality and social justice are all key concerns. Social movements have taken on such issues as points of contention. These issues form the basis by which such movements organise and resist certain political agendas. Examples of such agendas are evidenced in those set out by governments in Northern Europe and the United States in the wake of the financial crisis of 2007/2008. Indeed, the introduction of austerity measures is one such example where movements have organised to resist.

To understand the social and political demands of the contemporary period, we need to first look back to the origins of the welfare state and some of the key principles that underpin the idea of social welfare. Following this discussion, this chapter will also focus on the idea of class, structure and power, and their relationship to the wider question of struggle. The chapter will then turn to focus on the role of social movements in the contemporary period, and their role in political transformation. The discussion will also seek to understand the contributions of early movements in the wider context of class struggle. To conclude, this chapter will draw together the subjects that have been highlighted in previous discussion and consider some of the possibilities for the relationship between social movements and social policy.

1.1. *The principles of social welfare*

To understand any relationship between citizens and the state, we need to first turn our attention to social welfare. Principally, when discussing social welfare, we are talking about concepts such as the idea of collective wellbeing and social security. If we interrogate this further, the principles of what governs the functional aspect of

welfare have been broadly conceptualised by theorists (George and Wilding, 1976; Gough, 1979; Pinker, 1979) seeking to understand how society can collectively overcome social problems and social risks. Welfare must, undeniably, be understood through the lens of various social contexts. Social divisions are broadly accepted as the structural aspect of society (Dahrendorf, 1959; Parsons, 1964; Bottomore, 1965), and, one of the premises of an institutional welfare system therefore is to overcome and dissolve such partitions to promote a collective notion of communities as opposed to the atomisation of individual relations. At the core of these concerns is a fundamental desire to incorporate welfare theories into social policy practices, and, as will be discussed, there are myriad conceptions of how the state should be involved in this process. Indeed, political ideology separates the different conceptions of what the proper role of the state is in delivering welfare (Drake, 2001).

There are several definitions and meanings attributed to the delivery of welfare. Spicker (2000) sets out to clarify the position of welfare in relation to needs – as normative claims made by people. “People have needs, which require a social response” (Spicker, 2000: 72), he claims. More specifically, the theory sets out how needs present obligations to other people. Spicker claims that: “The people who are most in need are often people to whom existing obligations are the weakest” (Spicker, 2000: 81). In contemporary debates on the role of welfare, this has relevance with the notion of poverty and inequality as a moral issue. For other contemporary theorists, such as Daly (2011), the debate should be centred on issues of mutual dependence. Daly is conscious of the idea that we should be aware of collectivism as a defining aspect of the ‘human condition’. Beyond the practical explanations of welfare – for Daly, there is value in the argument that “social values, purposes and goods... ought

to be promoted independently of our choice” (Daly, 2011: 30). This argument is clearly an accompaniment to the notion of social justice as a constituent of welfare theory.

Welfare, as a means of creating equal societies, can also be a response to the problems created by aspects of advanced capitalism. Sullivan (1987) has summarised this approach to social welfare development in *Sociology and Social Welfare*. “The functions of welfare are always significantly constrained and directed by the relationship of the state to the owners of capital... Welfare development is seen either because of *political struggle between social classes* or as stemming from the needs of capitalist society...” (Sullivan, 1987: 90). From this perspective, the provision of welfare is antithetical to the aims of a free market system. Welfare is, therefore, a functional response to the needs of capitalism, or a response to struggle. The issues created by a system of advanced industrialism and capitalism are described as an impairment to collective action. Esping-Andersen explains that this phenomenon has its roots in the commodification of human needs and labour power.

The blossoming of capitalism came with the withering away of ‘pre-commodified’ social protection. When the satisfaction of human wants came to imply the purchase of commodities, the issue of purchasing-power and income distribution became salient. When, however, labour power also became a commodity, people’s rights to survive outside the market are at stake. (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 35)

Unfettered capitalism, for Esping-Andersen, transforms citizens into commodities, and various social, political and economic processes lead to the commodification of citizens. Welfare states act as bulwarks against this process. The many forms of struggle and collective action (historical or contemporary) are instrumental in the

process of welfare state development, and are central to understanding the thrust of this investigation.

The prominence of Esping-Andersen's theories in social policy has relevance when discussing notions of power. The exercise of power is an inherent and unyielding aspect of societies that promote free market capitalism. "The emphasis on power in studies of welfare represents a challenge to the assumption that social services are designed to increase the well-being of the people who receive them. Elite theory implies that policy is likely to be made in the interests of those in power" (Spicker, 1988: 101). Spicker's explanation of the relationship between power, capitalism and lack of autonomy demonstrates the notion of a welfare state – and indeed the idea of welfare – that is illustrative of a society attempting to counter the issues created by advanced capitalism. For social movements, attention clearly needs to be paid with regards to how interest and pressure groups can formulate responses to social policy issues. It is clear that these points are contentious for any organised group, particularly when we consider how in the contemporary period such movements are positioning themselves in opposition to policies of austerity. For the outcomes that have been described thus far, we must recognise that there are, of course, inputs into this process. The results of, for instance, working class movements are clearly part of this, and very much linked to power relationships between the individual, the state and capital. The following section introduces the fundamental issues that arise out of the conflict of capital and labour, and how they directly relate to the question of welfare state development.

1.1.1. Capital and labour in conflict

The relationship between capitalism, labour movements and the welfare state have clear relevance to the enquiries in this thesis. More specifically, the conflicting relationship of the needs of human beings, and the needs of capital, is important in understanding the driving forces behind welfare state development (see: Gough, 2000). The conflict of capital and labour that Gough (1979) discusses has a relevance within this discussion since the overarching issues of the contemporary period have been triggered by the ascent of neo-liberal discourses surrounding the spread of capital, and the counteracting interests of working class communities. Fundamentally, the debate on the role of welfare and social policy in contemporary society centres on the differing views between those that purport a collectivist, social democratic ideology, and those that counter with an individualist, neo-liberal approach. Much of the latter, arguably, has been borrowed from the philosophy of Hayek, who, in the *Road to Serfdom* (1944), presented an ideology of individual liberty that is bound to the freedom of capital. The 'free' society in this case values the autonomy of the individual over the oppressive nature of the welfare state, which is viewed as overly paternalistic. Hayek's sentiments, to a great extent, have contributed greatly to the vision of a libertarian society where the principles, values and economics of individual freedom are promoted above any other aims. "Our freedom of choice in a competitive society rests on the fact that, if one person refuses to satisfy our wishes, we can turn to another" (Hayek, 1944: 96). This particular idea typifies the inherent nature of neo-liberal economics, and the most rapacious strain of advanced capitalism. Global corporations, and the attendant economics of financial capitalism, are the outright winners in the present conditions of the global political economy. The challenges of

globalisation for the welfare state are therefore realised when considering the power of businesses in shaping the social policy agenda.

Globalisation increases the scope and reasons for business organisation and lobbying at the international and regional levels. Such activity is greater now than it has been at any time previously and the range of issues that international business lobbies on inevitably includes social policy. (Farnsworth, 2004: 80)

It is evident that, with the ascent of free-flowing capital and the growing influence of business interests, the functions of the welfare state are more at risk from the pressures of globalisation (see: Gough, 2000). This, of course, has relevance not only to understanding the present conditions of the crisis, but also in setting out an agenda for research within this investigation. Fundamentally, welfare states are either shaped by the struggle against the forces of capital, or, by a lack of it. Moreover, that struggle originates out the injustices, inequities and inefficiencies of capitalism (Ginsburg, 1979; Gough, 1979). Those movements, in turn, drive the critical responses to the prevailing economic conditions – in the case of this investigation, the rise of government austerity. As per the aims and objectives of this thesis, as set out in the introduction, the first section of this chapter has sought to underline some general principles of welfare and commented on how this relates to social movement organisation. The discussion will now move to consider models of welfare state development, and the theory of power resources. In particular, the following will consider role of structural functionalism and economic determinism in the debate on the welfare state and welfare theory, and how this can be used to understand intersections of policy, power and protest.

1.2. Models of welfare state development

The study of welfare state development is of clear importance to this thesis in several ways. In order to understand how different actors – in the institutional and non-institutional sense – engage with the welfare state, it is important to outline how those states develop. Indeed, there are various, competing models which account for the changes across different welfare states. The most important to *this thesis* are theories of class struggle, and, how working class organisations differentially interact with the institutions of welfare governance. It is equally important to set out how non-class-based accounts of welfare state development can be used to frame our understanding of contemporary social policy. In setting out competing models of welfare state development, the discussion will show individual actors, groups of people and organisations are able to find leverage in advancing their own interests. In this investigation, as has been outlined, it is the notion of class – and class struggle – with which we are most concerned. The following will first outline theories that contribute to a non-class-based account of welfare state development, namely: structural functionalism and state-centred theory (sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2). It will then discuss the theory of power resources and the importance of class struggle (sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4), as central components in understanding how (non-) institutional actors variably seek to influence the development of welfare states. The following will use models of welfare state development to show how governments respond to economic imperatives and structural constraints, as well as individual action. The aim is to demonstrate how different forms of activism and protest organising might be encouraged or discouraged, using the critical lens of welfare state development.

1.2.1. Functionalist accounts

The welfare state can certainly be understood as responses to individual and collective needs, but it also has a discernible functionalist aspect, which transcends the notion that there are prescriptive bonds that govern the development of social policy. To account for this, in the broader development of the thesis narrative, we have to first understand the perspectives of structural functionalists, such as Durkheim (1964). Durkheim gave greater meaning is given to evolving social structures and how the welfare state might respond given the divisions of labour and the ascent of industrialisation. The functional aspect of the welfare state is described by Durkheim as a mechanistic, automated feature of contemporary societies. This is certainly a result of viewing welfare as serving a purpose. Welfare develops “by a process of innovation and selection into an effective set of programs and services” (Spicker, 2008: 129). For modern functionalists, such as Parsons (1964), there are aspects of power that require attention such as capitalism, imperialism and patriarchy. Functionalists identify the roles of such factors as forms of oppression. Responses from the welfare state are thus, by this account, guided by a requirement to alleviate and ultimately overcome the sources of social problems, as viewed through the lens of oppression.

From the perspective of structural functionalism, the appearance of the welfare state has widely been attributed to the resulting effects of industrialisation. Intertwined with this aspect of understanding the welfare state is the role of economic determinism. Burden (1998) expands on this notion and suggests that the interplay between structural functionalism and economic determinism is the ‘logic of industrialism’. “As

modern industrial methods of production come to predominate in any society certain requirements are created which have to be met to ensure sustained economic expansion” (Burden, 1998: 24). Burden continues to explain that competitiveness and thus occupational competency are the inevitable result of this ‘logic’. The pressures on the welfare state are therefore magnified since the result of this determinism can only necessitate the furthering of structural inequalities and thus impoverishment. Industrial society, from this position, is necessarily interwoven with the requirement to produce similarity in occupational outcomes. Burden explains that this necessitates: “A mass educational system in order to ensure that the required skills and knowledge are available; [a] health service to ensure a healthy and contented workforce; [and] social services to reduce dependence on the extended family” (Burden, 1998: 25). The role of welfare is thus transformed from a basic discussion of need, to the absolute requirement of a state to intervene in the processes of industrialism and advanced capitalism. Where the narrative of the thesis is concerned, the perspective of functionalists is important in terms of setting context for how different actors might seek to engage with the welfare state – apropos of trade unionism, collective action and class struggle under capitalism. If functionalist theories are correct, then the needs of society, the economy or some other variables, explain the development of the welfare (as opposed to the emergence of any form of struggle). But they also may influence the behaviour, interests, views and political engagement of actors. Furthermore, this is relevant (as will be discussed in chapter two) in terms of framing our thinking on how individuals might seek to interact with issues of inequality, which are arguably hugely pervasive in developed welfare states, and have been deepening since the neoliberal settlement of the 1980s. Linking from this discussion on

functionalism, the following will continue to examine non-class-based accounts of welfare state development: namely, state-centred theory.

1.2.2. State-centred theory

As set out in the introduction to this section (see: 1.2), the contrasting models of welfare state development are central to understanding the role of citizens, and, importantly, how class interests might be articulated. Functionalism clearly provides context in terms of understanding the imperatives of a functioning welfare state to balance competing economic imperatives. In state-centred theory, policy actors can pursue their own interests – which may reflect class power or not. As a model of welfare state development, the ideas are focused on the centrality of administration and bureaucracy as the driving aspect in the creation and maintenance of social policies. Fundamentally, state-centred theory looks towards the initiatives undertaken by, and the managerial aspects of, state actors in the development and reform of welfare. According to theorists such as Skocpol (1985), a Weberian approach was required for the understanding how the state functioned, and its relationship with the development of welfare policies. This conception used the idea that states are an assembly of political groupings and relationships, which seek to control and maintain order through executive, legislative and military activities. State actors are essential components in these arrangements: “they are key players in political outcomes, given their functions to carry out state policy. Their role and effectiveness... depend partly on characteristics that made other political actors effective – strategies of action, resources, knowledge and so on” (Amenta, 2005: 101). In terms of the structural arrangements of the state, Amenta and Ramsey (2010) explain that:

States hold a monopoly on legitimate violence and seek to maintain order, extracting resources from their populations and often seeking territorial expansion. States were sets of organisations but with unique political functions, missions, responsibilities, and roles, structuring relationships between political authority and citizens or subjects and social relations among different groups of citizens or subjects and interacting with other states. (Amenta and Ramsey, 2010: 28)

Within states there are, crucially, state officials, who are judged responsible for the formation of social and public policies. The role of officials is to be proactive as opposed to being reactive to external circumstances – this idea is advanced in Skocpol's (1979) work on the state. What this theoretical position also reveals is the notion of power, in terms of state autonomy and capacities. This is especially true when considering debates over the "power to" do something and the "power over" others, which state-centred theorists allude here to through the status of the political subject, or, the citizen and its relationship with the state.

Viewed from this perspective, state-centred theory provides a highly structured and institutional form of understanding how welfare might be delivered. It also, more importantly, highlights the primacy of political institutions. Its claims range from a coexisting approach to class and the state, to stronger assertions that state processes and variables are, to a great extent, more important than the role of class. Underpinning the scholarship surrounding state-centred theory, however, is there are distinctions to be made about the macro-level interventions from a centralised and organised unit of government – which is also an indication of the differences between a state-centred model and a class-centred model. In rejecting the centrality of class

with regards to state actions, this model posits the idea of mediation and facilitation of certain behaviours and actions by citizens. This has specific implications not only for social policy, but also for the potential of collective action, and for the ability of social movements to mobilise.

This perspective, however, has not been without its critics. Miliband (1983) outlined such a response to state-centred theory that focused on the role of class:

The degree of autonomy which the state enjoys for most purposes in relation to social forces in capitalist society depends above all on the extent to which class struggle and pressure from below challenge the hegemony of the class which is dominant in such a society. Where a dominant class is truly hegemonic in economic, social, political and cultural terms, and therefore free from any major and effective challenge from below, the chances are that the state itself will also be subject to its hegemony, and that it will be greatly constrained by the various forms of class power which the dominant class has at its disposal. (Miliband, 1983: 61)

In response to the state-centred theorists' contentions, Miliband reintroduces the idea that class *has* power, and that by only considering the autonomy of the state, such theorising neglects the role of class structures in society. This is clearly an important and central point to this investigation. Indeed, what has not yet fully been discussed in this study are the division of classes in the modern industrial capitalist society. For understanding the broader thrust and narrative of this thesis, it is important to recognise that class struggle has a very specific role in the articulation of demands on welfare. The articulation of such demands through social movements is one such aspect to consider in this process, and, of course, is important for the implications of

this investigation. Functionalism and state-centred theory clearly have importance in considering how welfare states develop, and indeed it is important to outline why they have been significant in critical thinking in social policy. Furthermore, it is clear that we need to separate the discussion in terms of how activists organise, especially in the context of government responding to structural drivers – as has been outlined in the state-centred and structural functionalist theories. The following will therefore move to discuss class-based theories of welfare state development, and introduce the notion of class struggle and power.

1.2.3. Power resources model

As discussed thus far, the welfare state can be understood through many channels of political thought, and particularly, with relevance to this thesis, through the prism of class struggle. The arguments set out in this section (see: 1.2) have sought to draw a distinction between class-based and non-class-based models of welfare state development. Both are significant and worthy of debate in any investigation underpinned by a critical lens on social policy. In shifting to class-based models, it is uncontroversial to state that in welfare theory, social and institutional relationships are vital to comprehending how societies actively organise in promoting policies and provisions. These arrangements, however, are subject to internal conflicts and contradictions. In the case of economies engaging in and promoting industrial capitalism, power struggles become prevalent as a result of the chasm between social democracy and the influence of capital. The power resources model seeks to explain

the complexity of institutionalised power struggles that represent tensions between markets and social citizenship. Pierson (2006) describes the model thus:

The power resources model offers a distinctive variant of the social democratic approach. At its heart is a perceived division within the advanced capitalist societies between the exercise of economic and political power, often presented as a contrast between markets and politics. (Pierson, 2006: 29)

This notion is reflected in Korpi's (1983) work where it is stated that power resources stem from: control of means of production; and organisations of wage earners, and therefore the labourers in the economy. Power, from this perspective, is clearly essential to understanding how power resources operate with regards to the welfare state. Systems of labour, in advanced capitalist economies, create and replicate authority and subordination, which Korpi describes as the "basis for a division into classes" (Korpi, 1983: 17) thereby redefining the nature of welfare economics. Korpi continues by describing the concept of 'societal bargaining'. Traditionally, arrangements of this nature were seen to be akin to the assemblage of traditional state corporatism where markets held the greatest amount of power and could control wages (as in the cases of Germany, Italy and Spain). Korpi is, however, more cautious and suggests that the benefits of societal bargaining in relation to wage earners should be empirically studied. "Societal bargaining involving the organisations of the wage-earners must, by and large, be seen as reflecting an increasingly strongly organised working class" (Korpi, 1983: 21). The role of unions is thus alluded to in the sense that working class interests can be met. The shaping and functioning of the welfare state by this account is seen, therefore, as a relationship of exchanges and the equal distribution of power.

Power resources relate more broadly to the very foundations of the welfare state, and the struggle of those involved (i.e. the wage-earners) to create a state of social and economic arrangements that provide for those not in work, or those that are unable to work. Korpi – in *The Democratic Class Struggle* – describes the conditions that are most advantageous for the effective mobilization of power resources: “[w]orking class power resources can be expected to be greatest where the labour movement is well integrated and has strong support from wage-earners” (Korpi, 1983: 39). The point of highlighting power resources as integral to investigating the conditions of the welfare state is that the premise of working class mobilization is central to controlling welfare outcomes. The higher the level of working class mobilization (i.e. in social democratic states) the greater the ability of wage earners to shape welfare state outcomes – including demands such as full employment and income equality. This model can also be applied in understanding how the role of corporatism in welfare states can be controlled, since corporatism is often seen as the primary barrier between full employment and income equality. These issues have primarily manifested in modern versions of industrial and capitalist economies. Labour becomes divided such that wage earners become excluded from the process of determining their own outcomes, and the decisions of delivering welfare become entrusted to those with the greatest amount of power in capital and resources. This notion is particularly true of employment rights and the role of the worker in advanced capitalist economies:

In all advanced capitalist countries, a worker can be disqualified from receiving unemployment benefit if he/she has left a previous job without ‘good cause’, or was sacked for ‘misconduct’, or refuses to accept an alternative job offer, or is involved in a trade union dispute. Ultimately it is adapted to the needs of a capitalist organisation of industry. (Gough, 1979: 33)

As mentioned earlier, the role of an organised working class can be pivotal where the outcome of conducive social welfare policies is concerned. However, the autonomous and rigid structure of advanced capitalist economies actively creates conditions that render the possibilities for organisation and mobilisation of the working class incredibly difficult. Once the state is prepared to alter the dynamic of welfare economics in favour of private organisations it becomes increasingly difficult for working class movements to influence the direction of policy. Miliband (1971) argues – in *The State in Capitalist Society* – that: “The first and most important consequence of the commitment which governments in advanced capitalist countries have to the private enterprise system and to its economic rationality is that it enormously limits their freedom of action in relation to a multitude of issues and problems” (Miliband, 1973: 71). Reflecting, then, on power resources, it can be argued that control over the means of production by the capitalist class is ultimately the primary determinant for the working class response in negotiating welfare outcomes.

Gough (1979) has been particularly influential in framing debates on social policy and social welfare. Exploitation, for Gough, represents the basis for which class struggle is situated. This suggests that resistance is desirable and necessary to overcome structural inequalities and poverty. The role of capitalism in the welfare state is seen as antithetical to the aims of class struggle and therefore emancipatory politics. In Marxist philosophy, the role of class, labour and capital are central to recognising how the development of society is often an uneven, asymmetric process. Gough (1979) sets out this dynamic by introducing the argument of class conflict:

In any class-divided society... there will be two basic and antagonistic classes: those who own and those who do not own the vital means of production. The

classes are antagonistic because the former can exploit the latter” (Gough, 1979: 17).

In a capitalist economy, this has a particular significance since the behaviour of competitive, monopolistic economies is seen as inherently contrary to the basis of supportive structures that configure the social democratic model of welfare theory. In conditions where exploitation is present it follows that, from a Marxist perspective, conflict would occur between opposing classes. In terms of the direction of this thesis, there is much that can be taken from the discussion on power resources.

The use of the power resources model in this investigation clearly has implications for our understanding of post-crisis social movements. Where class, capital and power intersect (especially in terms of social movement activity), the power resources model provides a frame for understanding how contemporary protest movements are able to effectively organise against government austerity. The most obvious implications relate to our understanding of institutionalised and non-institutionalised class struggle, as articulated through the model of power resources. This clearly has a strong relationship with Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) (which will be discussed later in this chapter). In essence, as described by Jenkins (1983): “mobilization is the process by which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective action. The major issues, therefore, are the resources controlled by the group prior to mobilization efforts, the processes by which the group pools resources and directs these towards social change, and the extent to which outsiders increase the pool of resources” (Jenkins, 1983: 532-533). For instance: finances; the labour of individuals; and, the use of facilities, could be usefully described as resources. In relation to power resources model, we can understand the use of *mobilisation*

resources as part of the power *used* by social movements to form and operate effectively. Considering the role of mobilisation, and the operation of class or movement power, the discussion will now move to consider the centrality of class struggle and social relations in the thinking of this investigation.

1.2.4. Class struggle, social relations and the welfare state

As has been outlined, class struggle is at the heart of this thesis. It is predicated on the assumption that class struggle *matters* to policy making. The way in which it matters in social policy theory has been developed by a number of authors (Korpi, 1983; Piven & Cloward, 1977; Therborn, 1982). The modern class structure, arguably, has been created by a range of factors that have their genesis, primarily, in the development of advanced industrial and capitalist economies. The unequal development of this system in a post-war period of reconstruction has, largely, created the conditions that Marxists have argued are symbolic of a precedence of capital over human agency. Bottomore (1965) makes the argument that this is indicative of industrial development and therefore has created and sustained systemic imbalances that structure and determine class outcomes.

The course of industrial development seemed to confirm the thesis that society was becoming more clearly divided into two principal classes, a small class of increasingly wealthy capitalists and a growing mass of property less and impoverished wage-earners; and the social gulf between them was widening as a result of the decline of the middle classes, whose members were being transformed into dependent employees. (Bottomore, 1965: 21)

The features of modern industrial society – especially that which has developed in Western Europe – are an example of the continued stratification of classes. The working class, from this perspective, represent the impoverished class that is dominated by a capitalist class, which owns the majority of capital and property. George and Wilding (1976) argue that such ideas of stratification can be attributed to the notion of individualism that has grown exponentially with the rise of advanced capitalism and, ultimately, the increase in the gap between the different classes. Individualism romanticises the concept that “man must be free as possible to pursue his interests and bear the consequences of his actions.” Consequently, “anti-collectivists argue [this] is threatened by the egalitarian policies of the welfare state today” (George and Wilding, 1976: 25). The division of classes in modern society can be observed through the lens of stratification, which has, arguably, been exacerbated by the principles of individualism.

It is clear that variants of welfare state capitalism purport a specific ideology that creates and maintains disparities between different social classes. The implications for the debate on class structure, therefore, are that power is transferred from the wage earners to those in control of capital and property, which results in the vast inequalities that permeate advanced capitalist economies. In terms of implications for this thesis, it is clear that we need to be mindful of class arrangements and power relationships, especially when considering the functioning of social movements. Where class relations, power and capital intersect, this thesis is interested in how manifestations of such power can impact discourses of welfare policy. The importance of discussing the welfare state in relation to structural functionalism and economic determinism is therefore clear, especially when considering what role citizens play (in

an institutional or non-institutional sense) in relation to state functions. Moreover, it is important to restate that the importance of this discussion is to examine how different models of welfare state development can explain the responses of activists and protest groups (this will be returned to in chapter two). The next section of this thesis will extend the current discussion on power, and how it can be applied to thinking through contemporary struggles for working class autonomy.

1.3. *Hegemony and power*

Following from the previous discussion on welfare state development, an analysis of both hegemony and power is important to understanding the conditions under which class struggle operates. Power, in particular, operates under many different guises, but in relation to class, its uses – and abuses – can be understood as a primary point of contention. The focus in this case is on who has power, how it is distributed (or not distributed), and, how it is used to control. The role of hegemony in the production and re-production of class relations – and especially the relationship with the state – is also important to conceptualise since it underpins how we understand conflict and oppression within and between classes. This discussion will draw on some of Poulantzas' (1978) work – *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* – in which he stated that: "Classes exist only in the class struggle" – a struggle for power and autonomy from below. It will also consider some of the contemporary perspectives on power, which have framed the discussion on how changes in industrial production have had consequences for workers and for the labour movement.

There are many different conceptions of power, and, divergent perspectives on its uses in society. One way of thinking about power is through the lens of individual and organisational relationships. Giddens (1981) summarises one such perspective on the expression of power. “Power has two aspects: a collective aspect, in the sense that the ‘parameters’ of any concrete set of power relationships are contingent upon the overall system of organisation of a society; and a ‘distributive’ aspect, in the sense that certain groups are able to exert their will at the expense of others” (Giddens, 1981: 122). In the modern state, the question is who has the most power, over whom, and to what extent it is used to influence. This is important when considering the role of class structuration. Equally, hegemony is an important concept in this discussion since it relates directly to the question of oppression and control. In the traditional Gramscian sense, hegemony can be understood thus: “a particular form of economic order... dominant, influencing all thought and ideas and art as well as the nature of economic, political and social processes” (Calvert, 1982: 155). What follows from this is the idea of the exertion of power, in all senses, of one class over another. A contemporary way of framing this notion is through the lens of advanced capitalism, which has a totalising effect on all social and economic relations – this has a class dynamic when considering the distribution of power. The control of a class, viewed from this perspective, can be understood as hegemonic since it is used as a tool to influence (un-) consciously.

The relationship between class, power and conflict has been documented extensively, from the early writings of Marx to the contemporary theorising of Erik Olin Wright and David Harvey. As discussed, power is exercised in several ways and by actors and structures that are, often, unaccountable, and to varying degrees. The ownership and control of production means and resources is the most obvious example of how power

is exercised. One way in which we can conceive the relationship between capital and labour is explained by Therborn (1982): “Capitalist production... under its aspect of continuous connected process... produces not only commodities, not only surplus-value, but it also produces and reproduces the capital relation; on the one side the capitalist, on the other the wage labourer” (Therborn, 1982: 232). It is this arrangement of relations between the two contrasting classes that helps to understand the unequal power dynamic. Capital, as a theoretical entity, additionally, has its own power, which is used to further class hegemony. Poulantzas’ (1978) analysis expands upon this notion through the lens of Marxist theory:

The determining role of productive capital in the reproduction of the aggregate social capital has decisive implications for the determination of social classes... In fact, it is only in terms of this role that Marx’s analysis of the working class can be understood, a class that is not defined by wage labour, but by productive labour, which under capitalism means labour that directly produces surplus-value. (Poulantzas, 1978: 94)

It is the grip on the productive labour of the working class, which explains, to a great extent, the power exercised by the capitalist class – or, the ruling class. It is this control, and the exercise of power, that frames how class struggle, ultimately, is structured. A further analysis of power can be viewed through the lens of class structure in advanced capitalism. In Wright’s (1979) work, we can understand how the ‘bourgeoisie’ – or the capitalist class – control, including ownership and management of production means, inhibits working class autonomy and inflames class antagonism.

Capitalists control the accumulation process; decide how the physical means of production in the labour process. Workers, in contrast, are excluded from the control over authority relations, the physical means of production, and the

investment process. These two combinations of... class relations constitute the two basic antagonistic class locations within the capitalist mode of production.

(Wright, 1979: 73)

Through Wright's assessment, we can locate one of the many axes of power of the capitalist class by viewing the control of production means and resources as necessary for the continued oppression of the working class.

Thinking about power in the contemporary sense, there are many illustrations of how the dimensions of class struggle are still pertinent. Broadly, the ascendancy of the neoliberal consensus into everyday life has been such that power has been taken from the dispossessed on multiple fronts. Not only have the politics of a liberal democratic society failed the working class, but the modes of capitalist production have also taken away their power of autonomy and control. Industrialisation, on a large scale, can be held accountable for the steady decline in autonomy over working conditions: "[i]ndustry is the dominating order of society; its structures and authority and patterns of conflict therefore extend the whole society" (Dahrendorf, 1959: 243). To take one example of this: technological innovation has, to a great extent, forced manual labour out of the market: "[t]he more workers are positioned as appendages of the machines they operate, the less freedom of manoeuvre they have, the less skills count and the more vulnerable they become to technologically induced unemployment" (Harvey, 2010: 96). The role of technological advances, then, is important in understanding in the contemporary period how power and autonomy can be taken away from workers in modern industry – particularly industries that were organised through the labour movement.

Another dimension to this discussion is the idea that capital itself wields a form of power. That is to say that the prevalence of capital in everyday life has its own impact on social relations, institutional arrangements, and so on. Harvey expands on this in an essay on the relationship between labour, capital and class struggle:

Capital seeks to discipline labour as much in the home as in the factory because it is only in terms of an all-embracing domination of labour in every facet that the 'work ethic' and 'bourgeois values' necessarily demanded by the capitalist work process can be established and secured. (Harvey, 1982: 556)

The point Harvey is making here is that capital has an all-encompassing effect on the individual regardless of situation or location – this is precisely how capital operates as a form of power. This is an extension of Marx's ideas on the connection between wage-labour and capital: labourers are reliant on subsistence from labour-power, and capitalists gain not only the value of labour, but also the rewards. The two exist independently and support each other; the reproduction of the relationship that promotes continued reliance. In the contemporary period, it has become especially evident that, with the ascending power of what Sklair describes as a transnational capitalist class (TCC), the aforementioned struggle between class, power and capital has deepened. The complimentary relationship between financial institutions, corporations, media conglomerates and globalising politicians has, in and of itself, created a new kind of power which is exerted internationally, regardless of borders and especially of class. The struggle for worker autonomy and organisation has – more so than in recent decades – a global focus. Where this thesis is concerned, the struggle for asserting power, via class relations, is central. The primacy of the capitalist state over its subjects – particularly where social policy is concerned – is, moreover, central to interpretations of contemporary social movement organisation and activity.

This is especially true when considering the role of social movements, in terms of their activities *within* and *against* the state. Having examined some of the dimensions of power in relation to class relations, the following section will move to discuss the more substantive work of this thesis: the role of organised struggle in the discourses of policy.

1.4. *Examining interventions in the policy process*

One of the of main objectives of this thesis is understanding how social movements advance ideas that can be considered as social policy objectives – where are they being discussed and can they have any traction in the public sphere? One of the unique aspects of such an analysis is the notion of bringing in the demands of non-institutional movements into the institutional apparatus of governed political life. The following section will go in some detail as to why this is essential to the broader analyses within this thesis. The objective is to examine where such policy objectives can be located, and why, in the move towards progressive visions, there are points of agreement and disagreement. Central to this is a desire to investigate elements of policy transfer, between social movements, trade unions and political parties. As has been discussed, policy formation is *not* politically neutral, and is subject to the exercising of institutional power. The positions put forward by social movements, pressure groups and others outside of the traditional parameters of policy making are, to an extent, beholden to the same structures that allow for the shaping of policy choices and objectives. There are several historical and contemporary theories that can be used to explain how the policy process functions – the work of Sabatier (2007) is useful in this regard. The objective here is to introduce some pertinent ideas with

relevance to the influence of ‘outsider’ movements on the policy process, and how this can aid in understanding the data presented.

It is worth briefly explaining and understanding the theory of policy cultures, the use of power in policy making, and, how movements from below might be in a position to challenge dominant political narratives – such as those used in framing government austerity. From this perspective, we assume that the intention of non-institutional, post-crisis movements is to have some discernible impact on shaping political narratives and policy agendas. The literature on this topic points to several key theoretical frames as to how the impact of actors – both within and outside – shape and influence the policy process. The work of Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007), for instance, develops in detail a typology of groups that have claims to the policy process. Their four-fold construction of advantaged, contender, dependent and deviant groups provides a rough outline for how individuals and groups might find their claims being given attention in the policy process. To focus on two classifications: advantaged groups “have high levels of political power and enjoy positive social construction as deserving people important in the political and social hierarchy...” whilst contender groups “have substantial political resources but are negatively regarded [and] have long included major labour unions” (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon, 2007: 101-102). In their typology, advantaged groups represent small businesses, homeowners and the professional class – scientists, doctors and so on. In the analyses of Ingram *et al.* (2009) it is made clear that the opinions and interventions of advantaged groups are broadly privileged in policy design over contenders. Although this is a rough presentation of some of the competing demands

in the policy process, there is scope here to understand how power is distributed in the decisions made on key issues relating to both social and public policies.

Developing a typology for intervention and change in the policy process is important, but for the purposes of this discussion it is evident that collective action requires scrutiny in terms of dealing with 'outsider' activities and lasting impressions on policy formation. As part of an evaluation of several theories of the policy process, Schlager (2007) makes one pertinent argument regarding the role of collective action:

Policy change occurs as a result of collective action. Because each theory is grounded in a model of the individual, how individuals come together, organise themselves, and promote policy change is important. (Schlager, 2007: 302)

Schlager continues to examine ideas that shape different processes, but the fundamentals are very clear. The policy process functions in part due to the actions and activities of collective action: individuals, groups and coalitions. The efficacy of collective action in the policy process, however, is subject to a number of variables which impact the success of such interventions. In part, the resources available to actors are arguably the greatest factor in whether an action will result in any material gains – time, biographical availability and financial support are examples of resources that actors would need to take account of. The structure and type of group or actor is also a consideration in this process: working *within* or *outside* of an institutional framework can be an indication of how successful actors are likely to be in affecting change. Following from this section, the discussion will move to discuss some of the key differences between institutionalised and non-institutionalised struggle, and the direct applications to this thesis.

1.5. *Examining class, power and (non-) institutional struggle*

Class agitation and class struggle are clearly important in articulating this investigation, but it is important to recognise that this takes many different forms. To understand the relationship between class and the welfare state, we need to look to how class struggle is organised and structured through institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms. Class is undoubtedly our first concern when framing the debate on how society is structured, and, which classes in that advanced societies supply labour, and which control wealth. Class struggle is important to conceptualise since it provides us with an understanding of the types of movements that seek to champion, or work for, the emancipation of the working class. Social struggles for emancipation have been, historically, organised through the institutional arrangements of the trade union movement. Increasingly, the relationship between the working class and the union movement has become weaker, leaving a vacuum for non-institutional forms of struggle to adopt the concerns of the working poor. This section will discuss both types of struggle and will expand upon the notion that non-institutional forms of struggle are replacing traditional routes of working class organisation.

Institutionalised struggle has traditionally been conceptualised through the route of trade union and labour movements. These have been, typically, top-down in structure and hierarchical, though the organisation of these movements has been drawn from members and workers. Struggles for emancipation and suffrage of this sort have had a particular character. Johnson has argued the making of these movements can be understood, which has echoes of the work of Piven and Cloward (1977):

Poor people's movements are made by poor people with specific capacities. The concept of capacities refers to resources and powers possessed by collective actors understood as the outcome of their position in the regime of accumulation... and the degree of self-consciousness of the collective actor (Johnson, 2000: 101).

Power resources, as discussed earlier, are essential to understanding the nature of institutionalised struggle, and, how such capacities are used to organise effectively and control outcomes. For a complete understanding of traditional modes of working class organisation, we need to look back to the mobilisations that punctuated the early trade union movement. The problems of unemployment in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly in Britain, gave rise to the most active campaigning of the labour movement. Further strengthening of working class struggle after the Second World War followed this. Korpi's (1983) work confirms our understanding of early political mobilisation and shows that unionisation was strongest during the interwar period, and post-Second World War. The period between 1946 and 1960 saw increases of unionisation upwards of 50%: "Finland, Norway, Sweden, the United States, Canada, Ireland and France more than doubled their level of unionisation" (Korpi, 1983: 32).

The strength of unionisation underpinned a period, particularly in the UK, where the state started to play an increasing role of the lives of individuals and communities – the inception of the modern welfare state in 1948 in the UK being the most prominent example. Institutionalised class struggle, during this period, was synonymous with the advance of policies aimed at increasing social welfare. Institutionalised struggle, such as has been described, has suffered terminal decline with the advent of neoliberalism.

Arguably, the power and efficacy of the trade union movement has stagnated towards the end of the 20th century:

The unions find themselves in difficulties when it comes to the challenges posed by neoliberal restructuring. They are facing a working class which is increasingly precarious, atomised, driven away from traditional industries and towards new sectors in poorly paid, highly flexible jobs, which tend to lack a culture of trade unionism” (Cooper and Hardy, 2012: 62).

In the contemporary period, the role of non-institutionalised struggle has become more significant, especially in terms of putting forward the cause of the labour movement. This is clearly an important discussion in terms of the wider aims of this thesis: understanding how post-crisis social movements have emerged in the context of shifting engagement with the welfare state, and mobilisation on anti-austerity political struggles.

As discussed, the vacuum left by the dissipation of institutionalised struggle has left a deficit in working class politics. The recent rise of non-institutionalised struggle has replaced the traditional methods of engagement. The slow decline of union membership has defined the transition from labour movement organisation to non-aligned, non-institutional engagement. Korpi has, in his previous work, hypothesised the reasons for the decline in interest of union membership:

With the exception of the closed shop, unions... have few if any means of compelling or forcing wage earners to join their ranks. Unions are limited to convincing and inducing wage earners to join, for example, through ideological persuasion, the provision of services and social pressure from workmates. (Korpi, 1983: 33)

Though, in this case, Korpi is writing in the 1980s, the basic arguments remain largely unchanged (see: Richards, 2001). Coupled with the abrupt decline of industry in Britain in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the union movement has become increasingly powerless to influence the direction of government policy. In this vacuum of power, the most recent examples of mobilisation and organisation of working people have been non-institutional in character. Ultimately, the reasons for the weakened power of the strike – of organised labour – can explain the increase in the rise of non-aligned movements, which, to a great extent, campaign on the same issues.

The contemporary period of crisis has seen a widening gap in inequality, which has been aggravated by a series of social and economic problems: wage stagnation, state retrenchment – i.e. decreasing spending on social goods – and modest inflation. In the midst of this, the role of non-institutionalised struggle has taken hold. There are many reasons for the surge of movements that have taken on the issues of inequality and social justice – such as Occupy and UK Uncut. Primarily, these forms of struggle are not bound to the same hierarchical tendencies that, in many cases, prevented meaningful action. They are also flexible in structure and membership. This is a particularly important point since the drive towards a service economy in the UK has resulted in people being employed in precarious, often part-time, work – which is less likely, as previously mentioned, to be unionised. In this vacuum, there are large numbers of people ‘biographically’ available to commit time to non-institutionalised struggle. Cooper and Hardy (2012) have expressed this point succinctly:

The positive side of [the movement] is easy to see. It has a DIY attitude, is unencumbered by the conservative and highly bureaucratic hierarchies of the workers’ movement, and utilises direct action... They are also able to present

their ideas as unimpinged by the old debates between the Trotskyists and the Stalinists, and so un-tarred with the brush of defeat that the old hierarchies suffered in the 20th century. (Cooper and Hardy, 2012: 93)

In this sense, non-institutionalised struggle has replaced the traditional modes of engagement that have been characteristic of the labour movement. This is not to say, however, that such engagements have been more successful; only that they have become increasingly prominent in the of domestic politics of the UK, and as a more viable alternative for flexible and direct action.

1.6. *Explaining the role of social movements in social policy*

In previous sections of this chapter (see: section 1.2), general theories of welfare state development have been discussed with relevance to questions of class struggle and power. These theories have been important to set out in terms of setting up the discussion on whether welfare states develop as a result of the demands of any form of political or social struggle. The purpose of this section is to introduce the idea of contemporary social movements as part of the complex mosaic of class struggle, and, to introduce the idea that such movements can have a role in policy development. There are many roles that social movements might fulfil, for individuals and communities. In terms of thinking through debates on social policy, they can represent a critique of social and political change thus offering questions to ideological positions taken by governments on issues of social justice, distribution of resources and regulation of markets (see: Burstein, 1999; Martin, 2001). Social divisions and conflict are also recognised by social movements as changes, or imbalances, caused as a result of changes to social policies and the welfare state. In recognition of this, the

following discussion seeks to explore the expanding relationship between social movements and social policy, and how movements are able to communicate ideas on social policy issues – such as social justice and social divisions – outside of the confines of traditional ideological perspectives. This is an important discussion for the investigation as a whole since it contributes to our understanding of non-institutional engagement with institutional structures and processes.

Social movements arguably have a role to play in influencing the discourses surrounding, and even the direction of, issues concerning social policy (Martin, 2001). The economic crisis of 2007 offered an opportunity for civil society and such movements to address key policy concerns – such as in areas of financial regulation, redistribution of resources, and social justice. The response to the crisis in the UK, and Europe more broadly, demonstrated that social movements were, in many ways, vehicles of delivery whereby the dominant political and economic philosophies that had come to define an era of neoliberal capitalism could be challenged. From the perspective of social policy, contemporary social movements offer a non-institutional dynamic, which diverges from the traditional, formalised politics of, for instance, the trade union movement. Anti-austerity and economic justice movements alike have, to an extent, a common set of aims, placing less emphasis on top-down organisation, and more on grassroots, even non-hierarchical methods of engagement. The views and interests of such social movements – when concerning social policy issues – can be articulated through a variety of practices and actions that are not limited to traditional methods of engagement. To further outline the issues presented in this section, the following will discuss how social movements can have a role in social policy formation.

1.6.1. The role of social movements in social policy formation

A key aspect of the discussion thus far has been to determine the role of class struggle in the development of welfare states. As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, there has been little in terms of the existing literature on how social movements engage with social policy. In order to investigate how social movements can articulate and express positions on matters of policy, it is important to first consider what function social movements perform, and how they might organise to transmit their views on social, economic or political issues. Social scientists have attempted to arrive at an agreed definition of what a social movement is and who it concerns, but this has proved too challenging since many contrasting definitions exist. For Diani (1992), however, there are some unique features that can be attributed to the social movement, and, that explain how they are comprised in terms of membership.

[A social movement] consists of several different actors: individuals, informal groups and/or organisations [which] come to elaborate a shared definition of themselves as being part of the same side in a social conflict. By doing so, they provide meaning to otherwise unconnected protest events or symbolic antagonistic practices and make explicit the emergence of specific conflicts and issues. (Diani, 1992: 2-3)

What is valuable for this investigation in this definition is the idea of the ‘unconnected’ protest event. In what transpired after the economic crisis – in terms of anti-austerity protests – there were many connected protests that occurred which espoused similar, if not the same, views on matters of political and economic elitism. Indeed, it is this basis of a shared, collective identity, which derived from the same aims, that seemed to correlate with the ideas and definitions of social movements as described by social

scientists studying such a phenomenon. The role of informality, as the literature would suggest, is also central to understanding what a social movement is, and how they operate under certain conditions. Informality, it has been argued, underpins how social movements operate, mobilise and manoeuvre as groups across borders and boundaries. The flexibility of the arrangement allows for a non-hierarchical structure to exist which enables the spontaneity of action to occur, and, without the requirement for a governing body to approve practices in protest – though it is worth noting that democratic processes can exist when there is a requirement to make decisions on the type of protest actions a social movement might engage in. In attempting to arrive at a synthesis of definitions, Crossley (2002) argues that social movements are: “informal networks, based on a shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilise about conflictual issues, through the frequent use of various forms of protest” (Crossley, 2002: 6). The issue of identity is an important one for sociological inquiry, especially as social movements attract people from across the divisions of class, gender and ethnicity. The question for any scholar here is how social movements construct and manage identity when the practices and behaviour of these groups are informally managed in flat organisational structures.

Collective behaviour, for Blumer (1969), explains how an agent in the social world attempts to form social bonds. For those participating in a social movement, there are elementary and identifiable forms of behaviour that can create a shared identity. Crossley explains that “the three main forms of behaviour to which Blumer refers in this context are ‘milling’, ‘collective excitement’ and ‘social contagion’” (Crossley, 2002: 25). The result of this behaviour allows agents to build a rapport with each other, which is used to create a shared identity or, a shared consciousness where views,

beliefs and ideas can be transmitted in a form of dynamic interaction. Group life explains in part the role of rapport building between agents. The repetition of this conduct characterises some of the fundamental elements of social movements whereby patterns of behaviour become part of the ritual of being involved in a particular mode of social action.

Established patterns of group life exist and persist only through the continued use of the same schemes of interpretation; and such schemes of interpretation are maintained only through their continued confirmation by the defining acts of others. (Blumer, 1969: 67)

It is through the repetition of these acts that social movements begin to create an identity and purpose, which, as described, is how agents negotiate the sense of self in a group environment. The role of the social movement in this instance is to facilitate the constant negotiation of these created social norms which can allow groups to act as a group – or network – where ideas, beliefs and values can be operationalized through any desired means of practice or action (for example: the protest event).

Of equal concern and interest here is how the social movement matters in the context of decision-making and influence of public discourses. To assess this adequately, we need to consider how resources and networks operate in order to facilitate the actions of social movements. Proponents of Rational Actor Theory (RAT) have taken a view that human behaviour can be reduced to the individual acting in a manner, which maximises benefits and minimises costs. This counters what has already been discussed with regards to social movements, in that; we can understand the rationality of joining a social movement for mutual aims regardless of the individual's desire for purely individualistic motives.

To see individuals acting solely out of rational self-interest ignores how actors are socially situated. Individuals are not detached and solitary, with merely instrumental relationships to others, but always ready members of groups and communities, with feelings, beliefs, ideas, and values about shared, collective identities. (Nash, 2010: 100)

Clearly there is a relationship between the coordination of actors in social movements and the ability of such movements to influence the institutional arrangements of a society. Indeed, the role of actors acting collectively is instrumental in the achievement of the goals and aims set by the movement. This view is supported, in part, by the components of a theory outlined by Mancur Olson (1968) – namely, Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT). Social movements are identified, according to this theory, as rational social institutions, which aid in the achievement of group objectives. Olson is clear that organisations such as social movements can: “perform a function when there are common or group interests... their characteristic and primary function is to advance common interests of groups of individuals” (Olson, 1968: 7). Inquiring as to how social movements matter suddenly becomes clearer, since the organisation and collective behaviours of such groups can draw a significant amount of attention.

This research is interested in the positions that social movements might have on issues of policy, and, if they are able to influence the direction of policy through institutional and non-institutional methods. On this issue, academics have attempted to research the relationship between the actions of social movements and their potential impacts on public policy. Burstein (1999) has been particularly influential in this regard. His analysis of social movements relates to an understanding of the context and environment in which such groups operate and attempt to influence

institutional structures. “If we are to understand how interest organisations influence public policy, we must analyse their activities in the context of theories of democracy and how individuals and organisations function in complex, competitive environments” (Burstein, 1999: 19). Burstein analyses the situation for social movements as one that is an extension of the democratic process. Individuals have opportunities to influence the direction of policy through the practice of voting for or against a political party – i.e. the practice of institutional democratic politics. The formalised procedures of the democratic process aside, it is clear that elected officials have a duty to represent citizens. The underperforming officials, clearly, have more to be concerned about in the process of voting since citizens have the capacity to remove these representatives from public office.

Pressure groups and social movements therefore have opportunities to highlight the failings of particular officials, pieces of legislation and aspects of the democratic process. Giugni (1998) states that social movements matter for the reason that they are able to address their views and beliefs to two distinct and important components of society. “Social movements, particularly when they express themselves through their most typical form of action, public demonstrations, address their message simultaneously to two distinct targets: the powerholders and the general public” (Giugni, 1998: 379). In gaining the attention of these targets, social movements have the power to influence opinion. This is an opportunity, therefore, to affect the direction of public discourses on a particular issue. For Giugni, this is central to any analysis of social movements since the role of mass movements in affecting popular opinion can change the direction of debates on a given policy issue. Over the individual act of voting, social movements matter since they command a level of attention, which can

only be achieved by coordinating and targeting specific stakeholders. Having analysed what role social movements are able to have, and, discussed some of the definitions of such a group, the following will examine the components of social movements in terms of what they aim to achieve and how political structures can be challenged.

1.6.2. Social movements and political transformation

Piven and Cloward's (1977) text on *Poor People's Movements* – linking with the earlier discussion on power resources – considers and examines the structure of protest, and the role of an elite in advanced capitalist society. Their analysis focuses on what is overt and obscured in the modern democratic state. The powerful, in their terms, control the means by which people are able to express their discontent.

Power is rooted in the control of coercive force and in the control of the means of production. However, in capitalist societies this reality is not legitimated by rendering the powerful divine, but by obscuring their existence. (Piven and Cloward, 1977: 2)

By obscuring the existence of the political elite, the forms of democratic participation appear to be lessened since the citizen is not recognised as a powerful agent in the relationship with the state. This is identified as the means by which power is taken away from the citizen, and the illusion of participation is presented: “people conform to the institutional arrangements which enmesh them, which regulate the rewards and penalties of daily life, and which appear to be the only possible reality” (Piven and Cloward, 1977: 6). The first chapter deals with the structure of protest and how citizens might disrupt the normal economic and political processes in order to pursue a particular goal or aim. The election system is seen as a system of structuration, and

the protest is therefore a non-institutional method to express dissatisfaction. For Piven and Cloward, the protest movement is the only recourse for the disenfranchised citizen. The individual, as described in their text, is entirely socialised in a political culture whereby voting is deemed the only possible act of defiance. The route to defiance is thus set out and examined in the first chapter as the efficacy of social movements is discussed.

People who are ordinarily fatalistic, who believe that existing arrangements are inevitable, begin to assert “rights” that imply demands for change... There is a new sense of efficacy; people who ordinarily consider themselves helpless come to believe that they have some capacity to alter their lot. (Piven and Cloward, 1977: 4)

Ultimately, Piven and Cloward recommend caution over the question of efficacy in social movements as the institutional arrangements of the state will attempt to appease and disarm any social unrest. The question of challenging power, however, is worth exploring further. On an ideological level, it can be argued that social movements are able to challenge pre-existing social paradigms. For those analysing and interpreting the behaviour of such groups it is recognised that certain components of social movements – such as their tactics and structurelessness – represent a challenge to the dominant forms of political power. This notion is reflected upon in Dalton, Kuechler and Bürklin’s (1990) text on how social and political movements present a challenge to the political order.

On the ideological level, these movements advocate a new social paradigm which contrasts with the dominant goal structure of Western industrial societies. New social movements also illustrate a style of unconventional political action – based on direct action – that contrasts with the traditional neo-corporatist

pattern of interest intermediation in many contemporary democracies. (Dalton, Kuechler and Bürklin, 1990: 3)

The idea of ideological transformation in the social and political arena is one that sociologists have had to struggle with in order to understand how interest groups and social movements might negotiate a relationship with the state. Further to this, the idea of participation and power is a central question when considering what kind of challenges social movements present when dealing in contentious politics. Scott (1990) offers an explanation as why the participation of individuals in social movements presents a challenge to the pre-existing paradigms that govern politics in many liberal Western democracies. The analysis presented by Scott highlights the ideas of social inclusion and exclusion in the process of mediating the distribution of certain resources, rights or powers. "Social movements articulate the grievances and demands of... those who are excluded from established elite groupings and from processes of elite negotiation" (Scott, 1990: 135). The active participation of citizens in non-institutional social movements presents a challenge to the institutional arrangements that, in some instances, actively deny the adequate modes of political input desired. The extent to which any existing political system is open or restricted has a direct effect on the individual's choice to partake in movements.

Organising around a particular issue, sharing ideas and resources, and creating effective modes of representation are the basis of a successful social movement. This is an important aspect to consider in this investigation, as will become clear, as it is the issues raised by post-crisis social movements that drive the decision to act. The previous discussions have shown that successful movements will tend to create others as their capacities for sharing resources lend them easily to the possibility of affecting

discourses surrounding social policy. In organising and mobilising around a core issue, social movements have the capacity to generate interest and attract attention through non-institutional methods, and therefore attempt to destabilise the prevailing mode of governance. When movements are formed, they are usually created in an institutional vacuum with very few resources available. This presents an opportunity to assert new forms of association and mediation, and can symbolise an ideological challenge to what is accepted in the traditional arena of politics. In terms of broader relevance to this investigation, this provides a theoretical frame in which to think about the operations of the Occupy movement. The implications for this study are embedded again within the discussion and transfer of ideas, which form the basis for challenges to mainstream political discourse. In discussing the role of social movements, and their potential influence, it is clear that there is scope for investigating the relationship between protest groups and social policy issues. The discussion will move to engage with the issues of social policy and social justice that have been alluded to in the previous analysis of social movements.

The question of social policy and social justice remains a contested area since political ideologies differ significantly on how far the state should be involved in administering resources in the pursuit of wellbeing. Rawls' (1971) classic *A Theory of Justice* set out the principles for a just society based on a 'social contract' which applied to all citizens on the basis of an egalitarian philosophy. The importance of Rawls' work helped to define the parameters for a society based on a citizen's right to a number of 'primary goods' – including civil and political rights. Rawls set out the following rules in his conception of justice: "The first is that liberty is the most important rule of social justice, and a just society must preserve liberty. The second is that inequalities must be

acceptable to everyone, as part of a fair system” (Spicker, 1988: 135). In social policy, this notion has been applied to debates on welfare that span questions of altruism, obligation and responsibility. An egalitarian view of social policy is thus one that admits we need to be socially and economically equal in order to achieve fairness in distribution of resources, and, moreover, that we need to embrace solidarity as a vehicle for promoting basic social conducts. Spicker (2000) has touched on this issue with his general theory of *The Welfare State*. For social policy and welfare to be understood correctly, society has to recognise the merits of solidarity as intrinsic to achieving social cohesion and social justice. “Solidarity is integral to social cohesion. The same can be said of its relationship to society, because without social cohesion, societies cannot exist” (Spicker, 2000: 49).

These issues are integral to understanding the importance of social movements since cohesion is a fundamental element of the arrangement, which seeks to actively create social bonds between agents. In terms of a social policy perspective, Titmuss recognised this aspect of society as fundamental to influencing the direction of social justice, indeed it was this particular ideological outlook that provided the foundations for a collective, socialist attitude to welfare in Britain after 1945. Characteristic of this outlook was the idea that social welfare and justice were inextricably linked. “While time and circumstances have changed for the mass of the people in the West, the fundamental need for social welfare as an instrument of social justice and community education remains” (Abel-Smith and Titmuss, 1987: 113). In principle, therefore, those espousing collectivist ideologies have answered the question of social policy and social justice confidently. For many arguing this front, it appears sensible and almost uncontroversial that social policies should focus on social justice as a desirable

outcome for creating egalitarian societies. This is part of what social movements might hope to achieve in pursuing certain objectives that are also reflected in social policy.

1.7. Conclusion

In bringing this chapter to a close, the wide-ranging discussion has sought to understand the foundations of the welfare state in the following ways: (1) in terms of its development, and how class and power ultimately intersect in social democratic states (such as the UK) to influence the shape, coverage, generosity and extent of welfare states; (2) the functioning of the welfare state in relation to the exercising of class power – most notably where contemporary social movements engaged in the British political sphere. The chapter has made particular reference of both parts of the discussion to the exercising of power, and of power relations, among trade unions, capital and social movements. In terms of the narrative of the investigation, the first chapter has provided the groundwork for both historical and contextual perspectives on how certain actors engage with the welfare state. It has, crucially, set the scene as to how we might understand the differences between institutional and non-institutional struggle (in particular in section 1.5). In addition, the literature set out in this chapter has foregrounded some of the problems which will be grappled with in chapter two. For example, in section 1.3 (on hegemony and power) the intersections of capital, class and social struggle are relevant to the discussions in chapter two on how contemporary, radical movements seek to meet the challenges of the economic crisis.

In spite of the above, there are some gaps in knowledge that need to be addressed. Whilst this chapter has provided a comprehensive discussion on the history of welfare

state development, the task now is to bring the investigation in to the contemporary period. Furthermore, the literature in this chapter only presents some of the historical aspects of class struggle in relation to the welfare state (see: Piven and Cloward, 1977). This is, of course, important in terms of setting out the terms of the debate on post-crisis social movement activity, and the challenge to austerity governance, but it is limited by its historical application. Therefore, the purpose of the second, and following, chapter in this thesis is to build on this discussion and examine the relationship between social movements and social policy in greater depth. Importantly, it will firmly introduce current literature on post-crisis social movements, as part of setting up the investigation in the empirical chapters (four and five). Finally, chapter two will seek to address some of the contemporary issues posed by the financial crisis, as well as introducing the post-crisis political situation of government austerity – which followed the 2007/2008 global economic crisis.

Chapter two

The political challenge of the economic crisis

In chapter one, this investigation explored the historical role of social policy and welfare state development in relation to class struggle, the exercising of power through social movements and how we can explain differences in the emergence of institutional and non-institutional policy demands. Importantly, the chapter provided some theoretical insights as to how activism and protest mobilisation can be enabled, or discouraged (see: section 1.2). A significant conclusion from the first part of the theoretical discussion is that if structural drivers in the welfare state are strong, the conditions for class to organise become stronger – or for the gradual emergence of class struggle. The purpose of chapter two is to, therefore, examine the various contemporary political and economic crises, and, identify some of the social movements (apropos of class struggle and the exercising of class power) that have been responding to such challenges. The discussion moves to update the story of welfare state change in Britain, examining new forms of engagement in the complex mosaic of contentious politics, which have responded to challenges in the wake of the financial crisis. The chapter also seeks to examine the role of the trade union movement – in relation to post-crisis social movements – given the context of the current crises. The many outcomes and impacts of the financial crisis of 2007/2008 will, furthermore, be discussed in this chapter as a focus of struggle for social movement activity (Hardy & Cooper, 2013; Worth, 2013). It will also use the context of crisis and austerity as a precursor to direct action and the possibilities of political mobilisation. Broadly, this chapter seeks to enquire as to how contemporary

movements have been integral in engaging with social policy questions – some of which have arisen as a result of government austerity programmes. It will also consider the present conditions – of crisis and austerity – which have given rise to a new hegemony, or, political realism (Fisher, 2009). This will be explored further on in the chapter.

It is first most pertinent to note the current crisis in democratic capitalism. As will be discussed this can be described in three parts: (1) the crisis affecting the welfare state; (2) the growing democratic deficit, between nation states and their citizens; and, (3) the direct impact and effects of the economic crisis on citizens. On many fronts, the nature of political discourse, engagement and mobilisation is changing. This is due, as identified, to the contemporary economic challenges of austerity that citizens have to negotiate in the British welfare state (Blyth, 2013). It is also a response to the subsequent policy responses that have been enacted. Moreover, the emergence of deeper structural issues (Blokker, 2014), which have characterised the crisis, and the global response, are clearly important in setting the scene in this chapter. The increasing instability of economic relations under democratic capitalism has, to a great extent, facilitated the rise in movements of contentious politics – such as the Occupy movement. It is on this first point that the chapter will examine the basis for conflict and resistance in an age of crisis, austerity and radical change in social and public policy. This chapter also seeks to understand some of the contemporary critiques of capitalism. To a great extent, such critiques – many of which have been formally outlined in academic discussions – help to understand the wider narratives that social movements construct in order to effectively challenge institutional apparatus (Della Porta, 2014). These critiques also help to frame the debates that drive some of the

discussions around social policy issues, and the concurrent political mobilisations. Underpinning these discussions is a broader enquiry into the changing nature of political engagement, and, the contemporary site of class struggle, as part of the broader declines in trade union membership. This chapter will conclude by discussing how recent mobilisations have been less reliant on the trade union movement, and more on informal, unaligned and non-institutional political groupings.

2.1. *Where are we now?*

The economic crisis of 2007 presented a challenge to welfare states across Europe and beyond (Farnsworth and Irving, 2017). It also presented a challenge to citizens, who experienced the brunt of the government austerity and subsequent tightening of welfare spending. If nothing else, the financial crisis demonstrated the resistance of economic theories and ideas – such as those prominent in financial capitalism.

[Austerity] is not simply about expenditure cuts – it more accurately describes an intention towards, and reconfiguration of, economies and welfare states that cannot be measured or assessed simply by reference to social spending as a proportion of gross domestic product (GDP). While the intention is to dissolve the bonds of solidarity that characterised the post-war period of welfare state building, because for neoliberalism they have always represented constraints on freedom, it is the reconfiguration of the welfare state that is expected to achieve this outcome. (Farnsworth and Irving, 2017: 103)

The point raised here specifically connects austerity to class struggle. Reconfiguring the welfare state is as much about imposing fiscal conservatism as it is about

rescinding the social contract. As many academics and commentators have identified, the current period of instability is indicative of a systemic crisis: “[t]he current financial crisis shows how the capitalistic system is structurally unstable and how free market theory is not able to affront such instability” (Fumagalli and Mezzadra, 2010: 247). In addition to this analysis, the crisis also exposed the intricate and impervious links between Western governments and the financial sector. During and after the crisis, an eruption of activity in civil society galvanised many that had been directly affected by either the crisis itself – through loss of employment – or by the subsequent austerity measures imposed. The rest of the chapter aims to explore the ideas that underpin much of contemporary financial capitalism, and how social movements are seeking to disrupt and change the current economic system. It will focus on the current social policy challenges, and how such movements have mobilised to campaign on these issues, and, what successes and failures have marked their sudden ascendancy in the arena of political discourse.

As described before, there have been several key responses from civil society (in the UK) in recent years, from pressure groups, activist networks and social movements, aiming to address some of the fundamental questions posed by the crisis – i.e. how to regulate financial institutions, how to redistribute resources *and* how to equalise society. This has been consciously coupled with activism on the issue of public spending and cuts to welfare. Whilst many concessions have been won on a national level, the wider issues of macro-economic stability – i.e. the crisis caused by financial deregulation – have remained largely unchallenged, or at least the discourses have stagnated due to a “crisis of imagination” (Haiven, 2014). As yet, few of the challenges from civil society, and social movements, have seriously disrupted or altered the

economic structures that permit the uneven flow of capital. In this period of crisis, reform and piecemeal regulation, social struggle has become even more important in terms of presenting challenges to the current political and economic order. As Shannon (2014) notes: “The economic crisis is only one crisis, which could serve as a catalyst for the continued mobilisation of people, amidst mobilisations that have already begun. Living in an age of multiple crises creates multiple possibilities for the widening of antagonisms between privilege and power, on the one hand, and the dispossessed, on the other” (Shannon, 2014: 13).

2.2. *The crisis of democratic capitalism and the British welfare state*

The social and political issues that arose because of the economic crisis are manifold. What started as a crisis borne out of financial deregulation and excess, quickly became an issue that had huge structural ramifications. Academics, journalists and commentators alike have drawn conclusions as to the impacts of this change. Having considered the literature, it is clear that there are numerous implications that flow from crisis and that are relevant to this thesis as follows:

1. Firstly, there is a crisis of confidence over the welfare state apparatus. For example, the types of provision that can be made for the citizen in a period of declining acceptance of social security? Moreover, what is the role of the welfare state and how should it provide for those that require support?
2. Secondly, there is a democratic deficit, or, renewal: methods of traditional, institutional engagement with the political system are not satisfactory and do

not meet the demands of citizens. What types of engagement – i.e. non-institutional – can be used to hold systems to account?

3. Thirdly, there is a continuing economic crisis, impacting on working class politics: the trade union movement, and traditional social movements, have had mixed success in tackling wider social policy questions, but, have not sufficiently challenged existing political structures. Which movements should take on the questions of social justice, regulation, redistribution etc. and represent the working class?

The first crisis has its roots in the political approval of governments, mainly on the right of the political spectrum, which have sought to decrease spending on welfare. The second follows from the first, in that, citizens become increasingly disenfranchised in a political system that no longer represents popular opinion. There are concerns that the traditional methods of political engagement have not been representative, and, therefore, citizens have taken to other forms of organisation. Finally, the traditionally representative trade union movement has not taken up the legitimate grievances of the working class. The result is that there is now a vacuum in which effective political representation does not exist, formally or informally. In the absence of this representation, post-crisis social movements have been tasked with engaging with the socio-political challenges that arise as a result of heavy state retrenchment. This chapter aims to deal with the above crises, and, discuss which movements have attempted to manoeuvre into the vacuum of effective criticism, which has, arguably, been left open by other political parties on the left of the spectrum, and the trade union movement.

2.2.1. Changes in the modern welfare state

It has been well documented that, recently, the welfare state has seen enormous retrenchment across Europe, and especially in the UK (see: Blyth, 2013; Della Porta, 2014; Shannon, 2014). In response to the financial crisis, governments took steps to curb spending on public services – particularly the delivery of social security. The specific ideas being used to support welfare state retrenchment are an indication of the ideological foundations of a shift in economic policy. In terms of the story of this thesis, the rationale here is to introduce contemporary developments in the UK political landscape: developments that have raised issues with, and impacted on, the role of the citizen, and therefore the actions of social movement organisations. To understand these fluctuations, we need to understand the contemporary issues that frame the welfare state and its ideological challenges, both from a social and a historical perspective.

Ideology, of course, plays a role in framing the debate on how citizens, and their wellbeing, are viewed with regards to the state. It has been argued that the advance of welfare theory in a post-World War II era is largely due to the expanding welfare spending programmes of Western capitalist – and industrial – democracies: “[t]he first generation of welfare state studies typically turned to theories of industrialism to account for the common trajectory of rising welfare expenditures throughout the developed world” (Myles and Quadagno, 2002: 36). In Esping-Andersen’s (1990) classic work, there are many different examples of how the welfare state is constructed. His analysis also helps us to understand the influence of capitalism on the development of welfare. The analysis also covers the liberal, social democratic

and conservative regimes – as evidenced in Anglo-American models, continental Europe, and, via Nordic interpretations of welfare. Each theory of welfare development has significant implications for the individual, community, and the state.

The social democratic model of welfare state development is one such example. The commitments to social liberalism and democratic socialism are found in the tenets of this ideology, namely: equality of opportunity, redistribution of resources, market reforms, a notion of the common good, and, universal citizenship and social rights (Fitzpatrick, 2011: 134). An inherent mistrust of the functioning of capitalism is central to the view of the social democratic model, in terms of the structure of the free market and the production of inequalities within free market economies. Central to this ideology is the notion that “social democratic welfare states represent a model of society characterized by extensive social rights and a marginal role for private welfare provision” (Myles and Quadagno, 2002: 40). Universal welfare is therefore the ideological goal for the social democratic state, and the pursuit of social justice can be named as the primary aim of any state wishing to adopt this view.

To further understand how ideology shapes the modern welfare state, it is important to look at the traditions of liberalism and conservatism. Traditions in the conception of a liberal welfare state, as an example, are based on the understanding that individuals are market actors. The values of freedom and autonomy in terms of choice are viewed as paramount: “by providing welfare services for all through the state, it is argued, individuals are actively discouraged from providing these for themselves or their families” (Alcock, 2008: 184). The modern liberal conception of welfare views the state as neither desirable nor practical, a view which is described through Hayek’s (1944)

interpretation of welfare provision. The conservative tradition is “less enamoured with free markets, competitive capitalism, profit motives [and] self-interest” (Fitzpatrick, 2011: 130). The emphasis from this perspective is that ordering society should be based on tradition and heritage. This particular view advances the centrality of the family, which is the centre of all relationships, and therefore should be central to decisions made on social welfare. In addition to this, identity, as viewed through the lens of nationalism, is of particular importance to the conservative tradition. As such, this leaves the welfare state as something to be sceptical of on account of its paternalistic tendencies, which overrides the sovereignty of familial life.

In contrast, the conservative tradition differs in the sense that communities are seen as fictitious constructs, and that society consists primarily of many individuals. The position of the individual from a liberal perspective remains as a unit that exists solely for themselves and is not concerned by collectivist, community aspects of welfare delivery. The individual from a socialist perspective, by comparison, is seen as a citizen and therefore integral to the social structures of welfare. Rather than the state being involved in the business of residual welfare, the collectivist tradition rather sees the benefits of institutionalising modes of social policy and welfare programmes. In social democracy, the tenets of egalitarianism and social justice are held the highest. For classical Marxists, the role of class struggle is viewed as the most important element in any developments of the welfare state (see: Gough, 1979; Wright, 1979). The conflicts in welfare traditions here represent historical trends in social policy debates, but also reflect a contemporary focus on what role the state should have in delivering welfare. The ideologies that have been outlined here have a particular relevance when reflecting on how citizens might act in a modern welfare state. It has

profound implications for assessing the types of responses from post-crisis social movements, since the policies likely to be enacted through any ideological vision will elicit a reaction. In reflecting on the various ideologies that construct visions of the welfare state, the discussion will now turn to analyse the current condition of welfare, in an age of crisis and austerity.

2.2.2. A modern welfare state in crisis

In much of the recent literature in social policy, there has been a thorough examination of how the economic crisis has affected the functions of the welfare state (see: Farnsworth and Irving, 2015; Taylor-Gooby, 2013). On almost every measure, the contemporary welfare state in the UK is experiencing a period of crisis in two senses: one of political approval, and one of economic viability. In the first sense, the welfare state is seen as both cumbersome and flawed in need of substantial improvement or heavy restriction. In the second sense, it has, broadly, lost support in the public domain in terms of spending: 50% of population believed that government should spend more on benefits in 1995 compared to 34% in 2012 (Park *et al.*, 2012). Further to this, the welfare state is also seen as a costly provision, which should, to varying degrees be supported by the capital of private companies. Indeed, the era of globalisation has arguably changed how we understand the function of the welfare state. Modern welfare theories have had to adapt to a changing environment that increasingly relies on: the increasing speed and exchange of information; the free movement of people and capital; the stability of large global and international institutions; and, the deregulation of trade boundaries and opening of borders (see: Harvey, 2005). The changes have, at least for a post-industrial Western Europe, presented both threats

and opportunities for welfare: “[i]t was a threat in so far as class structures looked set to be replaced by a more individualistic and market-dominated society; yet it was an opportunity, because welfare institutions already embodied the service ethic that post-industrial ethic seems to require” (Fitzpatrick, 2011: 171). In this rapidly evolving and fluid state of affairs, welfare as a theory and practice has required substantial reconsideration and reconfiguration to manage the volume of cross-border flows in terms of goods, services and people.

In an age where neo-liberal economics prevails, many theorists have argued that capitalism, in its current form, is undermining the basis for state provision and the role of public services (see: Streeck, 2011; 2014). Ferguson *et al.* (2002) have argued that this period of our history represents an assault on the values of the social democratic systems that were constructed in the post-war period. Despite the challenges from academics, policy professionals, and the growing body of evidence that disputes the equal nature of global capitalism, the gulf between the richest and poorest has deepened substantially (see: Fumagalli and Mezzadra, 2010, in particular) which has resulted in structural inequalities, thus placing immense pressures on modern welfare states. The current dynamic of capitalism under globalisation has changed the role of state as a primary provider of welfare provision. As discussed thus far, the conditions of neo-liberal economics work firmly for the interests of market economies as opposed to the traditional state structures that regulated industry and employment. There is a definite and observable shift from the state to the market in terms of delivering welfare. These effects have been documented and analysed by Ferguson *et al.* (2002):

The commitment to competitive taxation policies necessitates a cut in the social wage and reduced public expenditure, with the result that privatisation and the

increasing role of the market in the delivery of public services is left as the only viable alternative for reluctant welfare dismantlers. (Ferguson *et al.*, 2002: 140)

In the face of a new political realism it is evident that state involvement in the delivery of welfare is an out-dated method that acts against the principles of market economies. Returning to the role of business, there is a clear and definite correlation between the expansion of market power and the increase of private and business interest in social policy: “[t]he role played by international business organisations has been to try to influence policy debates at the international, national and regional levels... International business has also campaigned heavily against regional and international agreements on minimum social standards” (Farnsworth, 2004: 81). From this perspective, it is indisputable that the cultural, political and economic shifts occurring through the processes of globalisation are impacting on state involvement in welfare, and the status of the individual, which has shifted from productive actor to passive consumer. For post-crisis social movements, this is a fundamental and underlying question for their activities.

2.2.3. Political engagement and the democratic deficit

The economic crisis had many direct consequences, with the political agenda of austerity being the most controversial. Protests quickly spread across Europe after 2008, attacking the unjust policy prescriptions of national and international governmental organisations. In the UK, the responses to government austerity grew between the period of 2010 and 2011, which marks the ascent of UK Uncut and the Occupy London movement. Broadly, these movements were borne out of bottom-up, civil society struggles that aimed to challenge policies that, in essence, penalised

those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. As the subsequent attempts by governments to resist the tide of activism were successful, the movements condemning such policy manoeuvres became disillusioned:

Anti-austerity protestors seem instead to have lost hope for political reforms, as they see more and more of an overlapping of economic and political power, especially with aggressive (and effective) lobbying from business and industry groups at EU level. The search for profit and economic growth, cited to justify cuts to public services, salaries and pensions, is stigmatised by anti-austerity campaigners as an institutional denial of the political nature of public decision-making. (Della Porta, 2014b)

This was especially true of young European citizens, who, at the time, were particularly economically vulnerable – though it is their biographical availability (i.e. the time that they could commit to such struggles) that made them the obvious candidates for political engagement. In terms of the story of engagement in British welfare politics, the parallels in activity are similar: young, educated and under-employed citizens where overwhelmingly represented (Worth, 2013). There is a large body of evidence to suggest that younger people are at a greater disadvantage in the post-crisis climate (Mason, 2013), though it should be made clear that this demographic does not represent the only subjects of recent political engagement and mobilisations. Indeed, activism has seen resurgence among older, middle class citizens that have previously enjoyed greater economic independence and stability. Lapavistas and Politaki (2014) explain that, nonetheless, the precarious nature of economic life for younger citizens has contributed to a crisis in confidence.

The double whammy [interruption of education and unemployment] appears to have sapped the rebellious energy of the young, forcing them to seek greater financial help from parents for housing and daily life. This trend lies at the root of the current paradox of youth in Europe. There is little extreme poverty, and the young are relatively protected and well trained, but their labour is not valued, their dreams of education are denied and their independence is restricted. As a consequence, frustration has grown. Yet, it cannot find an outlet in mainstream parties, including the left, which strikes many young people as far too timid. Even in Greece, where the official opposition of Syriza – the party of the left – is preparing for government, young people are looking askance at a party that seems unwilling to take radical action. (Lapavistas and Politaki, 2014)

This speaks to the narrative thus far in this chapter: of insurmountable political challenges – particularly those in the liberal democratic capitalist state – and the fact that there are few movements that are able to adequately capture the discontent amongst the working class of the UK, Europe and beyond. There are, of course, many parallels here with the work of Piven and Cloward (1977), in terms of the successes and failures of coordinated working class organisation. What this moment in popular struggle illustrates is that there are also very few political parties that will rise to the challenge of representing the interests of the socially, economically and politically disenfranchised.

2.2.4. A crisis of organisation on the left

During the economic crisis, the trade union movement in Britain (and across Europe) encountered difficulties in terms of presenting and sustaining a strategy that could

resist the austerity agenda, and, more broadly, mobilise effectively to protect the interests of the working class. More generally, the use of a class analysis was broadly lacking in movements that sought to challenge government policy – particularly in the UK (Cooper and Hardy, 2012). Many of the features of the current political narrative that defines austerity has a relationship with class-based injustice, but, as Cooper and Hardy state, “the language of class resistance [has not been] as prominent as would have been expected in earlier decades” (Cooper and Hardy, 2012: 31).

The March for the Alternative demonstration led by the TUC in spring 2011 had an overt-class dynamic – it was joined by huge contingents of low paid public sector workers being hurt by austerity – but its “pitch”, its dominant narrative from the top echelons of the platform, speakers recalled the great marches for democratic rights and social justice in the 20th century rather than the language of working class resistance. (Cooper and Hardy, 2012: 31)

Thus, there are clear indicators that the nature of resistance has changed in the absence of a focus on the impact on the working class. This is combined with a crisis of confidence in trade unionism, which has left their power significantly diminished, and, as a result, has reduced their ability to organise. In particular, the inability of the trade union movement to be innovative, or to reform, has resulted in stagnation – in terms of the kinds of responses to austerity politics and welfare spending cuts. In the UK, particularly, there are many challenges facing left-wing politics and political movements.

Academics and commentators have been quick to outline some of the issues that have been instrumental in the malaise of an organised labour movement. For example,

Gindin (2013) has illustrated some of the reasons for such a decline in worker organisation:

In criticising the labour movement for its failure to change, it is vital to understand this as being as much a failure of the left itself; the crisis of labour and that of the left go hand in hand. There's a strong case to be made that we will not see a renewal of the labour movement unless there's also simultaneously a renewal of the left. It seems clear enough that in spite of some positive developments, the leadership of the trade union movement has neither the inclination nor capacity to radically transform their organisations while the membership is too fragmented and too overwhelmed to sustain anything but the occasional sporadic rebellion. (Gindin, 2013)

The reasons for this stagnation are manifold. In many of the contemporary social movements that came to ascendancy in the post-crisis period, there was a deep sense that the old hierarchies – some of which punctuate the trade union movement – were restricting the capacity for spontaneously organising around a particular grievance (Gindin, 2013; Srnicek and Williams, 2015). The prevailing conditions were such that people felt compelled to self-organise in order to draw attention to the iniquitous nature of government policy adjustments – most of which favoured further leniency on the capitalist class. The sense that there are no longer organised movements that focus solely on issues that directly affect the working class is palpable. Trade unions and the labour movement are not the only responsible parties in the decline of organised political struggle. Political parties that commonly represented the interests of the working class have deserted their core electorate – as is evidenced by the Labour Party in the UK since Blair's 'Third Way'. The conditions for a crisis on the left are evident, therefore, as the traditionally representative organisations lose members and

the confidence of the electorate. In this period of terminal decline on the left, the alternative modes of organisation, and radical politics, of social movements become more attractive to the disenfranchised.

2.3. Which social movements (and why?)

The post-crisis social movements that will be examined in this thesis include Occupy London, and UK Uncut. Their positioning, as non-institutionalised, new social movements, is crucial as they exist in contrast to the structured milieu of civil society organisations and political parties, which are more institutionally embedded. The first of our examples looks at the case of the Occupy movement in London, which, at its peak, was active between October 2011 and June 2012. Occupy as a movement focussed on issues pertaining – but not limited to – widening inequality, financial excess and the penalisation of the most vulnerable under government austerity. It also raised issues pertaining to tax justice, which fall under the category of state control over income from corporations and so on. The movement in London itself began with an occupation of the site outside of St. Paul's Cathedral (see: figure 1).

Occupy London is an interesting case, and especially relevant to this study, as it provided a national focus for international and global issues of excesses and deregulation in the financial sector. Within the UK, these matters of concern translated as actions on austerity, which linked directly to the direction of government policy. Indeed, the springboard for the actions that occurred at the end of 2011 in London (and the UK more broadly) were informed by a politics of anti-austerity, and against

the incoming agenda of reductions in public spending by the coalition government. However,

Occupy London did not appear in a vacuum. The recent experiences of the Spanish indignados, the prior Arab Spring and of course the inception of Occupy itself in New York no doubt had important, although different, impacts in London. Moreover, the financial crisis and subsequent austerity measures in the UK were probably significant in mobilising people. Yet the paths that led Occupiers to get involved in London are multiple and diverse, as are their political ideas and opinions. (Halvorsen, 2012: 2)



Figure 1: First assembly of Occupy London outside St. Paul's Cathedral, London (15.10.2011) [photograph taken by author]

In addition, there is a wider body of literature on the international impact of Occupy and how it sought to challenge the issues of excess in the financial industries and accompanying levels of inequality (Langman, 2013; Tejerina *et al.*, 2013).

Cuts and austerity were also important for the development of our second organisation: UK Uncut (Srnicek and Williams, 2015). It came to prominence after the election of the 2010 coalition government in the UK between the Conservative Party and Liberal Democrats. Although the financial crisis played a role in its formation, the primary objectives of challenging tax avoidance and championing an anti-austerity narrative were symptomatic of the changes – or lack thereof, in terms of the economic system – after the 2010 election in the UK.



Figure 2: UK Uncut demonstration on anti-austerity march in London (26.03.2011)

[photograph taken by author]

Methods of direct action are emblematic of the strategies employed by UK Uncut (see: figure 2), and large multinational corporates complicit in tax avoidance are often the target. The primary objectives of raising awareness around tax justice, particularly where there are correlations with reduced spending in public services, strongly indicates that the movement is interested in articulating an alternative and progressive, post-crisis narrative.

Recent studies have confirmed the significance of UK Uncut in particular as a movement with radical organisational capacity, and equally radical demands in regard to social policy (Bailey *et al.*, 2016). Establishing a movement on the basis on tax justice was arguably important for several reasons. It was primarily valuable in drawing attention to the economic disparities that had arisen after the crisis, for instance, the hegemony of financial institutions amidst the expendable nature of public services. In terms of social policy, it was extremely valuable in providing a theoretical link between the everyday lived experiences of people at the sharp end of austerity, and the unchallengeable primacy of those operating and benefitting in the financial sector. In a broader sense, it also served to reinforce the emotional sense of unfairness and disorder. Benski and Langman argue:

While each of these movements is somewhat unique, each shaped by local cultures, traditions, values, and organizations, they share some common characteristics: namely the adverse impacts of neoliberalism with its growing inequality, growing unemployment, privatisation of resources and services, etc., that elicit powerful emotional reactions such as anger, fear, anxiety, and humiliation. (Benski and Langman, 2013: 526)

The assertions made by Benski and Langman (2013) are as true of Occupy London as they are of UK Uncut. In this sense, the foci for organisation and action on a grievance are mutually reinforcing, and, indeed, served to shape much of the protest activity and direct action in the UK between 2010 and 2012.

In terms of explaining some of the core differences between the two movements, we can look at both how they were politically positioned (in terms of their root grievances) and their methods or organisation. The focus on disorganised movements is, of course, key, but the fact that Occupy tended towards anarchistic forms of organisation is perhaps one the most significant points of divergence. Ultimately, this type of organisation was the pretext for its undoing: “Occupy... foundered against a contradiction at its core. The individualism of its democratic, anarchist, and horizontalist ideological currents undermined the collective power the movement was building” (Dean, 2016: 16). UK Uncut, on the other hand, “represented an attempt to combine relatively conventional demands for the improvement of tax collection with radically disruptive, open and fluid forms of protest mobilisation” (Bailey *et al.*, 2016: 12). The types of organisation utilised by UK Uncut relied on considered and pre-empted actions. For example, their targets would, largely, be high street corporate chains, such as Boots (the pharmacy) and Vodafone (a mobile telephone provider). The elements of direct action of UK Uncut expressly sought to challenge the tax avoiding practices of such corporate giants. The differences between these movements are important to highlight, since the radical narratives that they espouse are the focus of this research. The extent to which they can organise and influence wider discourses – related to social policy – helps to explain their significance in the post-crisis landscape of austerity governance.

The context within which these two movements exist is, as discussed, punctuated by civil society organisations and political parties – which are more institutionally embedded. The orthodox behaviour of the British trade union movement – represented in this thesis by the GMB, TUC and Unite Union – stands in stark contrast to Occupy London and UK Uncut, both in terms of agenda-setting and the possibility of mobilisation. Bailey *et al.* (2016) describe this contrast fittingly: “think, for instance, of the combination of the conventional TUC march in London in March 2011, alongside a black bloc protest attacking the London Ritz and the UK Uncut occupation of Fortnum and Mason – each apparently working towards the same aim, but with little in common and little interaction between each other” (Bailey *et al.*, 2016: 9). The implications of this are vital to understanding the crux of this investigation: differences between institutional and non-institutional engagement, in the post-crisis era, demonstrate how (dis)organised groups differently affect the direction of travel in contemporary social and political dialogue. It is through their differing behaviour – in practice and action – that we can better understand how present-day struggles both succeed and fail in shifting opinion, and, ultimately, institutional thinking on the British welfare state.

2.4. *Radical politics and economic challenges: the rise of Occupy*

Global capitalism has, thus far, shown it is resistant and resilient in times of crisis, and is particularly adaptable in terms of reinventing itself (see: Davies, 2014; Harvey, 2005). In recent times, a number of social movements across Britain – and Europe

more widely – have been creating the space for discussion on issues of redistribution, regulation and social justice, influencing social and political discourses (see: Bailey, 2017). During and after the crisis, such movements in the UK, Europe and elsewhere, sought to challenge the existing structures that facilitated and maintained the flow of global capital, and its resultant inequalities. These challenges, however, have largely failed to disrupt or change such existing structures. What has occurred, in absence of such a challenge, is that the issues raised by critical voices have either been drowned out, or, have been repackaged.

In terms of economic challenges, the contemporary period of political and economic change has seen a renaissance in ideas that dominated early neoliberal political thought (Mirowski, 2013). ‘Public is bad, and private is good’ is one such idea that has seen a resurgence in government policy across states in northern Europe and the United States. Typically, this narrative punctuates a wider political project of introducing measures that drastically reduce state involvement in public life. The continued involvement and up scaling of the private sector is seen as necessary to stimulate economic growth. Worth (2013) further elucidates this point:

During a crisis it is the public sector, which is seen as expendable. As the private sector is the priority in terms of revival, then its restimulation is the key to economic recovery. The narrative here is that the private sector requires less regulation of business practices in order to give enterprises a ‘chance to survive’ and stimulate competition. In addition, it is the private sector, which serves as both the wealth creator and the source of job creation. Therefore, any attempt to regulate the practices of such ventures should be avoided. (Worth, 2013: 120)

The public sector is thus the site of the greatest political contention in an era of austerity. As a result of the sweeping changes to government spending, social movements and civil society finds itself in a position of defending public institutions. The defence of public institutions, and challenge to these narratives, have left political movements with a crisis of confidence. In this space, the Occupy movement – to take one example – becomes relevant to the discussion.

The protests of the Occupy movement galvanised public support from a range of sectors, moving beyond the traditional protest dynamics that involved those from working class backgrounds. As a reflection of the extent of the problems that ensued resulting from the financial crisis of 2007/2008, Occupy captured a latent disaffection in the public consciousness: a sense that people had become entirely powerless. The financial and corporate excesses that led to the collapse were the ideal catalyst for a social movement. Indeed, the cumulative effect of years of steadily increasing social and economic inequalities – added to the uncertainty and instability of advanced capitalist societies – necessitated a tough response from civil society. Occupy is, in every sense, a postmodern movement (see: Brown, 2011; Sitrin, 2012). The focus on identity and culture reflects the changing direction, and tactics, of protest groups. Attracting people from entirely disparate backgrounds is, furthermore, recognition that society is no longer homogenous. Politicising and radicalising previously apolitical citizens in multiple locations is regarded as one of the strengths of the Occupy movement – ‘we are the 99%’ being the predominant message (see: Graeber, 2013; Van Gelder, 2011). People from many different backgrounds joined in unity to oppose political structures, which, seen from the perspective of the Occupy movement, privileged an elite group of individuals and corporations. As Brown argues:

What makes this era unique is the unprecedented mutual identification among working middle class families carrying under-water mortgages, unemployed youth carrying under-water college loan debt, laid-off factory workers facing contracting unemployment benefits, public workers forced to shoulder ever growing contributions to their own “benefits” or losing long-promised pensions, and skilled and unskilled workers – from pre-school teachers to airline pilots – whose salaries for full-time work cannot lift their families above poverty level. (Brown, 2011)

The populism of Occupy (see: Gerbaudo, 2017; Laclau, 2005) resonated clearly and profoundly with people from a range of backgrounds: from those that were facing loses, to those that had lost everything. In the wake of a crisis that resulted in the gap between the richest and the poorest widening.

As the Occupy movement began to permeate academic discourses, those involved in global, European and international social policy paid close attention to the role of social movements, and their influence on public and academic debates. Their actions and perspectives on issues of inequality and economic justice provide a beneficial insight into how new models of democratic participation, societal organisation and resource distribution might be operationalized. Martin (2001) discusses the role of social movements in social policy: social movements, broadly, “are concerned with resource allocation, but also pose important questions about how resources are to be distributed fairly to a diverse set of groups” (2001: 372). Social movements, such as Occupy, seek to question material distribution and structural inequality – debates that have become more frequent as a result of the crisis.

The role of anti-capitalist networks has been researched extensively for their opposition to certain aspects of economic globalisation. In thinking about the role of these movements, Smith (2008) argues that the issues presented by neoliberal economic structures have influenced the actions of social movements: “[b]ecause it seeks a world where all people and places are incorporated into a single globalized economy, neoliberalism threatens many, generating opposition everywhere it goes” (Smith, 2008: 65). The problems that came to dominate global politics were reflected by the increase in social movements that opposed the totality of a polarising economic system. By the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, it was abundantly clear that “neoliberal strategies were being accompanied by increasing problems... as the rich [became] richer and the poor [became] poorer” (Mayo, 2005: 20). Using inequality as a point of contention, social movements directed their complaints at multilateral economic institutions – such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In contesting the hierarchical and totalising effects of global political and financial governance, a new form of multilateralism started to appear which focused more on reconstituting civil society with political authority. Notably, during the 1990s, groups from civil society formed political alliances to put pressure on the IMF to alter its policies on a variety of issues ranging from gender equity to the protection of workers. Whilst some of these concessions by the IMF were seen to be conciliatory in tone and without substance, there have been some notable successes of social movements and other political alliances.

Inputs from trade unions, NGOs, development studies institutes and other critics have encouraged the Fund to reconsider its general approach to conditionality in certain respects. Most prominently, IMF-financed programmes

have since the mid-1990s given greater attention to the so-called 'social dimension' of structural adjustment. (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000: 178)

Resisting the tide of neoliberal economics has been a common feature of some social movements during the period of rapid globalisation, which marked the era of strong market forces. In Europe, the green movement voiced strong opposition to the adverse effects of economic globalisation during the 1980s with regards to environmental concerns. In terms of gaining support, the political alliances created during this period were instrumental in criticising the role of market forces in neglecting environmental issues and favouring profits. Falk (2005) argues that "its political success was less its ability to mobilise large numbers... but the extent to which its challenge influenced the whole centre of the political spectrum to put the environmental challenge high on its policy agenda" (Falk, 2005: 128).

The social movements of the contemporary period can be seen in part as a continuation of some of the ideas that were espoused by the anti-globalisation and the green movements of the 1980s and 1990s. Whilst the tactics used in these movements have been different to those demonstrated by the Occupy movement, these protests are useful in illustrating how social movements can mobilise and begin to articulate positions on issues of social policy. However, the success of contemporary social movements in influencing the policy agenda is challenged by the ubiquity of the narrative that there is no alternative to the neoliberal status quo, which bleeds in everyday social, political and economic life. This aspect, described by Fisher (2009) as 'capitalist realism' is explored in more detail in the section below.

2.5. Capitalist realism and critique

Many of the social movements in Britain – and across Europe – that exploded after the crisis vowed to challenge, broadly, the inequalities that had resulted from unfettered markets and an unregulated financial sector. To an extent, this occurred, with consciousness-raising debates on inequality – i.e. the 99% and the 1% via the Occupy movement – filling the public domain. Political activists in such movements attempted to bring such discussions to the attention of the public through a number of media, but most commonly via social networks on the Internet. In practice, where demonstrations and public meetings were held, the progress of such debates was invariably met with hostility, either in terms of state repression or media blackouts (see: Van Gelder, 2011). Offers of analysis as to why such discussions should be shut down are varied, but one common theme that emerges is that governments – in Europe and the US – are keen to promote the idea that there are no alternatives to austerity politics. The continuation of capitalist society by any means is a feature of what is commonly referred to as ‘capitalist realism’. According to some academics and commentators, the inventiveness of capitalism has rendered efforts to challenge its ubiquitous structures ultimately futile. The possibility of overcoming (or even imagining overcoming) the challenges of capitalism is one that cannot be reasonably described. Fisher (2009) covers this in *Capitalist Realism*:

...We are inevitably reminded of the phrase attributed to Fredric Jameson and Slavoj Žižek, that it is easier to imagine the end of the world than it is to imagine the end of capitalism. That slogan captures precisely what I mean by ‘capitalist realism’: the widespread sense that not only is capitalism the only viable

political and economic system, but also that it is now impossible even to imagine a coherent alternative to it. (Fisher, 2009: 2)

This analysis captures more broadly a sense that, despite all the challenges from social and political movements, the fundamental structure of capitalism remains dominant. This is, perhaps, one of the fundamental issues for social movements to contend with and address directly. The notion that solutions cannot be found and the links between government and capital cannot be overcome is a common thread in recent work on how the crisis has unfolded. A wider issue connected with Fisher's thesis, is the idea that neoliberalism as project – or negative capitalism, as Taylor (2013) puts it – is something that permeates through all social life, “abstracting social relations into financial ones” (Taylor, 2013: 49). This is what can be explained as the financialisation of culture and social life, and the subordination of all such relations under neoliberalism:

The privatisation of public utilities, welfare and social housing, nature, informational and intellectual property rights – affecting all aspects of social life and mounting to a mass dispossession as economies became transformed towards the pure production of financial wealth. (Taylor, 2013: 50)

What we arrive at, according to this thesis, is a reality whereby financial capitalism has a totalising effect on everyday life. This has specific ramifications for movements in civil society that seek to challenge the established economic order and imagine alternatives. This analysis of social and political life under capitalism suggests that any popular struggle will encounter some form of hindrance in attempting any meaningful critique of capitalism. Whilst this does not seem immediately problematic for social movements in the short term, it does raise longer term questions as to how popular struggles cope with the continuation of widespread inequalities – which, as most

analyses have shown, come to characterise any economic crisis. In particular, it raises questions as to how far and deep inequalities have to reach before there are significant political and policy changes.

Analysing the role of capitalist realism also requires us to consider the influence of neoliberalism. Some recent accounts of the economic crisis – particularly Mirowski (2013) – present the idea of a type of pragmatism at work in neoliberal political doctrine. The only viable option that could be considered in the wake of the crisis is the reinvention of an idea that has already dominated and organised all social and economic life. Neoliberalism is a doctrine with clear political objectives, and one that is able to reinvent itself if the conditions are such that the markets demand its continued prevalence.

“The most likely reason the doctrine that precipitated the crisis has evaded responsibility and the renunciation indefinitely postponed is that neoliberalism as worldview has sunk its roots deep into everyday life, almost to the point of passing as the “ideology of no ideology.” (Mirowski, 2013: 56)

Understood from this perspective, the resistance of neoliberalism can be linked to the idea, as with capitalist realism, that there are no alternatives. The problem then becomes one of any attempt at advancing meaningful criticism that can undermine the present economic conditions. The lack of a recognisable criticism of capitalism, in its current form, goes some way to explaining why the efforts of radical, critical politics have not been able to overcome the adaptive nature of its structure.

There is currently little evidence to suggest that social movements have been effective in challenging the current economic system. The majority of political mobilisations, at

least those that sought to deal with the fallout of the financial crisis, have rested, largely, on short-termism. Critical voices, however, are present in discussions on economic alternatives, and there are undercurrents of objection to the incumbent political structures that uphold particular narratives – i.e. those that support the politics of austerity. The question as to how this can be enacted on, though, remains, as Blokker (2014) – in a paper discussing critiques of capitalism and alternative futures in Europe – notes: “[d]espite a ubiquitous civic voice, an important question remains, however, in particular in the face of a lack of responsiveness by governments and the European Union to demands by society. That is, to what extent does contemporary social protest and critique indicate a revival of critical capacity and consequential forms of critique...?” (Blokker, 2014: 2). Realising that critique is important in discussing alternative futures is thus an important consideration when assessing the potential impacts of political mobilisations by social movements.

The analysis here is concerned with interrogating the critical responses of individual and collective mobilisations, and what form they have taken, whether through institutional or non-institutional means. As discussed above, the combination of a lack of any meaningful critique of capitalism, combined with an absence of a broader critical response to the crisis, has led to a stagnation of ideas as to how civil society and social movements can respond to, and overcome, the challenges of financial capitalism system in its current form. Some critiques have been considered within the current parameters of institutional politics:

The new political context compels us to rethink many of the strategies for the democratic development of EU institutions and emphasizes the need to elaborate a strategy of multi-level struggle if we wish to have influence at an

institutional level that has proven increasingly impervious to forms of pressure attempted in the past. (Della Porta, 2014)

Whilst there is some merit in Della Porta's notion of developing democratic institutions, there are many other valuable criticisms that advance a non-institutional reconceptualization of political engagement, and of political organisation. In line with a critical perspective on the structural issues that arise from a capitalist economy, opponents seek to demonstrate that effective mobilisation can occur outside of the current parameters of democratic politics. To take just one example of this: social movements – such as Occupy – have sought to construct a critique outside of the aforementioned limitations of institutional politics. In many respects, this represents a shift from the prescriptive formulations and politics that are often found in political parties on the left, and trade union movements. In response to the lack of such a critique, social movements have been well positioned to, at the very least, engage with the challenges presented by the resurgence of a neoliberal policy agenda. The multiple examples of non-institutional resistance – as demonstrated by social movements – to austerity politics displays the most coherent response to the current political and economic crisis.

2.6. *The politics of austerity and resistance to austerity politics*

The political and economic project of austerity has been strenuously contested as more than just an effort by governments to re-balance public income and expenditure. Commentary on austerity politics has stretched from analysing the effects on the

democratic process to understanding the full range of socio-economic implications that are coupled with state retrenchment. Austerity, as a project, has been widely critiqued as an ideological attempt to strip away some of the protections that citizens have under a system of full or partial social security. In part, it is seen as an extension of a neoliberal political economy, which enforces a strong market presence in opposition to ideas of public ownership and state interventionism. In response to austerity politics, social movements, to a great extent, have been mobilising on a large scale, and as a result, have organised accordingly to lobby and place pressure on governments – via institutional and non-institutional means. In order to understand the context for these mobilisations, it is important to set a context for the sudden re-emergence of austerity politics, and how the framing of resistance has changed in response.

In the wake of the financial crisis, debates on the introduction, application and impacts of austerity have dominated social and political discourses. There is little doubt that austerity is a contentious idea, with very specific implications for the state and for citizens. Some commentators have sought to highlight the socio-political ramifications, whilst others – such as Worth (2013) – have considered the ideological implications. “Austerity is deemed as both necessary and a way of redirecting the cause of the crisis so that reckless fiscal spending is seen as the root cause... The necessity of austerity is backed by the belief that too much state spending has preceded it” (Worth, 2013: 116, 117). Governments were quick to identify spending as the main issue, and, backed by analysis of large financial institutions, austerity became the only logical response to a crisis that had begun in the financial sector. Austerity is more than an attempt to manage government debt, as many commentators have sought to argue. It has been argued that the ideas behind austerity are linked to, and, to an extent, an

extension of, the broader political and economic aims of neoliberalism. Blyth (2014) argues in *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea* that it has as much to do with democratic transformation as it does with the implementation of certain economic policies.

Democracy is... not an end in itself, since it is little more than an inflation-causing pathology from which only rules, not discretion, can save us. Replacing a government or two in the Eurozone is simply, then, what needs to be done. The question of the legitimacy of such policies or of how the presumed preference for low inflation over all other goals becomes the preference of all society, especially when those enforcing that preference as policy don't want to ask the voters, remains conspicuous by its absence. (Byth, 2014: 370)

Decisions on the implementation of austerity are thus made in a manner that precludes the possibility of meaningful discussion or consultation. The implications of this notion are that the potential mobilisations of citizens, and of social movements, are not simply a response to the economic conditions imposed by austerity - which accelerate certain inequalities – but that they are also a comment on, and a reaction to, a fundamental change in the relationship between the citizen and the state. This is the essence of what is termed as the politics of austerity: a hegemonic socio-political upheaval that protects the interests of capital whilst ostensibly ignoring democratic processes, or at the very least rendering them tokenistic. This vacuum of political engagement therefore leaves space for social movements to organise and mobilise on issues created by the politics of austerity.

The resistance of ideas based upon neoliberal ideology have proven to be the most problematic in terms of activist groups seeking alternatives. The economic crisis

provided an opportunity for actors and organisations in civil society to present narratives with regards to the direction of social and political arrangements. Instead, these narratives have largely been ignored, or failed to capture the imagination of the public. This issue is addressed in Owen Worth's (2013) work on the numerous resistance groups that appeared during and after the crisis.

The crisis should have allowed them to intensify their challenge to the common sense that neoliberalism relies upon. What has happened instead is that the weaknesses inherent within these challenges have been such that neoliberalism has sought to reinvent itself. By seeking to cut debt through reducing fiscal targets, states and governments, encouraged by business elites, are hoping that the market will re-stimulate growth. (Worth, 2013: 113)

The challenge to neoliberalism, then, has largely been stunted by the efforts of governments – particularly the US and those in Europe – to reinvent financial capitalism, but also by extending significant bailouts to the global banking sector. The austerity agenda, by extension, is deemed as necessary in order to re-balance the financial sector, and stabilise national, international and global economic structures – it is part of the cycle of such systems. Amid this perpetual cycle of crisis and reform, social movements have taken on the established ideas of western economic theory and sought to carve out a new narrative, based on a different set of tenets.

Historically, labour movements have relied mostly on the power of trade unions to organise and protest. With the advent of economic globalisation, the power of the trade union has diminished due to the ferocity and speed of growth as seen in the global market economy (see: Fanelli and Brogan, 2014). New forms of collective action, therefore, have had to replace the traditional structures that underpinned protests

against economic globalisation. The role of social movements in challenging state operations, and the economic conditions imposed by neoliberalism has become exceptionally pivotal in some cases. Social policy issues have been impacted upon significantly as a result of the current wave of protests that have precipitated in vast swathes of society becoming involved in direct action. As Faulks notes, “the activities of social movements have thrown considerable light upon the problematic relationship between the state and civil society” (Faulks, 2000: 102). Not only have social movements thrown light upon this relationship, but they have also highlighted the negative and unequal role of corporate and financial institutions in state processes. The implications for the development of social policy are innumerable since the relationship between the market and the state has to change in order to eliminate some of the most pervasive inequalities in society. Power, undeniably, is instrumental in understanding how democratic processes have been weakened.

Social movements have considerably improved our understanding of the multi-faceted operation of power. In this regard, they have highlighted the importance of discourses of power and the way in which specialist systems of language can be used by agents of the state in ways that contribute to very real inequalities... (Faulks, 2000: 102)

This is true, also, of the way in which financial institutions have a profoundly undemocratic effect on society: “[i]nternational economic forces... have eroded the domestic economic (and political) basis and conditions that have historically underpinned the welfare state” (Yeates, 1999: 378).

Combined with the most corrosive aspects of neoliberal globalisation, it is clear that the assault on the citizen has never been so patent. The resistance of social

movements is crucial in understanding how networks of citizens have responded to, and are protesting against, the combined effects of a reduction in welfare, and the loss of employment and earnings. The responses of these movements in Britain, and in Europe, are, in many ways, the reactions of citizens that have been disenfranchised by undemocratic state structures, and hegemonic financial institutions. It is clear, therefore, that policy analysts need to respond to the issues raised by these social movements. These forces may be, as Yeates argues, “as instrumental in shaping the political management of globalisation as the formal social policies and discourses of international institutions” (Yeates, 1999: 389). In researching the role of these social movements, there is an imperative to analyse and interpret their demands as serious policy objectives.

2.7. *From trade unions to social movements*

In terms of understanding the shift from trade unions to social movements, especially in the post-crisis period, we need to examine some of the historical perspectives that explain the conditions for such a shift from formalised engagement to informal and flexible arrangements. In particular, this section is interested in questioning: why these movements have become important; whom they are trying to represent; and, are these movements a response to the entrenchment of neoliberalism? In addition, this section is also interested in the context for the ascendancy of social movements, such as the Occupy movement. The nature of direct and protest action, in terms of representation in working class politics, has effectively shifted away from the centrality of the labour movement towards unaligned movements, which have taken on many of the grievances.

There are a few questions that need to be answered when thinking about the contemporary role of the trade union movement. In terms of understanding the context for the rise of social movements, we might ask what issues are facing trade union movements. For almost a decade, trade unions have seen declining membership, which, couple with a diminished ability to strike, has resulted in the decreasing relevance of organised labour – at least in regards to the bureaucratic, top-down sense of working class organisation. We also seek to understand how, in light of this change, popular struggles will be less formal in organisation and more spontaneous in action. Whilst some movements might not seek complete transformation or overhaul, it is undeniable, to a lesser or greater extent, that social movements wield an amount of power. In many respects the informal, non-institutional political mobilisations of the post-crisis period have already contributed to a change in the relationship between the state and its citizens.

2.7.1. Explaining institutionalised and non-institutionalised engagement

The contemporary period has seen a shift in the routes for political engagement, especially when we consider the organisation and representation of the working class. This is most true of the conditions present in the UK, and under the British welfare state. The shift has resulted in two very different modes of engagement: (1) the traditional institutionalised methods, as operationalized through political parties and trade union movement (organised labour), for example; and, (2) non-institutionalised methods, which are characterised by unaligned, informal groupings of people, often

non-hierarchical in structure, that mobilise in protest. The literature on non-institutionalised engagement with challenges to the post-crisis consensus – or what is sometimes termed as extra-parliamentary politics – has been weak (Bailey, 2014). As has been discussed, there has been a steady decline in the active participation of citizens in the trade union movement, and in political parties. The shift in engagement from formalised and institutional politics to non-institutional group action, whilst not historically unique, does suggest a change in how citizens choose to engage with political demands – and especially those that have characterised austerity. Though both forms of political mobilisation have relevance independent of each other, it is the relationship between the two methods of engagement with which the following discussion takes interest.

As has been illustrated, the decline of mass industrial organisation has had an impact on the situation of working class politics. The trends of declining trade union membership across Europe and North America demonstrate a shift away from the hierarchical organisation of the trade union towards non-institutional engagement. In the UK, the power of the trade union has diminished since the peak of political organisation in the 1970s, where an industrial economy necessitated the organisation of labour. The institutional arrangements of the trade unions were synonymous with working class power. In the 1980s, the relationship between the unions, the state and citizens changed dramatically, and the labour movement generally became less organised, and less powerful, as successive governments sought to reduce the power of the strike. In addition, “continuing changes in the structure of labour markets and employment itself have... contributed to the fragmentation of unionised labour and generated growing divisions between unionised and non-unionised workers”

(Richards, 2001: 25). Coupled with the ascent of the post-industrial economy (i.e. one that is focused on services rather than manufacturing), the established power of the trade union movement has found itself to be increasingly irrelevant. The criticisms of the labour movement are not limited to organisation but extend to understanding how a working class movement can be restored. Fanelli and Brogan (2014) explain how the political visions of the trade union movement need to adapt in order to, once again, become relevant.

A revived emphasis on working class politics must seek to transcend what are often insulated labour and activist subcultures. Considering the weak state of anti-capitalist/progressive forces and organized labour in North America and Europe and their inability to translate support for their political positions into broader political influence, new political organizations and sustained mobilizations that challenge the rule of capital are gravely needed. If unions are to reappear as a movement and not simply hang on as a relic of the past, they will need to move beyond the limited defence of their own members' interests and fight for the interests of the working class as a whole. (Fanelli and Brogan, 2014: 116)

Taking the point of working class interests, there is a vacuum of radical trade union organisation. In the conspicuous absence of such forms of organisation, it is possible to chart a steady rise in non-institutional political mobilisations. These are, as discussed, often non-hierarchical, involving unaligned activists, and spontaneous in organisation. As such, there are many contemporary examples of social movements that have been directly involved in struggles that, previously, would have involved the active participation of trade unions, political parties with working class sympathies, and organised labour.

The following turns to describe how non-institutional mobilisations, particularly those as a reaction to austerity, came to be prevalent in recent years. The present conditions demonstrate that the political organisation of citizens has shifted away from the focus of hierarchy and formal structure. Post-crisis social movements – those that arose after the impacts of the 2007/2008 economic crisis – have provided the focus for demonstrations on issues ranging from education, to housing, and to financial regulation. The character and nature of these protests has been well documented in recent years, as researchers and academics alike begin to take a greater interest in the activities of social movements. Of particular interest is the changing nature of political engagements of citizens in relation to the state. Some analysis is particularly favourable of the potential impacts that social movements can have, as is illustratively put by Faulks (2000), who notes that: “It is through the actions of social movements... that the relationship between the state and civil society is often transformed” (Faulks, 2000: 87). This relationship only describes, however, what social movements might achieve, given a particular set of circumstances. Indeed, it can be argued that in favourable circumstances, social movements are able to manoeuvre in to a position whereby their complaints are, at the very least, considered or addressed.

In less favourable circumstances (i.e. when the state acts to repress the actions of social movements), their mobilisations are less effective: “the right to demonstrate and protest – the most basic of fundamental freedoms – has been severely constrained amidst hardening disciplinary and repressive state apparatuses” (Fanelli and Brogan, 2014: 113). It is the repression of dissent – particularly in the era of austerity – that has precipitated the use of diverse and more direct tactics. The manifestations of such political mobilisations have been seen primarily across continental Europe: in France,

Spain, Greece, and the UK. The increasing frequency and militancy of such mobilisations – in response to government pursuit of austerity policies – is a reaction to the hardening of state responses.

Non-institutional engagement has, as discussed, seen resurgence since the dual impact of the financial crisis, and the introduction of austerity. Anti-austerity protest activity has, arguably, been most active across states in Europe. The examples of the 15M movement in Spain, the ‘Greek indignados’ and the global Occupy movement, illustrate the increase in activity for non-aligned and non-institutional activism as a response to political and economic crisis. What is clear about the latest wave of protest movements is that they are rooted in a desire not only to challenge the current conditions, but also to reimagine and radically overhaul the institutions of political and economic governance that have led to the current crisis. It is also clear that they are a response to the changes in the apparatus of the welfare state. As the full extent of government complicity with the financial sector has become clear, non-institutional engagements have, increasingly, concerned themselves with the democratisation of economic relations, as well as arguing against inequalities.

[The] various occupy social movements, with their protests, demonstrations, and occupations of public space should be seen as diverse instantiations of an international cycle of contention fighting against social and economic inequality. Their primary goals, if not visions, include a transformation of the economic system to provide greater opportunities, greater equality, and greater personal fulfilment. Moreover, these movements also seek to democratise power in more participatory ways that empower the masses bearing the brunt of economic strains. (Tejerina *et al.*, 2013: 381)

Non-institutional methods of engagement, it can be argued, have been central in creating the conditions for the democratisation of power. The anti-austerity movements that mobilised citizens across Europe were, to an extent, important in discussions on the distribution of power – from the state to the citizen. Whilst the use of participatory forms of democracy through protest movements are not unique to the post-crisis era, there is a distinctive nature to the pattern of organisation, and the frequency of mobilisations, which can be attributed changes in political conditions, but also with advances in technology – for example, through the use of social media (see: Fuchs, 2014; Roberts, 2014).

In spite of the contemporary relevance of non-institutional engagements, the increasing frequency of such mobilisations has stirred debate as to whether there are unintended consequences to the rise of anti-austerity protest movements. Kriesi (2014), for instance, argues that: “[p]rofessionalization and institutionalisation are changing the social movement into an instrument of conventional politics and social movement organisations become rather like interest groups” (Kriesi, 2014: 371). From this perspective, the contemporary social movement, rather than becoming an agent of change, is absorbed in to the everyday repertoire of institutional politics. Mobilisations, by this account, become less effective and lose the potential for affecting any meaningful change. Social movements that attain a level of power and significance can transform from non-institutional, direct action organisations, to political parties and institutional groupings. Radical left politics in Europe, such as those manifested in the politics of Syriza in Greece, are illustrative of such coalitions where separate political factions and social movements become alliances in opposition to the politics of austerity. The Greek situation – of failure to counter the

austerity measures of the European 'troika'³ – is emblematic of this challenge for social movement mobilisation when institutional power is obtainable. Another criticism of the recent anti-austerity mobilisations is that, broadly, left wing visions of engagement have suffered from the recurrence of 'folk politics' (see: Srnieck and Williams, 2015): the notion that dated (though nonetheless enduring) forms of direct action have become mythologised, and, therefore have been built in the repertoire of contemporary activism, though lack compatibility with attendant visions of restructuring society radically.

Drawing influence from the earlier social movements, [the] latest cycle of struggles comprises groups that tend to privilege the local and the spontaneous, the horizontal and the anti-state. The apparent plausibility of folk politics rests on the collapse of traditional modes of organisation on the left, of the co-optation of social democratic parties into a choice-less neoliberal hegemony, and the broad sense of disempowerment engendered by the insipidness of contemporary party politics. In a world where the most serious problems we face seem intractably complex, folk politics presents an alluring way to prefigure egalitarian futures in the present. On its own, however, this kind of politics is unable to give rise to long-lasting forces that might supersede, rather than merely resist, global capitalism. (Srnieck and Williams, 2015: pp. 38-39)

³ The European 'troika' refers to a grouping of international governmental organisations, formed by the European Commission (EC), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In this situation, a bailout from the 'troika' to manage Greek government debt (after a referendum in 2015) resulted in the deepening of austerity in Greece.

Accounting for 'folk politics', then, we arrive at a situation where we can begin to understand how and why non-institutional methods of engagement succeed and fail. The tendency to encourage – through a process of historicizing – actions that have a limited capacity in contemporary political mobilisations expose potential weaknesses in the viability of left wing visions. As further chapters will discuss and analyse, the coherency of a broader political project (as advanced through visions of policy and practices, radical or otherwise) remains important to understanding where social movements offer alternative discourses and, if the discussion of such alternatives are offered political (and physical) space.

2.8. Conclusion

The final section of this chapter concludes the literature review (chapters one and two). In this chapter, the discussion has sought to demonstrate that alternative, radical and non-institutional forms of political engagement are becoming increasingly relevant with the on-going economic crisis (in particular in sections 2.4, 2.6 and 2.7). Political mobilisations of this nature are a response to the conditions of combined social and economic antagonisms, and it is to be expected that these movements will increase in number, and in spontaneity (see: Bailey, 2017). As for the contribution of this chapter to the investigation, the literature has shown that there are significant challenges to the modern welfare state (see, in particular, section 2.2.2). There are two key points to be made in terms of the literature surveyed: (1) the economic crisis of 2007/2008 provided fertile ground for the emergence of non-institutional, 'disorganised' groups to emerge and seize the narrative on issues of government austerity; (2) the vacuum left by traditional trade union organisations in Britain, which

rely more on top-down and institutional forms of organising, allowed for non-institutional groups – such as Occupy London and UK Uncut – to provide a rallying point for the majority of anti-austerity activity. In examining the multiple crises that presently affect democratic capitalism, it is clear that there is now a greater role for social movements and non-institutionalised mobilisations (section 2.6 and 2.7 outline the implications of this). Whilst the trade union movement in the UK remains active in campaigning, there are signs that the traditional and institutional forms of engagement are becoming less popular, and less effective. There are many ramifications of these points for this investigation. The clearest implication is that, in terms of class struggle (returning to the points made in chapter one), where we might have expected the emergence of a broad working class movement – as captured by British trade unionism – what we actually observed was a rise in ‘disorganised’ political movements.

In undertaking a sweep of the literature in chapters one and two, we now need to understand how post-crisis social movements (after the economic crisis of 2007/2008) engaged, or did not engage, with social policy issues. That is the core purpose of this research project. It is also important to remain clear on the theoretical frame through which this investigation should be understood: the differences between institutional and non-institutional engagement (addressed in chapter one, but also in chapter two, section 2.7.1). Having considered the contemporary story of welfare state change in the UK, and the direction of social movement activity, the following chapter will set out the methodological elements of this investigation. In particular, it will set how three elements of empirical work will test research questions outlined in the introduction to this thesis. To restate, this investigation is interested in the following research questions:

RQ1. What was the impact of the economic crisis on social movement activity in the UK after 2010?

RQ2. How have post-crisis social movements engaged with social policy and contemporary issues in the British welfare state?

RQ3. How did non-institutional and 'disorganised' social movements discourses converge or diverge with the institutionalised discourses of trade unions, in the aftermath of the crisis?

Chapter three

Methodology

This chapter will critically examine the methodologies employed in order to carry out this research. This project uses a mixed method approach to gain a deep understanding of the issues raised by anti-austerity campaign groups, as well as those in trade union movements and political parties. As opposed to more recent social movement research projects that have focussed on everyday practices, culture, formations and identities, the aim of this research is to understand how social policy positions are advanced or articulated in contemporary, post-crisis social movements, and, if there is any evidence to suggest that they have engaged with contemporary issues in the British welfare state. Issues, then, are the primary focus of this research – in housing policy, financial regulation, taxation, welfare spending, and so on. In order to conduct the research, the mixed method approach (of textual and documentary analysis, and semi-structured interviews) has been adopted in order to yield the widest possible data set. A major component of the research methodology has been to interpret and analyse data sets iteratively. That is to say that, during the data collection process, results have been continually analysed, and, have informed the direction of the research project. As part of reflecting on the experience of the researcher, this chapter will also critically reflect on the notion of the activist-academic bind, and how issues of objectivity and reflexivity have been negotiated during the research process. Further, in a project concerning social movements, it is important to address the fact that such research has embedded complications – such as obtaining access to participants.

3.1. *Researching social movements*

The following will discuss and describe how this project has attempted to research social movements. In a period of changing strategies of resistance, the task of researching such movements has become increasingly difficult, given the fluid nature of activism. The task of investigating social movements has been well-researched in the social sciences, and particularly in fields that examine social networks. There are many questions that arise from this particular area of research, not least the fact that many ethical issues are raised in pursuit of understanding activism (and activists). The chapter draws on the critical approach to investigating social methods as evidenced in the work of Hammersley (1993) and Papadakis (1993).

This chapter takes a roughly chronological account in examining the mixed-methods approach to research design, which has been adopted for this project. In addition, this section will raise questions of access and of ethical approaches to researching activism. Whilst the researcher has not engaged in participant observations or engaged in any activities that might be considered to be illegal, there are clearly issues for activists that have participated in this research, and the actions they have personally taken. This chapter will move to investigate some of the issues associated with conducting research that involves contentious social movements, and, it will also reflect on the activist-academic bind which so often presents its own issues of reflexivity and objectivity in social research.

3.1.1. Mapping the terrain

The current field of research in to social movements (in the UK) has seen a number of developments in critical research methodologies (Halvorsen, 2015). The most prominent of methods used – in terms of reflexivity – have seen researchers embedded in movements to conduct longitudinal studies *with* activists, and, using ethnographic studies to investigate and understand the culture of contemporary social movements. Whilst such studies have merit, this research makes use of a mixed methods approach to interrogate the ideas being espoused by such movements. By mixed methods, I am referring to the textual and documentary analysis (chapter four) and semi-structured interviews (chapter five).

Fieldwork in and of itself can be a drawn-out and messy process, with many factors influencing both speed and direction of the research.⁴ The original methodologies underpinning this project built on previous work (Krippendorff, 2004; Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999) into textual analysis – which aimed to cross-examine policy documents, social movement outputs and information from social networks – as a method of systematically describing written communications, contextualising their significance and relationship with other outputs. In addition, in making attempts not to make any preconceived judgement about certain movements through a particular academic lens, there are some admissions that need to be made in regards to the theoretical assumptions that have been made. Indeed, as will be discussed later in

⁴ Later in the chapter, I will explain in detail some of the practical difficulties that prevented progress with the research at a normal pace. Some of the challenges experienced through the duration of this study can be understood through the lens of feminist methodologies, as will be discussed.

this chapter, there is a body of literature which examines the relationship between researchers and those engaged in social movement activity. Haiven and Khasnabish's (2014) work has been especially important here: "social movement scholars have often misrepresented and domesticated social movements by trying to explain them in the dominant academic paradigm, or in ways that seek to normalise them within the existing landscape of socio-political relations" (Haiven and Khasnabish, 2014: 38). Underpinning the methodological apparatus of this study is a desire to understand social movement activity *without* the constraints of thinking through any one lens. It is, however, broadly acknowledged that even the best efforts to achieve theoretical distance cannot be fully realised in practice.

3.2. *Methods of understanding and interpreting the data*

For a mixed method study (i.e. the combined approach of textual and documentary analysis, and semi-structured interviews), there are a number of considerations to made in the research design. For clarity, the former (textual in chapter four) utilises a semi-automated coding procedure; the latter (documentary analysis, also in chapter four, and semi-structured interviews, in chapter five) are analysed using a manual coding process. This section will look in detail at how using data analysis with certain types of software can be achieved. It will also discuss in detail which types of software were used. During the process of conducting this research, several software packages have been used to analyse data. The following will make reference to these packages and how they have been used in this research. What should become clear is that, throughout this investigation, an iterative approach to data collection has been taken,

such that the primary and secondary research questions have been revisited in order to maintain an open and critical approach.

This study has employed several techniques in data mining and textual analysis (primarily using NVivo and WordStat), using sources from online content produced by social movements, trade union organisations and mainstream political parties – for instance, the Occupy London movement, the TUC (Trade Union Congress) and the Labour Party.⁵ The document collection and analysis involved in the following chapter four involved an extensive data mining exercise, conducted using WordStat. Prior to this, the documents had been recorded and classified in an Excel spreadsheet.⁶ Included in this exercise were documents ranging from blog posts, strategy frameworks, and news briefings.⁷ The information from the spreadsheet was processed with Nvivo qualitative data analysis software package (version 10), in order to interpret and understand the organisation of post-crisis social movements, and linkages between specific groups. The data collection involved gathering information relevant to the discussion of social policy aims and objectives. As it would be impractical to download *every* available document, a process of categorising (as outlined in table 2) was employed to ensure that information gathered was relevant. Documents such as reports and manifestos were used as key source in investigating

⁵ A full list of organisations analysed for this study is outlined later in this chapter.

⁶ Appendix four of this thesis presents a truncated version of the Excel spreadsheet used to collect data for the document analysis chapter. The spreadsheet contains 600 entries with information from several organisations and movements, and, as such, it was not deemed practicable to include a complete version in the appendices.

⁷ Table 2 in this chapter categorises each of the documents that have been analysed for this investigation.

how social movements might articulate their ideas as social policy objectives.⁸ The Nvivo software package was once again used as a primary tool to analyse the information gathered in the second phase of data collection. The final part of data collection involved semi-structured interviews with activists and organisers in social movements and trade union organisations – as presented in chapter five. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the interviews were intended to act as a supplement to the document analysis that had been conducted for chapter four. For the purposes of clarification, and in view of the iterative approach to data collection, it was deemed necessary to indicate to interview participants, some of the preliminary findings of this investigation, and document opinions on these findings from those directly involved in social movement or trade union organising.

3.2.1. Selecting groups and organisations

The first stage of the data collection process aimed to collect information from the websites of social movements and organisations actively involved in anti-austerity policy formation and activism. The following will detail the sampling strategy. The search of keywords using an internet search engine (namely, Google) indicated that there were several such groups (formal and informal) that would to provide the greatest insight in to the condition of post-crisis social and political engagement in the UK (see: table 1). The literature set out in chapters one and two, for example, was

⁸ In chapter four, an example of such a manifesto – from Occupy London – is identified as a key source that engages with social policy issues. Words such as *injustice* and *equality* – which appear in the document – are clearly important to this investigation and unpacking how social movements engage with social policy aims and objectives.

used as a starting point in terms of identifying and understanding such movements (see: Hardy and Cooper, 2013; Srnicek and Williams; 2015; Worth, 2013). The approach to sampling taken initially used a search based on several keywords: social movement; economic crisis; (anti-) austerity; trade union. The keyword search approach, was informed by the body of literature underpinning this research, as has been reviewed in chapters one and two. To achieve maximum efficacy of the method, a chain (or snowball) sampling strategy was then employed to identify the most commonly returned results of groups and organisations. A selection of organisations, movements and political parties were identified (see table below) through this method. It was not deemed practicable to select more than a total sum of 9 groups, since this would have yielded far too many results for further and deeper analysis. It was also important to limit the focus to 9 groups in order to gain a satisfactory understanding of each group without overburdening the research and triggering researcher fatigue (see: Clark, 2008).

TUC (Trade Union Congress)	Unite the Union	Unison (Union)
GMB (General Members Branch)	The Labour Party (UK)	UK Uncut
Occupy London	TUSC (Trade Union and Socialist Coalition)	DPAC (Disabled People Against the Cuts)

Table 1: Groups most commonly returned in results for keywords

The above selection of organisations, as discussed, relate to the frequency of results returned by a keyword search using a search engine. It is critical to note that, as a direct result of the search terms employed in the initial scoping process, the organisations identified above were directly contacted, and consulted, during the progression of this investigation. Whilst it can be argued that this could be seen as rudimentary, it is important to point out that there are limits to the number of organisations that *could be* examined in any comprehensive investigation (as has been described above). In Clark's (2008) paper, a number of legitimate concerns are identified that could trigger research fatigue: cost, time and organisation. For this investigation, the limits on time available to conduct the research will clearly have an impact on the amount of data that *could be* collected. This chapter will later move to discuss some of the difficulties in conducting the research at a normal pace. As has been discussed, the extent of the investigation into the above movements is outlined in appendix four and represents the magnitude of data collection (e.g. 600 entries in an Excel spreadsheet). In briefly outlining the methods employed in this study, the following will go in to greater detail as to the benefits and costs of each technique.

3.2.2. Document analysis and textual analysis

The contemporary discussions and debates in the field of social movement research have aimed to highlight the impact of internet, and how it is changing the way that people research social movements (see: Blee and Vining, 2010). Indeed, there are many new methods that are used to research activism both online and offline (see: Haiven and Khasnabish, 2014). In this project, extensive use has been made of document analysis in terms of directing and informing the research questions. As well

as innovations in such research, there are also traditional methods that have to be recognised (see: Jupp & Norris, 1993). The use of report data – as well as social media data – has contributed in understanding and disentangling the myriad objectives of contemporary, post-crisis movements, with a view to explaining the relationship to social policy aims in this research. This following will discuss the use of documentary analysis and reflect on the benefits and drawbacks of using such a method in social movement research.

Documentary analysis uses an intensive focus on movement-related texts to classify patterns, linkages and structures of ideas. The deconstruction and analysis of discourses is important in terms of identifying specific issues that social movements and trade unions have been trying to address in the post-crisis period. Specifically, it is necessary to engage with information produced by social movements, trade unions and political parties through an analysis of their output online. The primary motivation for this is that, with the advent of new media and communication technologies, much of the available information on movements is produced for audiences on the internet (see: Snelson, 2016). The aim of this method is to understand how social policy ideas emerge either directly or indirectly from documents that appear on social movement, trade union and political party websites. The collected data is analysed using computer software – in this instance, the Nvivo package, which has been used extensively in sociological research to code and analyse large amounts of data. Interpreting and analysing documents is not always a straightforward process, since the researcher can overlook some of the important themes on a first reading of the data. In the case of social movement research, some documents, such as information produced through websites, might be less useful, especially when considering issues of

authenticity – this is especially pertinent in the case of often unverifiable, online sources.

Authenticity issues are sometimes difficult to ascertain in the case of mass-media outputs. While the outputs can usually be deemed to be genuine, the authorship of articles is often unclear... so that it is difficult to know whether the account can be relied upon as being written by someone in a position to provide an accurate version. (Bryman, 2012: 553)

The researcher has to be aware of who has produced the document for what purpose, and whether the identified material is a genuine product of the social movement in question. Though veracity *can* be established, it was important to remember during the process of collecting information from documents that online sources might not have been representative of the intentions of the movements in question. For this project, the decision was taken to take any and all documentation retrieved from websites at face value, and as an indicator of the views, opinions and judgements of the collective groups, movements and organisations. Using the work of Lofland (1996) as a starting point for researching social movements, it was a key aim of the documentary analysis to understand and identify the positions taken by such organisations on social policy issues. This is especially important since **RQ2** (a primary research question in this investigation) seeks to understand how post-crisis social movements have engaged with social policy and contemporary issues in the British welfare state. The intention of this part of the chapter has been to outline in broad terms the intention behind using document analysis as part of the wider methodological framework for this project. The following will discuss, in detail, the collection and processing of documentary data.

3.3. *Collecting and processing the documentary data*

Primarily, the reasons for conducting an extensive search of documents is to understand how post-crisis social movements have engaged with social policy issues, and, how links are established between organisations in order to influence a narrative of post-crisis and anti-austerity politics. These networks mostly consist of non-institutional groups, which are different in character to the institutional structures of trade unions. Since trade unions are, seemingly, losing their power, social movements have filled a void in direct action (Fanelli and Brogan, 2014). Political parties are too, less relevant (as has been discussed in chapter two), but, in some way, are linked to social movements, which demonstrates that there is a pluralism to activism, and, that class struggle operates differently in the contemporary political period. From discussion in the chapter two, it is clear that the nature of political mobilisation has changed in the post-crisis period of austerity and contentious politics, towards non-institutionalised and non-aligned groupings.

In terms of data collection and data mining, the process of selection involved several steps to make sense of how organisations, trade unions and social movements are linked, and, if they share ideas and resources through their various activities. Websites linked to these organisations and movements have been identified using a method of snowball sampling. It was determined that a combined approach of random and scale sampling would yield an unbiased set of results. The information gathered helps to build a picture of organisations and movements that have been mentioned more than once (for instance, if the TUC website mentioned the Occupy movement on its

website). Initially, several trade union organisations (in the UK) were used as examples of movements that have, historically, been active in campaigning on issues closely related to the needs of working people – i.e. TUC, GMB, Unite, and Unison. Links to activist organisations (for instance: Occupy London, UK Uncut) were then identified through a series of site-specific searches of trade union websites, but also of other movement websites (which have been outlined above in table 1). This information was transferred to an Excel spreadsheet, which, as well as acting as a database, converts web information to plain text. In the Excel spreadsheet, as is shown in appendix four, the data has been organised in 6 columns: *organisation, linked group, type, web link (URL), ID and key information*. The ID system helps to identify the original document when it is examined in the Nvivo software (UK Uncut = UKU, for example).⁹ To highlight the keywords and phrases, extracts from the website were also placed in the Excel document. This aids identification of exactly where the information links to a specific organisation. To explain the types of information placed in the Excel spreadsheet used for analysis, the table below identifies key documents and their purpose.

Document category	Purpose of document	Number of documents collected	Main organisation
Action	Activities of organisation – i.e. protest, meeting	61	UK Uncut; Occupy London; Left Unity

⁹ Again, see appendix four for a truncated version of the Excel spreadsheet used to collate data in first phase of collection.

Blog	Comment pieces written by activists, observers or members	207	UK Uncut; Occupy London; Left Unity
Briefing	Summary of news information for activist, members use	1	Unite the Union
Bulletin	Summary of news information for activist, members use	54	TUSC
Comment	Comment piece written by activist or participant to discuss broad issues	14	TUSC; Left Unity
Digest	Summary of key news related to source organisation	13	Unite the Union
Event	General events organised – i.e. not protests	18	Occupy London; TUSC; Left Unity
Information	General use – for public understanding	56	UK Uncut; Occupy London; TUSC; Left Unity
Interview	Interview piece with activist or organiser on subject relevant to organisation	4	Left Unity
Letter	Published letters from/to activists in community/organisation	3	Left Unity

Meeting minutes	Summary of meetings	16	Occupy London; Left Unity
Message board	Information extracted from online forums	1	Occupy London
News article	News and information pieces written by activists, observers or members	112	TUC; Unite the Union; Unison; GMB; Labour Party; UK Uncut; Occupy London; TUSC; Left Unity
Newsletter	Extended articles and news aggregator produced by source organisation	3	TUC; Left Unity
Policy	Statement of purpose or of activities of organisation	1	Unite the Union
Press release	Information for release to the media	31	Labour Party; UK Uncut; TUSC; Left Unity
Report	Extended document of information on activities, actions or organisations work	4	Left Unity
Resource	Related to activist resources – i.e. data, images, reports	1	Unite the Union

Table 2: Typology of information from data mining

In terms of processing the documentary data through WordStat, there are three separate and distinct processes that have been employed for this investigation. The first process is a textual analysis of the total population of documents to identify word frequencies. In terms of age, the website documents collected range between the years 2010 and 2015. The more specific policy documents, coded in Nvivo, range from 2014 to 2015. The most important keywords have been arranged through a crosstab analysis (further detail of this is included in chapter four). Recent research in social policy, using WordStat in particular, has been useful in this investigation, particularly where word frequencies are concerned (see: Farnsworth and Irving, 2017; Farnsworth and Irving, 2018). In revealing the most frequently used words, we can assess and understand how movements and organisations relate to core issues and concerns: such as on austerity, public service cuts and social services (see: appendix five).

The second process in WordStat involves a dictionary categorisation which identifies and groups together key words and phrases to reveal more about particular issues of interest. For instance, an established dictionary category for “services” can be broken down into 10 sub-categories which, in turn, included variant descriptors of the services – i.e. the NHS, as a subcategory, including “NHS”; “National Health Service”; “health care”; health services”; and, “public health” (see: appendix six). The final tool used in WordStat for this investigation utilises a ‘keyword in context’ tool. This particular tool highlights the way in which the selected organisations made policy statements, which can be used to quickly identify the range of proposals relating to social policy. This particular research tool has been used that to help inform the coding exercise carried out in Nvivo (see: table 3). Having outlined the process by which documents have

been selected and processed, the following will discuss the method for conducting semi-structured interviews in this investigation.

3.3.1. Manual coding methods with documentary data

As has been outlined, a second stage – consisting of a documentary analysis – was undertaken using manual coding methods. The documents used in this instance were more specific policy documents. In this instance, the information was processed using Nvivo (version 10). There are several tasks that can be performed to interrogate the data. Having collated the data, the text was analysed using the Nvivo coding software. Using Nvivo, text was analysed according to a set of ‘nodes’ (codes), which relate to themes in the information (all themes are listed below in table 3 in the column: *primary code or theme*). Codes are selected to reflect the nature of the content in the documents being analysed. For example, if a document mentioned the word *NHS*, it would be coded as ‘health’ or ‘NHS’. From the coding of these documents, a picture emerged of which themes are commonly addressed. The frequency of these themes also helps to indicate which issues organisations and campaigning groups have in common. For this study, a high-level coding strategy was used to understand, interpret and analyse data collected from online data mining of relevant documents. A high-level strategy denotes using a single pass over the data in order to appropriately thematise.

Primary code or theme	Number of documents (code or theme mentioned)	Total number of references for code or theme	Primary code or theme	Number of documents (code or theme mentioned)	Total number of references for code or theme
austerity	13	16	inequality	7	8
banks	3	3	justice	3	3
bedroom tax	1	3	labour party	5	10
benefits	5	12	legal aid	4	4
capitalism	1	1	living wage	3	5
child care	2	2	lobbying	1	1
class	2	3	mental health	2	2
climate change	1	1	nhs	10	14
cuts	9	10	occupy	1	1
democracy	2	2	pensions	2	2
disability	3	3	policy	3	3
economy	5	5	poverty	5	6
education	11	11	protest	4	4
employment	3	3	public services	6	6
financial institutions	2	2	refuges	1	1

Primary code or theme	Number of documents (code or theme mentioned)	Total number of references for code or theme	Primary code or theme	Number of documents (code or theme mentioned)	Total number of references for code or theme
financial tax	3	3	social care	7	7
food banks	1	1	social housing	5	8
health	12	14	social security	3	5
higher education	5	5	strike	2	2
housing	12	17	students	2	2
income	2	2	tax	5	5
income distribution	3	3	trade unionism	6	7
industrial action	1	1	unite union	3	3
wealth	3	3			
welfare	8	10			
welfare reform	7	8			
workfare	3	4			
zero hours contracts	2	2			

Table 3: Extract from Nvivo – total nodes coded

From the table above, a few brief points can be made about the data and how it maps on to social policy. The first is that attention is immediately drawn to the references to 'austerity' (16 references). Issues such as 'health', 'benefits' and 'housing' feature heavily in the documents selected (14, 12 and 17 references respectively). Whilst the investigations in WordStat are key, the manual coding work in Nvivo clearly builds the picture of how we might understand the policy prescriptions of different movements and organisations. Chapter four will, of course, systematically analyse the results from the textual and documentary analysis in full.

3.4. *Using semi-structured interviews*

The following will discuss the process of using semi-structured interviewing techniques in social movement research. It will also highlight the benefits and drawbacks of using such a method in social movement research. The process of semi-structured interviewing provides a sound methodological basis by which to interrogate the aims and objectives of social movements, and, how their demands might translate as social policy ideas. In the post-crisis context of anti-austerity activism, and the re-emergence of networked individuals across a variety of social movements, it is clear that there are a number of issues in formulating questions that allow researchers to make sense of how ideas are formed, and how information is disseminated. The narratives of movements can be disjointed and disorganised, and, therefore, difficult to categorise in any meaningful sense. The following will examine semi-structured interviewing as a method of collecting data, and, how it has been used in this research project to interpret the demands of protest groups as social policy objectives.

As has been outlined, there are a number of challenges for researching social movements. Semi-structured interviewing, it is argued, “makes it possible to scrutinize the semantic *context* of statements by social movement participants and leaders” (Blee and Taylor, 2002: 94). Using such a method allows the freedom to iteratively update research questions, but also, crucially, create the methodological space for critiquing ideas, language and objectives. For example, during the interview, the interviewer has the space to use comments from participants as a prompt to ask further searching questions. Structured interviews, on the hand, do not allow for such interventions, since the researcher has to follow a set of pre-defined questions (Bryman, 2012). In order to adequately analyse the aims and objectives of the social movements, the depth offered by semi-structured interviewing provides the best results in terms of explaining intricacy and elasticity in contemporary protest groups. In Lofland’s (1996) work, it is also noted that this particular method is conducive to ‘getting to know’ the researched group. Furthermore, Blee and Taylor (2002) argue that the process of semi-structured interviewing allows for scrutiny of meaning, accessing the various nuances in social movement practices and actions. From much of the literature on social movement research, it is clear that using the method of semi-structured interviewing is appropriate since it employs a methodological apparatus that yields results with the requisite depth for further analysis. The process of semi-structured interviewing also enables the ad-hoc interpretation of results whilst engaged in conversation with a participant.

As has been discussed, a number of potential organisations and movements were selected from a systematic search of specific keywords relating to the economic crisis and anti-austerity movements. For the study to have both a historical context and

contemporary relevance, the types of organisations and movements approached ranged from political parties, to trade unions and non-aligned social movements. There were a number of objectives in terms of participant recruitment for this study. Participants had to be directly or indirectly involved in the movements that have been set out in table 1. If, due to issues of access, such participants were not available, or did not respond, a snowball sampling process was used to gain access to activists from other related post-crisis social movements.¹⁰ The selection process was systematic, although the results of this approach varied as will be discussed below. In order to contact the proposed organisations, e-mail addresses were acquired the movement or organisation websites. A total of 58 e-mail communications were sent out to activists and representatives. Representatives, activists and organisers from the organisations responded: NCAFC, TUC, Occupy London, GMB, Sister's Uncut, DPAC, Boycott Workfare, UK Uncut, the Green Party and Class War. As will be discussed later in the chapter, there were a number of challenges in the field. Not least the fact that some of the representatives from organisations failed to respond after the initial correspondence. There are clearly issues with contacting and arranging interviews with activists and groups with no formal organisation – this is a limitation of the research project and the method. In spite of efforts to organise interviews, the project achieved a sum of 7 interviews between May and September of 2015.¹¹ Whilst

¹⁰ As has happened in the case of this investigation, representatives from NCAFC (National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts) have been interview participants. This is due, primarily, to the unavailability of activists from the primary organisations of concern – i.e. UK Uncut.

¹¹ In addressing the potential issues with an interview data set that would normally fall short of the demands of adequate examination, emphasis has been placed on the collection and extended analysis of documents, and, examining the any observable differences or overlaps with the interview data conducted.

a total far greater than the amount achieved were contacted (as discussed above), the response rate for the project was low. The following (table 4) provides summary details of all participants in the study, as well as key information as to their background in political activity. In order to ensure the project maintained the highest ethical standards, participants were offered information sheets and a consent form to sign.¹²

3.4.1. Conducting the interviews

The following subsection briefly outlines the interviews that have been conducted for this investigation. Interviews were conducted in various locations across England: London, Sheffield, Leicester, Hebden Bridge, and Birmingham. As per the participant information sheets, interviewees were informed that they would be engaged in a conversation for not longer than one hour (see: appendix one). In the main, the interviews for this research were completed within this time-frame: between 30 minutes and 1 hour. Interviews were audio recorded, and participants had to complete a consent form where they gave their agreement to this method of research (see also: appendix two). The interview schedules used for this research have also been included in the appendices.

¹² The project information sheet and consent form are included in the appendices (appendices one and two).

ID	Gender	Age	Disability?	Organisation	Key information
DPAC1	F	30s	N	Disabled People Against Cuts (DPAC)	National coordinator for DPAC and active member of political party
DPAC2	M	40s	Y	Disabled People Against Cuts (DPAC)	National coordinator and activist for DPAC
NCAFC1	F	20s	N	National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts (NCAFC)	National coordinator for NCAFC as well as a student activist and trade union member
NCAFC2	F	20s	N	National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts (NCAFC)	Activist for NCAFC as well as a student activist and trade union member
OCU1	F	40s	N	Occupy London	Activist involved in environmental groups as well as Occupy London c.2011/2012
OCU2	M	30s	N	Occupy London	Key role in communications for Occupy London at St. Pauls c.2011/2012

TUC1	M	30s	N	Trades Union Congress (TUC)	Member of Sheffield Trades Council and member of political party
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Table 4: Interview participants sorted by organisation

In terms of how the interview schedules were developed, the structure of each was directly informed by: (a) the primary research questions in this investigation; and, (b) the literature review conducted in chapters one and two. Interview schedules were developed for each of the core groups concerned: social movements, trade unions, and political parties. In terms of content, the interview schedule posed questions to participants regarding their knowledge and understanding of government austerity, and public service cuts. Furthermore, the interview schedule queried strategies employed by the movements and organisations they were involved in, as well as their views on how the group they represented sought to raise awareness of campaign on a particular issue. The interview schedules were, additionally, developed to pose specific questions relating to social policy. However, this presented some challenges in terms of the participants prior knowledge of social policy as a discipline. The following section will further discuss some of the challenges in field, and how they were overcome.

3.5. Challenges in the field

As with any investigation on this scale, there are inevitably limitations of the research design, and some of these issues have been discussed throughout this chapter. The purpose of the following is to examine some of the problems that arose as a result of the research design, and how improvements could be made in future investigations. There are several practical issues that have made it difficult to conduct the work necessary for this investigation according to the original preferred methodological design. This section will discuss the potential issues with gaining access to participants in social movements, with a broad aim to discuss the difficulties in gaining access to certain people because of their commitments to activism or general willingness to be the subject of a research project.

As with many research projects that aim to understand activist networks, protest groups and contemporary social movements, there are a number of barriers which can hinder the research process. It is common for research in this area to find barriers to accessing research participants. The challenges of conducting this particular research project have related, in the main, to access issues. In the social movement research literature, there are examples of projects where access issues have been overcome or managed. Indeed, in many respects, the literature argues that access can be a direct process: social movements are “in the business of trying to convince people of the wisdom or folly of a given social or personal reality” (Lofland, 1996: 43). This can especially be said of social movements that came to prominence – UK Uncut and Occupy London, for example – in the post-crisis context, where attention has been drawn to the social and economic injustice caused as a result of government austerity.

Where issues have been encountered, however, are when movement participants have been reluctant to engage with researchers due to the potential for negative portrayals. This will be discussed later on the chapter, but it is important to declare first that, in terms of accessing participants, suspicion of researchers is an important aspect.

3.5.1. Ethical and legal challenges

In conducting research with protest groups and social movements, researchers should be mindful of the various legal and ethical implications of investigating groups that, in some cases, employ methods of direct action. It is also important, from the perspective of the participant, that their identities are protected. This is the minimum that should be expected in cases of research where the legality of certain protest actions can be called in to question. Issues of confidentiality have, further, been examined in the literature of social movement research:

When social movement researchers make agreements of confidentiality with their research participants, they assure them that identifying information, including their name, will be kept private and not used in publication to the extent possible. Confidentiality agreements have both an ethical/legal and a practical dimension. Researchers have an ethical and an associated legal obligation to minimize the vulnerability of research participants to public exposure and other risks (to employment, criminal prosecution, social stigma, etc.) when they provide information to researchers. (Blee and Vining, 2010: 51)

The ethical, legal and even political implications of conducting research with protest groups and social movements have to be a priority, especially where issues of

sensitivity in disclosing information are concerned. Though the risk of any ethical issues presenting themselves during the course of this project were low, it is also worth noting that, from a methodological perspective, the very nature of research with social movements can be problematic, since much of the terrain under investigation is often in flux. This is an issue that has been widely covered in social movement research literature:

One problem is that social movements are not static; participants at one time may be very different from those active at another time. Highly structured and formalized social movement organizations (SMOs) as well as loosely organized social movement groups (SMGs) (Blee & Currier, 2005) have compositions that change over time, perhaps dramatically... Second, the membership of social movements, SMGs, and SMOs are ambiguous. People drift in and out; they linger at the margins; they participate in some aspects of the group and not in others. Given these fuzzy boundaries, how do we determine from which possible members or participants we should obtain consent/permission? (Blee and Vining, 2010: 55)

The analysis of Blee and Vining (2010) provides a structure by which to examine how, as researchers, we might be able to conceptualise (radical) research with such movements and organisations. Indeed, given the nature of informal structures present in contemporary social movement organisations, it is clear that the researcher *could* encounter problems with defining the parameters of the fieldwork. Perhaps the most significant factor influencing the direction of this project is the fact that, over the course of data collection, movements have changed or ceased to exist in a recognisable form. The analysis, therefore, has to account for the long stretch of time that has passed from devising the research questions to conducting the fieldwork.

3.5.2. Personal challenges in conducting research

As part of understanding the research process, it is necessary to critically reflect on the personal challenges of conducting such a project. In the case of this project there have been number of barriers to undertaking research at a normal pace. The academic literature in this area is largely undeveloped, so, therefore, it is necessary and indeed important to draw attention to the challenges of conducting research with a disability. On this, I offer full disclosure: I personally have suffered from a mix of depression and anxiety since I began my doctoral studies in 2010. There has, to a large extent, been a significant struggle to maintain focus and structure in completing a doctoral degree. Notably, this has also meant that I have taken periods away from studying in order to rest and regain my confidence. In the following, I aim to highlight some of the pressures of studying in an academic context, and, how there is a pressing need to be more open in academia about mental health.

To take the issue of mental health, it is necessary to take the opportunity to be open because of the immense pressures that academics, postgraduate students and early career researchers are experiencing.¹³ On a personal level, it is self-evident that the experience of suffering from a mental health condition can only exacerbate the highly pressured conditions under which academics and researchers are working. On this, there has recently been a surge in the public domain (particularly in national

¹³ At the start of this thesis, I paid tribute to Mark Fisher – an academic and author of ‘Capitalist Realism’ – who this year (2017) took his own life after struggling with depression for some time.

newspaper publications) in the number of articles addressing the issue of mental health.¹⁴ The Guardian's Higher Education network in particular has addressed this issue by inviting anonymous contributions from academics. In one article, an anonymous academic expressed the following: "among the people I do know who have done PhDs, I have seen depression, sleep issues, eating disorders, alcoholism, self-harming, and suicide attempts. I have seen how issues with mental health can go on to affect physical health" (The Guardian, 2014). The first-hand accounts of those working in an academic environment are clearly important in bringing attention to the issue of mental health, and, as is expressed in the article, there is clearly a lot that needs to be discussed in terms of wellbeing. A further and recent intervention by an academic working the US has been particularly timely in terms of drawing attention to mental health issues in academia. Marcia England – of Miami University – has written the following regarding her experiences of acute mental health difficulties whilst engaged in academic research:

I found it difficult in graduate school and in my postgraduate career as an academic geographer to effectively structure my time and find motivation. In academia, this can make or break a semester/year. I both need structure and loathe it. When I was tenure-track faculty, I was in constant fear that a depressive episode would derail tenure. I stressed myself out to the point of physical illness. The tenure process, of course, is a stressful time. While many people have a difficult time going through it, the additional pressure of mental illness looming over my head made it particularly daunting. (England, 2016: 3)

¹⁴ *The Guardian* newspaper has published a number of articles on the subject of mental health and academia in the form of a series. For further information, see: <http://www.theguardian.com/education/series/mental-health-a-university-crisis>

The openness of England's account is timely for a number of reasons. It is timely because, in the first instance, academics (particularly in the UK) are suffering under acutely under the impact of increasing workloads that have been accompanied by the rigorous standards of testing introduced by the Research Excellence Framework (REF). The second reason is that the academic profession has been slow to recognise such pressures, and has, in some cases, been silent – or even hostile – on mental health in general, leaving researchers feeling isolated: “although I have heard tales of how hostile academia can be towards those with mental illness, I have never experienced it first-hand – barring occasional uninformed comments when people throw out the word “bipolar” to describe erratic behaviour” (England, 2016: 4). There are clearly more informed ways for dealing with this issue, and particularly in a manner consistent with the sensitivities given to other physical impairments. It should further be made clear that, as well as the university as institution being conscious of the issue, that *accessibility* in the broadest sense of social inclusion should be a primary concern:

To function as a truly inclusive workplace, one that values and welcomes disability, higher education needs to move beyond narrow legalism and adopt a new perspective that conceptualizes access as a social issue rather than as a set of specific solutions to individual problems. By welcoming disability into the academy while reconceiving access, institutions can address disability as an issue that permeates all aspects of the social and physical environments that comprise the university workplace. (Kerschbaum, 2012)

Any institutional change should take account of this issue and adopt measures that both alleviate pressures on the individual, but also accept the broader requirements for a social change in thinking about disability, and especially so-called ‘invisible’ impairments that aren’t immediately obvious. Considering this admission, I and others

propose that the growing number of instances of mental health problems in academia is pressing and significant. It is therefore the suggestion here that departments and institutions take note of the such pressures placed on graduate students, academic staff and researchers, and to make all necessary adjustments to accommodate individuals that suffer directly *as a result of* their investigations, studies and so on, but also as they experience such issues independently of their work. Having discussed some of issues encountered during this investigation, the following will take account of the methods used for conducting research.

3.5.3. Limitations of the research design

Many of the limitations of the research design can be summarised by the preparations made for contacting and accessing participants 'in the field'. As has been described, many of the issues for accessing research participants arose from the fluid nature of activism – i.e. some of the contacts were unavailable either due to personal time constraints or due to reorganisation and cancellation of an interview. Broadly speaking, there are two significant limitations of the research design deployed for this project, and, accompanying improvements which should be taken note of in future investigations:

1. Firstly, there have been issues with conducting research at a normal pace, which has impaired the quantity of data collection – for example, being able to keep to a pre-defined research plan;
2. Second, the design did not fully take account of the individual needs of research participants (for instance, that one participant had a disability, which had not been disclosed prior to interview);

As has been noted, there were both personal and practical issues in gaining a substantial set of interviews for analysis. Primarily, this investigation would have benefited from a less rigid and structured approach to recruiting individuals from social movement organisations. The issue of quantity could have, for instance, been remedied by seeking out other relevant movements, or making more informal contacts. In seeking to obtain a data set that was high in quality, compromises were made in terms of making alternative arrangements in the event of individuals becoming unavailable or being unwilling to participate. On the second point, the issue of practical adjustments being made in the study to accommodate individuals with specific needs, such as a disability, would also need to be addressed. There are, for instance, at least two instances during the stages of interviewing where it was necessary to make unplanned adjustments in accommodating the needs of a research participant. The physical impairment of one participant had not been disclosed prior to an interview, which impacted on both the location and duration of data collection. Improvements to the research design in this instance would amount to conducting the interview by telephone, or, to pre-arrange a location where accessibility issues could allow full participation of the interviewee. It could also entail the redesign of research tools (such as a participant assessment) where any impairments and disabilities could be disclosed, and the opportunity for any adjustments prior to an interview could be made.

3.6. *Issues of reflexivity in activist-academic research*

The issues of being an activist and an academic have been widely discussed across the fields of political sociology and social movement studies. The following will begin to reflect on how researchers can overcome issues of bias and reflexivity in research,

especially when engaging with direct action movements. There is a large body of literature to suggest that activist-academic research can be successfully achieved, and, that there are strategies which can be used to overcome problems of reflexivity – particularly in the current research on the Occupy movement, and, how researchers have made efforts to be impartial when conducting research. The methodological lens through which this discussion will attempt to summarise the key issues is that of ‘activist’ and ‘militant’ research. The contrasts between straight-forward academic research and ‘activist’ research are outlined thus:

Activist research often conflicts with academic standards. "Activist" research as I define it aims at challenging inequality by empowering the powerless, exposing the inequities of the status quo, and promoting social changes that equalize the distribution of resources. Such research is "for" relatively powerless groups, and often involves close social ties and cooperation with these groups. In contrast, academic research aims at increasing knowledge about questions that are theoretically or socially significant. Academic research is primarily "for" colleagues. It involves close ties with faculty and students, and emotional detachment from the people being studied. Sociologists who do activist research and want a successful academic career thus have to bridge two conflicting social worlds. (Cancian, 1993: 92)

In conducting research with social movements, academics and scholars have to be aware of issues that arise in terms of bias and reflexivity. The researcher should be acutely aware of their own political persuasions, particularly when investigating movements that espouse similar views or beliefs. In order to engage critically with the activist groups and movements featured in this research, this section will outline some issues that arise as a consequence of conducting fieldwork with groups that are closely

aligned with the researcher's views. This section will also reflect on the possibilities of activist-academic research, and, how one can overcome or negotiate this often problematic relationship.

Broadly, this project seeks to understand the relationship between social policy and protest movements. In the era of post-crisis politics, there has been an observable spike in the number of movements that have sought to criticise institutions and institutionalism – particularly government apparatus and financial organisations. The spike in criticism is attendant to the increasing dissatisfaction and marginalisation that citizens in the UK (and in the European Union more broadly) have experienced as a result of government austerity. As a result, social movements (particularly those in which this project is interested) have deployed methods of direct action to oppose government austerity. The tactics that some of the movements involved in this project have engaged in raise important legal and ethical questions about not only confidentiality of the participants involved, but, also, the extent to which researchers can engage in certain activities. The risks that individuals take within such movements have been the subject of recent inquiry in social movement studies:

Every stage of the research process into social movements can introduce complex questions. The issues we choose to address are often highly politicised and involve our own moral judgements and sympathies. The groups and individuals with whom we engage, whether directly or through documentary records, may be in positions of peculiar vulnerability. They may be relatively powerless by virtue of their social situation, their activities may be covert or illegal, and they may face a high risk of repression. (Gillian and Pickerill, 2012: 133)

Indeed, by the very nature of activist research, there are issues that arise in terms of vulnerability, both for the researcher and the participant. The sympathies that a researcher might have for certain groups, as a result of present engagement in similar movements, also raises important questions as to how far the researcher can truly be free from bias. To take the question of legality and vulnerability, it should be made clear from the outset that the researcher has not engaged in activities during that could be considered ethically or legally dubious. The researcher has therefore remained at some distance from the actual practices and actions of certain social movements. Indeed, in many of the movements that this project focuses on, direct action is integral to acting and campaigning on issues that have arisen post-crisis. Anti-austerity activism, in particular, has frequently been criticised in certain media outlets for excessive militancy. The researcher recognised in this case that sufficient data collection could take place by conducting semi-structured interviews, and, that the reflections of those involved in such movements would provide the necessary critical insights.

To take the second point on how, as researchers, we can begin to reflect on, and be aware of, our own biases and sympathies towards causes and movements, there is also a large body of work on understanding this complex relationship. The connection of the researcher might have to a particular movement or set of movements can in some instances be problematic. In this project, it is clear that any interpretation of results should recognise the potential for researcher bias. It is also clear that there are elements of insider knowledge which have guided the research questions of this project. A recent and wider debate within the literature on methodology has discussed the situation of the researcher in relation to the 'researched'. The often-used binary

positioning of an 'insider' or 'outsider' in research provides us with a particularly relevant discussion point for social movement studies. Some have argued that researchers can only occupy 'the space between' insider and outsider in any qualitative project (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Unlike studies that feature solely quantitative methods, the position of the researcher in a qualitative study is less clear. Dwyer and Buckle argue that, as qualitative researchers, we cannot hope to achieve the necessary 'distance' from our subjects and our studies that can be adopted in purely quantitative research.

The stories of participants are immediate and real to us; individual voices are not lost in a pool of numbers. We carry these individuals with us as we work with the transcripts. The words, representing experiences, are clear and lasting. We cannot retreat to a distant "researcher" role. Just as our personhood affects the analysis, so, too, the analysis affects our personhood. Within this circle of impact is the space between. The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us as complete insiders. We now occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords. (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009: 61)

This is as true for qualitative social movement research as it is for any other investigation that involves participation from individuals and groups. The point about reflecting on the position of the researcher is especially important here, in terms of thinking about one's own political biases, and how an investigation might be shaped by the leanings of the investigator. In that sense, it was necessary that the insider-outsider approach was adopted for the stage of interview data collection.

In relation to, but on the other side of the debate, there are equally strong assertions about the involvement of the researcher in the organisations or movements that are being investigated. 'Objectivity' in qualitative research is self-evidently a problematic area, with many researchers suggesting that only a position of inter-subjectivity can be attained, particularly with regard to ethnographic research. Bevington and Dixon (2007), however, have made assertions about movement researchers which state that the connection that one might have to a movement does not necessarily preclude the possibilities for an objective analysis of ideas that have gained traction in the post-crisis environment.

[The] researcher's connection to the movement provides important incentives to produce more 'objective' research to ensure that the researcher is providing... movements with the best possible information. Indeed, the engaged researcher has more of a stake in producing accurate findings than one with no stake in the movement. (Bevington & Dixon, 2007: 192)

In their view, one can conclude that objectivity can be maintained and indeed is still possible if the researcher has sympathies or is involved with certain movements. This can only be, of course, entirely contingent on the type of research being conducted. In addition, there are many issues attached with conducting research with social movements that border on ethical impracticalities, which also would counter the possibility of a truly objective analysis. This investigation emphasises the pursuit of inter-subjectivity, but also pays attention to the active debate surrounding the involvement of research participants *in* the research process, examining the benefits of knowledge coproduction (see: Heaton, Day and Britten, 2016). Having discussed some of the issues surrounding reflexivity, the following section will examine the

activist-academic paradigm as a potential barrier to conducting an objective piece of research.

3.6.1. The activist-academic paradigm

For the purposes of transparency in this research project, and in order to critically reflect on biases, it is important for the author to outline their own persuasions. The most recent developments of social movement research have sought to contend with the issue of 'activist-scholarship', or, being an 'activist-academic' (see: Cancian, 1993; Maxey, 1999). To a great extent, social research can never be entirely free of subjectivities and one's own position. 'Activist-scholarship' has been defined very broadly as the engagement of academics in the process of knowledge production that *could* aid or influence certain types of resistance. This notion has been examined more broadly in the work of Gillian and Pickerill (2012):

There is a growing trend within social movement research for academics to consciously, indeed loudly, take on the role of 'activist-scholars' (Routledge, 1996; Maxey, 1999; Fuller & Kitchen, 2004; Bevington & Dixon, 2005; Graeber, 2009; The Autonomous Geographies Collective, 2010). Such arguments tend to assert the potential for academics to make a real and positive impact on movements they are studying. This may be simply by using ethnographic methods that enable participation with movements that are being studied, thereby adding to the movement's number and offering a particular set of skills. (Gillian and Pickerill, 2012: 135)

It is clear that there is an overt political dynamic to some of the interview questions being asked. Indeed, the formulation of the ideas and questions that guide this project have resulted from the author's own activism outside/within an academic context. It should be made clear, then, that this project has merit in contributing to knowledge production within contemporary, post-crisis social movements.

In stating the above, there are issues that have to be addressed in working through the activist-academic paradigm. The most pressing issue is that of objectivity: in this particular field of inquiry the demands on the researcher to maintain an objective position have become increasingly relevant where social movement research has reached a period of heightened interest – especially in the post-crisis environment. If academics are also engaged in activism, then how *might* they be able to bridge the gap in objectivity? Recent work conducted within the field of 'militant research' offers some pertinent questions for academics engaged in activities that could compromise integrity in the research process. Halvorsen (2015) particularly has been vocal in terms of critiquing the parameters and boundaries in which such research is conducted *and* the conduct of 'militant research/researchers' in the field. There is a basic requirement for researchers to be up-front about their sympathies, and I have noted that there are researcher sympathies with some of the movements that have been the subject of investigation within this project. Halvorsen (2015) particularly raises interesting questions for academics in the field of social movement research (and particularly 'militant research') where one's own sympathies could prevent a meaningful critique of protest and activist networks.

Militant researchers are often understandably hesitant in providing too strong a critique of social movements, in fear of delegitimising or, worse, being

interpreted as a call to retreat from 'activism' to the comfortable world of theory. While there are sometimes intense moments of critical reflection, as took place with the rise in alter globalisation movements, for example, much militant research remains contained within a particular situation. (Halvorsen, 2015: 5)

To take Halvorsen's (2015) argument regarding the critique of social movements, there are clearly some considerations that researchers have to take when embedding themselves in the field of protest, antagonism and direct action. A strong critique of particular movements engaged in anti-austerity actions could be seen as particularly counter-productive, especially to those that have given consent to be interviewed and observed by researchers. On the other hand, in reaching sympathetic conclusions, influenced by one's subjective position, the research would suffer from a lack of critical insight. Understanding and taking account of one's own position is an important and necessary step in reaching an inter-subjective approach to research with social movements. It is entirely possible, as has been discussed, to be sympathetic to the demands and objectives of the movements that are, in part, the subject of this research, and maintain the necessary rigour of objective and unbiased investigations. Having outlined some of the key issues with 'activist-academic' research, and thereby researcher reflexivity. The final part of this chapter will move to summarise this discussion and outline the next part of the investigation.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the various methods deployed during the research process. It has also aimed to examine in depth the various issues attached with conducting research on social movements. Reflecting on the process of doing

research with social movements is an important element of this project. It is especially important to recognise that social movement research methodologies are open to wider interpretation, and importantly, criticism. The discussion chapter (chapter six) will reflect further on some of the new innovations in social movement research, and, how they might contribute to our understanding of social policy as a discipline. For now, this investigation will move to discuss and analyse the results of the empirical work: the textual and documentary analysis (in chapter four), and, the interview data (discussed in chapter five). As has been outlined, the mixed methods approach in this investigation will seek to comprehensively answer all the stated research questions, as outlined in the introduction (see: p. 27).

Chapter four

Understanding organisations and movements

This chapter presents empirical work from the first and second phase of data collection, which used a combination of textual and document analysis – as outlined in the methodology chapter. The aim of this chapter is to understand the views, engagement and organisation of post-crisis social movements in relation to social policy and related policy areas. It considers the intersections between contemporary social movements, trade unionism, and, the British welfare state. The chapter proceeds to discuss the findings through a thematic analysis of three broad themes: (1) examining organisational factors; (2) key issues and concerns, with a particular focus on social policy; and, (3) the role of the welfare state. The particular frame of analysis for this chapter is to contribute to an understanding of how movements and organisations – in the post-crisis period – influence and engage with broader social policy objectives. In pursuit of this, the first section of the chapter draws on content and documentary analysis methods. The second section utilises more systematic coding methods on a smaller sample of documents (see: below and chapter three).

This chapter focuses primarily on two key organisations that epitomised ‘non-institutionalised’ political struggle in the UK in the post-crisis period: Occupy London and UK Uncut. These two social movement organisations form the core case study organisations in this chapter. In addition, it will examine, compare and contrast the views, actions and reactions of a range of institutionalised actors towards Occupy London and UK Uncut in order to provide comparisons and context. By comparing these views, especially on social policies (and related policy areas), this chapter will

contribute new and innovative findings, as well as provide clues, regarding the concerns and engagement of social movements in core areas that are important to social policy discourse and development. In addition, the chapter will indicate how social movements might be able to push particular agendas that more institutionalised organisations – such as trade union movements – might struggle with. Finally, this chapter will investigate how, and to what extent, social movements engage with or contribute to social policy debate, and whether social policies feature in the deliberations of social movements. Given the above, this chapter will directly address (in conjunction with chapter five) all three research questions:

- RQ1. What was the impact of the economic crisis on social movement activity in the UK after 2010?
- RQ2. How have post-crisis social movements engaged with social policy and contemporary issues in the British welfare state?
- RQ3. How did non-institutional and ‘disorganised’ social movements’ discourses converge or diverge with the institutionalised discourses of trade unions, in the aftermath of the crisis?

4.1. *Summary methodological note*

This chapter seeks to address the above questions through carrying out a textual and documentary analysis of a number of key texts that summarise the evolving positions of social movements in the UK. As has been outlined in the methods chapter, the processes used for analysis in this section were semi-automated coding procedures – using, for instance, WordStat. Textual analysis methods identify key words, concepts

and phrases within texts, highlighting their importance (measured according to frequency), context (identifying associations between particular keywords) and sentiments (identifying how particular concepts are viewed). The key advantage to such methods is that it treats texts as data, taking words in and out of context, to focus the researcher on text and meaning that otherwise may get overlooked. The chapter also draws on a wide range of documentary material from social movement and organisation websites.¹⁵ The documents were selected on the basis of their type – for example, if the document could be categorised as an agenda, manifesto, statement, or, policy document.¹⁶ By analysing the texts in this way, it sheds light onto the issues that are commonly raised in activist networks, but also the types of information that are exchanged. The movement and flow of ideas across institutional divides is as crucial to answering the key research questions as understanding how non-institutional actors contribute to policy frameworks.

The concluding section of this chapter will reflect on the various contemporary visions of social policy ideas presented by social movements and return to my specific research questions outlined above. Before setting out the precise parameters of data collection and analysis, it is important to provide a background to the post-crisis movements have been instructive in understanding the background and context of the economic crisis and anti-austerity struggles. As outlined in chapter two, the post-crisis social movements that will be examined closely are Occupy London, and UK Uncut.

¹⁵ For clarity, movement and organisation websites refer to the accessible, public-facing information sources found on the Internet.

¹⁶ Table 2 in chapter three summarises the types of documents that have been analysed, as well as an explanation of their use.

However, the full spread of organisations covered includes: GMB (General Members Branch), The Labour Party, the TUC (Trade Union Congress), TUSC (Trade Union and Socialist Coalition), Unison and Unite the Union. A brief summary of the core organisations and their core purpose is outlined in table 5 below. Occupy London and UK Uncut are listed first as the other organisations provide context.

	Type of organisation	Core function	Number of documents analysed
Occupy London	Social movement organisation	Movement for social justice, part of broader Occupy movement	47
UK Uncut	Social movement organisation	Protest group opposed to austerity and tax avoidance, based in the UK	22
GMB (General Members Branch)	Trade union organisation	General trade union covering members in all sectors	1
The Labour Party	Political party	Primary centre-left political party in United Kingdom	3
TUC (Trade Union Congress)	Trade union organisation	National trade union centre – federation of trade unions in England and Wales	10

TUSC (Trade Union and Socialist Coalition)	Coalition organisation	Socialist electoral alliance with members from activist networks and trade union groups	4
Unison	Trade union organisation	Trade union covering public sector workers	6
Unite the Union	Trade union organisation	Largest trade union organisation in the UK covering all industries and sectors	20

Table 5: Organisations analysed by type and function.¹⁷

4.2. Summary of key findings

As already noted in chapter two, a major trigger for the rise of non-institutionalised politics in the UK was as a response to economic crisis and austerity, in addition to the perception that New Labour and the shift to the right within the Labour Party had left a vacuum in British politics. The analysis of the documents examined in this chapter testifies to this. As part of this analysis the most frequent words that appeared across the organisations in total are summarised in the appendices (see: appendix five). On closer examination, these results can be studied more closely by

¹⁷ Note that due to the lack of available data for GMB and the Labour Party – in terms of a textual analysis – it was not deemed practicable to use the available documents for a frequency analysis, since it would not yield enough results. Both organisations, however, have been used in the documentary analysis.

organisation, which reveals that – for instance – the *NHS* is linked to Occupy London most frequently: 101 instances. Austerity features across all organisations, but there are differences. For instance, the word *austerity* features 33 times across the documents analysed for Occupy London, and 27 instances across the data for UK Uncut. The union movements, however, feature the word *austerity* less: on 16 occasions for the TUC; once for Unison; and, on 12 occasions for Unite (see: appendix five for full results of the investigation). In terms of word frequency, Occupy London documents feature the following words most recurrently: *action*, *people*, *occupy*, *working* and *NHS*. In terms of word frequency for UK Uncut, *people*, *action* and *cuts* appear most often. The differences could be explained by the character of each movement, and, where they choose to focus their efforts. To take an example of a service, the word *NHS* is used frequently both by Occupy London and Unite the Union: 101 and 100 instances respectively. UK Uncut, on the other hand, appears to use the word *NHS* less frequently: on 27 occasions. This is surprising, since UK Uncut has positioned itself as an anti-austerity movement, tackling welfare state retrenchment. Again, there could be many reasons for this, not least the fact that it has identified the issue of *cuts* more broadly (which features 86 times across the documents analysed). Having outlined some of the most interesting findings, the substantive part of this chapter will now address the three themes outlined at the beginning of this chapter: (1) examining organisational factors; (2) key issues and concerns, with a particular focus on social policy; and, (3) the role of the welfare state. The aim here being to understand the routes for institutional and non-institutional engagement in a post-crisis environment.

4.3. Organisational linkages and strategic differences

Analysis of the data from activist, union and political party websites presents a complex picture of protest activity and political mobilisation. The evidence suggests that social movements look to the unions for support in pursuit of their objectives. Both Occupy London and UK Uncut refer to the 'broader labour movement' and 'trade unions', more than trade union organisations refer to social movements. For instance, Occupy London and UK Uncut documents mention the word *union* in 53 and 27 incidents respectively. In contrast, the word *occupy* is mentioned by the TUC twice, by Unison once and by Unite in 22 instances. As for UK Uncut, the word *uncut* is mentioned twice by the TUC, once by Unison and in 17 instances by Unite (see: appendix five). Having said that, the analysis here suggests that there are differences between the way that both sets of organisations link with others. Occupy London and UK Uncut refer to 'movements' in vague terms, whereas trade unions tend to refer to their key 'partner-organisations' by name. This is to be expected in the case of the TUC in particular given that it is an organisation that other trade unions affiliate to, but this also speaks to the 'insider', institutionalised status of trade unions. However, when it comes to 'reaching out' the biggest moves in this regard, in the work undertaken here, appear to be made by Occupy London and UK Uncut. This is evidenced in the frequency analysis by collective terms such as: *we*, *together*, *united* and *solidarity*. The following quote from Occupy London illustrates this:

*It is imperative that all the larger funded organisations like the TUC get behind helping us to end the destruction of the welfare state and NHS to name but two...*¹⁸

With the above, Occupy London is making a direct appeal to trade unions for support in tackling the austerity agenda. Such appeals are easy to locate within the text produced by the non-institutionalised social movements but is more seldomly found within institutionalised organisations.

Institutional actors face greater pressure to be clear and policy focused, whereas social movements are more likely to be vague, and highlight structural problems rather than engage with the practical details of policy arrangements. This has an impact on the core constitutions and constituents of these different organisations. Trade unions, for instance, depend on membership income, and, furthermore, have an interest in fostering exclusive relationships with members. Social movements, on the other hand, are less concerned with such matters, since their organisation depends, in the main, on the free labour and voluntary work that people undertake. On this point, there are differences between organisations. Looking at the data collected from Unite, there is evidence to suggest that it has sought to reach out to social movements, where other unions have not. Unite, one of the more left-leaning trade unions, has sought to develop an all-encompassing approach to working class politics – one that facilitates the rising interest in direct action movements. The following quote illustrates this point:

¹⁸ Quotation from 'Occupy London' website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/austerity-injustice-and-the-power-of-protest-defend-the-right-to-protest-national-conference-2013/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

The UK's biggest union, Unite, is calling upon its members to back the action by UK Uncut tomorrow (Saturday) designed to highlight the danger to the NHS posed by the government's health bill and cuts programme...¹⁹

There are other examples from other unions on coordinated responses, but the analysis undertaken here suggests that unions are more likely to favour coordination with UK Uncut rather than with Occupy London and that, where unions reach out, they tend to do so in terms of broad campaign issues. They tend to stop short of explicit support of particular social movement organisations and of Occupy London in particular.

Generally, there is a hesitation from some of the unions to collaborate with social movements that engage in direct action. From a trade union perspective, there are certainly concerns that associations with some movements might result in a negative portrayal in the media. There are patently key organisational differences: the trade unions are hierarchical in management, whilst social movements – such as Occupy London – actively employ horizontalist forms of organisation.²⁰ The uneasy relationship between social movements and the trade unions is expanded upon in the following extract from UK Uncut:

¹⁹ Quotation from 'Unite the Union' website, accessed via web address: http://archive.unitetheunion.org/news_events/archived_news_releases/2011_archived_press_releases/unite_backs_uk_uncut_s_banks_a.aspx [accessed 23rd September 2014]

²⁰ A more detailed and thorough examination of the types of social movement organisation – particularly with reference to Occupy London and UK Uncut – is expanded on in chapter two.

We often talk about trade unions as though they're institutions, which exist on a foreign planet somewhere. We read it in the papers: 'the unions are thinking this, the unions are doing that,' as though we have no control over, or relationship with, trade unions.²¹

Again, social movements may be more willing to forge links, at least with unions. Interestingly, there is less evidence that social movement organisations want to link with other social movements. It could be argued that there is more to gain from 'institutionalised' trade unions. The following quote from UK Uncut illustrates this:

The show of increasing unity between direct action groups and the unions follows UK Uncut's last major day of action against NHS cuts when Unite, the UK's largest union, and the PCS both called on their members to back the actions.²²

This suggests that social movements look to the unions for support in pursuit of their objectives – i.e. to challenge austerity. Indeed, as has been discussed, one of the primary issues is that of exposure: the trade unions have a far greater reach.

Of course, one incentive for social movements to join with others is a practical one of funding, a point that has already been noted above. Trade unions, as outlined, clearly have greater financial resources available, on account of the membership dues they collect. In terms of mobilisation, the most significant barrier to organising effectively and consistently is the issue of financial resources. But when social movements talk

²¹ Quotation from 'UK Uncut' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/breakfast-press-release> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

²² Quotation from 'UK Uncut' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/breakfast-press-release> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

about 'collaboration', they also emphasise the importance of financial backing to mobilise effective campaigns.

On the issue of movement collaboration, there are signs that this has occurred between institutionalised and non-institutionalised organisations. In a particularly illuminating extract from the Unite website, it is noted that the unions could be doing more to link with groups that seek to go beyond traditional organisational parameters.

The Labour movement has started to put itself once more at the heart of British politics in the wake of the economic crisis, with two huge demonstrations and a massive strike in the last 18 months. But it also needs to link up with social protest in a new way in order to effect change, uniting its traditional strengths with the energy and vision of groups like UK Uncut and Occupy. Unite is seeking to engage with working class communities and social movements in a new way in order to develop a working class politics for the 21st century.²³

There are clearly issues that can unite social movements and trade unions, and one of the issues that has certainly created more unity is the issue of austerity, which will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

Looking beyond unions to political parties, a similar story emerges. Statements from the Labour Party in 2014 – 2015, relating to social movements, suggest that the party is not interested in engaging with the practices and actions of social movements. There is also some engagement from coalition movements – particularly the Trade Union

²³ Quotation from 'Unite the Union' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.unitetheunion.org/campaigning/events/lecturethelabourmovementandprotestaworkingclasspoliticsforthe21stcentury/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

and Socialist Coalition. In an extract from their website, the party puts forward the following statement:

It is time for a new party that represents trade union members, workers, and the unemployed and young people.²⁴

The implications of this extract are manifold. Primarily, it can be asserted that the call for a “new party” to represent workers demonstrates, in one sense, a failure of the mainstream parties – particularly the Labour Party – to amplify the concerns of the working poor, and issues that directly affect the working class. The mention of “unemployed and young people” also serves to illustrate the extent of disenfranchisement in a post-crisis, austerity era.

The consciousness-raising of social movements, particularly around the issue of cuts to public services, can be seen to have had an impact on the direction of public social and political discourses. This has been recognised by the union movement in the UK and has provided the foundations for joint efforts to oppose government austerity. The following extract is one example of the Unite union calling for the backing of actions of a social movement in the UK:

Unite, is calling upon its members to back action by UK Uncut... The action comes in the week when a further 1,500 bank workers paid the price for the 2009 bailout – which forced the country into deficit – with their jobs. Additionally, as the government forces the NHS to find £20 billion in 'efficiency' savings over the next four years, health jobs will go – 50,000 health professionals have lost their jobs this year alone and waiting lists are growing, with Unite predicting

²⁴ Quotation from ‘Trade Union and Socialist Coalition’ website, accessed via web address: <http://www.tusc.org.uk/16837/11-09-2013/time-for-a-new-party-to-represent-the-trade-unions-says-ex-labour-mp> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

*further cuts and instability to the service if the government forces through its health and social care bill.*²⁵

In response to this, it's clear that UK Uncut welcome the support from the union movement, especially in terms of recognising diversity in tactics. Whilst these examples might not be representative overall, they do indicate that practices and actions between these two different groups are shared, and that there is an appetite for combining efforts to affect change or impact on wider social and political discourses surrounding government austerity.

*A statement of support for UK Uncut and a condemnation of political policing and wrongful arrests of 138 peaceful protesters on March 26 has been signed by unions Unite, GMB, NUJ and PCS as well as several campaign organisations. The statement shows continued unity in the anti-cuts movement, as ordinary people continue to actively oppose the cuts, from the trade union/labour movement marching in solidarity, to people engaging in civil disobedience on the high street.*²⁶

In addition to the statements released by these organisations, analysis of the data shows that links are being forged with the one of the larger unions in the UK. Information extracted from the TUC website presented a favourable view of social movements, particularly those such as UK Uncut. In one instance, the union endorses

²⁵ Quotation from 'Unite the Union' website, accessed via web address: http://archive.unitetheunion.org/news_events/archived_news_releases/2011_archived_press_releases/unite_backs_uk_uncut_s_banks_a.aspx [accessed 23rd September 2014]

²⁶ Quotation from 'UK Uncut' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/press-release-uk-uncut-welcomes-support-against-political-policing> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

the tactics of the movement, and describes the organising potential as “powerful”. The focus on social media as a tool in activism is highlighted as a positive method of engagement.

UK Uncut is a brilliant example [of a movement]. It started as a few friends sending messages on Twitter, but grew into a high-profile, nationwide campaign against tax avoidance and greedy banks. It turned upside down the notion that internet campaigning is just about 'clicktivism' – low-effort activities like online petitions – and could be used as a powerful organising tool.²⁷

Social movements in the UK – and beyond – have, arguably, capitalised on the continued ascent of social media, and used it to organise on a local and national level. Perhaps in response, or in contrast, the position taken by UK Uncut is that the union movement is not capitalising on the benefits of organising through social media networks. The information on the website notes that the union movement is perhaps falling behind in terms of engaging with the public online.

The TUC are organising a massive demonstration against the cuts on 26 March. The unions have their strengths – years of experience of organising have given them the funds, skills and contacts we as unaffiliated individuals lack – but they don't understand the power of social media to mobilise and inform however sincerely they are trying to catch up.²⁸

²⁷ Quotation from ‘TUC’ website, accessed via web address: <http://www.tuc.org.uk/economic-issues/50000-nhs-job-losses-uncovered-new-cuts-campaign-website> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

²⁸ Quotation from ‘UK Uncut’ website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/beyond-clicktivism-a-call-to-arms> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

In terms of coordinating efforts, there is evidence to suggest from this part of the analysis that social movements and unions have an open dialogue. The dialogue, however, appears to be relatively ad-hoc, and the strength of the bonds between the different organisations presents a mixed picture. Indeed, the extent to which these efforts are concerted and consistent is open to question. In one extract from the Occupy London website, one story stands out as indicative of the ad-hoc bonds between social movements and the trade unions.

[Some activists believe] that if the Trades Union Congress (TUC) had supported the kids [in December 2012] on Downing Street, demonstrating against the problems of the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA), the media-furore caused could have stopped its progression. The fact that our children are hurting enough – concerned enough – to gather in Downing Street is a statement in itself... Larger funded organisations like the TUC get behind helping us.²⁹

Whilst it might appear that there is an appetite for unions and social movements to directly engage with each other, the reality could be very different. The most interesting finding is that the unions are perhaps failing to engage online with the public to communicate their message. Social movements – such as UK Uncut – have used online media in order to communicate a coherent message about the impact of the cuts and how best to respond at a local and national level. Having examined the data through the lens of organisational linkages, the following section will analyse the core issues and concerns of post-crisis social movements, with reference to institutionalised organisations.

²⁹ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/austerity-injustice-and-the-power-of-protest-defend-the-right-to-protest-national-conference-2013/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

4.4. Understanding core issues and concerns

The core issues and concerns of Occupy London and UK Uncut vary greatly, and especially between social movements and trade unions. This is evidenced, not least, by the fact that Occupy London and UK Uncut tend not to mention key policies or make 'recommendations' (see: appendix five). As the data shows, this is the case with UK Uncut which, whilst it will point to cuts in key budgets, will tend to be less clear about the specifics. In the case of UK Uncut, *taxation* appears as frequently as *austerity*. For Occupy London, specific policies are more absent. The tendency with Occupy London – and the Occupy movement more generally – is to focus on 'grand ideas' such as: *justice, fairness, equality*. Both organisations target what might be referred to as the 'undeserving rich', highlighting the endemic problem of overpaid workers in the financial industry, and the culture of excessive bonuses. What is noteworthy here, in terms of core issues, is that the organisations' views of 'government' and politicians also varies. In terms the positioning of post-crisis social movements, Occupy London and UK Uncut tend to be more critical of politicians and mainstream politics altogether. As evidence of this, the initial statement from the Occupy London camp – posted on the 11th of October 2011 – highlighted several issues that can be understood as a rudimentary manifesto for shifting the contemporary discourses on capitalism, the state and the role of citizen, and thus shaping an alternative post-crisis narrative.

At today's assembly of over 500 people on the steps of St Paul's, #occupylsx³⁰ collectively agreed the initial statement below. Please note, like all forms of direct democracy, the statement will always be a work in progress.

- The current system is unsustainable. It is undemocratic and unjust. We need alternatives; this is where we work towards them.*
- We refuse to pay for the banks' crisis.*
- We do not accept the cuts as either necessary or inevitable. We demand an end to global tax injustice and our democracy representing corporations instead of the people.*
- We want regulators to be genuinely independent of the industries they regulate.*
- We support the strike on the 30th November and the student action on the 9th November [2011], and actions to defend our health services, welfare, education and employment, and to stop wars and arms dealing.*
- We want structural change towards authentic global equality. The world's resources must go towards caring for people and the planet, not the military, corporate profits or the rich.*
- This is what democracy looks like. Come and join us!³¹*

With the statement above, Occupy London is clearly outlining a manifesto against inequality and for a progressive welfare state. This is important because progressive

³⁰ Hashtags are commonly used on the social media website, Twitter. They are used to draw together topics of interest from several different member accounts to create national, international and global conversations.

³¹ 'Initial Statement' of Occupy London (Occupy LSX) accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/occupylsx-initial-statement/> [accessed 22nd September 2015]

social movements, in the past, have often been anti-statist and, by extension, anti-welfare state. This echoes Gough's (1979) work which discusses the ambivalence of such movements to the welfare state. Thus, it should, in theory, be easier for both Occupy and UK Uncut to positively support the idea of the welfare state in principle. But both have argued for progressive and radical change. Returning to the original statement of Occupy London (as above), points made about 'structural change' and 'authentic global equality' are distinctive in their language and use of terms. It is also clear, however, that the initial statement makes several demands that can be understood as rudimentary objectives for influencing social policy. For example, mentions of defending 'health services, welfare, education and employment' are a prominent feature of the statement.

This does strongly indicate that the principles of social security, and defence of the welfare state, are critical issues. The points raised regarding 'the banks crisis' and 'tax injustice' are further evidence of a desire to tackle issues of regulation – particularly in the financial sector. Such concerns have also been a prominent feature of recent exercises in social policy research (Farnsworth and Irving, 2015). The statement in full is a useful document by way of thinking through how Occupy London managed to capture the public mood on austerity and the financial crisis. Indeed, the prominent refusal to 'pay for the banks' crisis' can be seen as part of a wider discontent that erupted in the UK and across Europe between 2010 and 2011 (Madden & Vradis, 2012; Sitrin, 2012).³²

³² Whilst the focus of this thesis is not on the events across Europe, it is worth noting that the mood of citizens in Northern and Southern Europe mirrored, in many ways, the conditions in the UK. In Spain and Greece in particular, citizens organised on a

Broadly, from the data analysed for this chapter, there are many specific objectives espoused by the Occupy movement that can be interpreted as part of a broader post-crisis narrative. The regulation and taxation on financial industries, as to raising income for public services, is one example of where Occupy took issue with the unilateralism of corporate governance against the systematic dismantling of social security and welfare apparatus. The following, identified from material circulated by Occupy London, is an example of ideas given traction by a social movement, which resonate with the aims and objectives of progressive social policies.

The economic system we live in increasingly benefits the few over the many. We believe it is fundamental to the future health of society to reduce economic inequality and its grave social consequences. There has been a widening of the chasm between rich and poor in the last 30 years and a persistent gender and age pay gap. Inequality has torn apart families, left children hungry and without care, pensioners to freeze and turned communities against each other in a battle for housing and other scarce resources. Many within society are burdened with crippling debt. It cannot continue. We must acknowledge the role of the monetary and current tax system in perpetuating and augmenting inequality. It is not enough to redress the excesses of the system: we must reverse the damage done.³³

local and national basis to oppose a host of measures aimed at reducing government spending.

³³ Quotation from 'Occupy London' website, accessed via web address: <https://occupylondon.org.uk/about/statements/statement-on-economy/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

Building on the Occupy London manifesto, and in addition to the above, the issue of corporate tax avoidance and the abuse of welfare state is a developed as a concern for the Occupy movement. The following is a primary example of how the movement has made efforts to draw attention to such issues:

*Clamp down on tax avoidance: Our economy allows widespread avoidance of tax by those able to afford it. There has to be reform to the tax system to ensure that those with the greatest capacity to pay tax do not have the greatest capacity to avoid it. We must abolish the use of tax havens and complex corporate tax structures and loopholes that allow corporations, financial institutions and the wealthiest individuals to avoid contributing their fair share to society.*³⁴

As the above indicates, ideas of reforming economic disparities created by the predominance of financial services are evident, but what is also clear is a desire to actively imagine and create the conditions for a system of wealth redistribution through general taxation. These are, fundamentally, concerns in the discipline of social policy. In particular, the disparity in response to the crisis – financial deregulation and accompanying government austerity – is a primary issue of concern, especially where imbalances in taxation privilege the wealthiest. The issues of austerity and public-sector cuts are intertwined. The data drawn from activist websites illustrate clearly that there is a general concern about the cuts to public services, which are impacting negatively on some demographics more than others. Accompanying this concern is the notion that there are those in society – predominantly at the top – continuing to benefit from the economic crisis. As illustrated in many of the extracts from activist and

³⁴ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <https://occupylondon.org.uk/about/statements/statement-on-economy/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

trade union websites, the consciousness-raising of austerity politics is central to the message of these movements. Understanding how social movements express these messages, through their practices and actions, is key to explaining how social policy aims might be addressed from both an institutional and non-institutional perspective.

4.4.1. Using WordStat for thematic analysis

The methods chapter (see: chapter three) detailed the use of WordStat in this investigation, as a method for understanding the spread and frequency of words used by different organisations and movements. In order to support the analysis conducted so far, figure 3 below demonstrates how WordStat can be used to produce a correspondence plot. The organisations studied for the textual analysis of this chapter – Occupy London, UK Uncut, the TUC, Unison, Unite the Union and the TUSC – are highlighted on the plot, whilst the words most likely to be used are clustered.

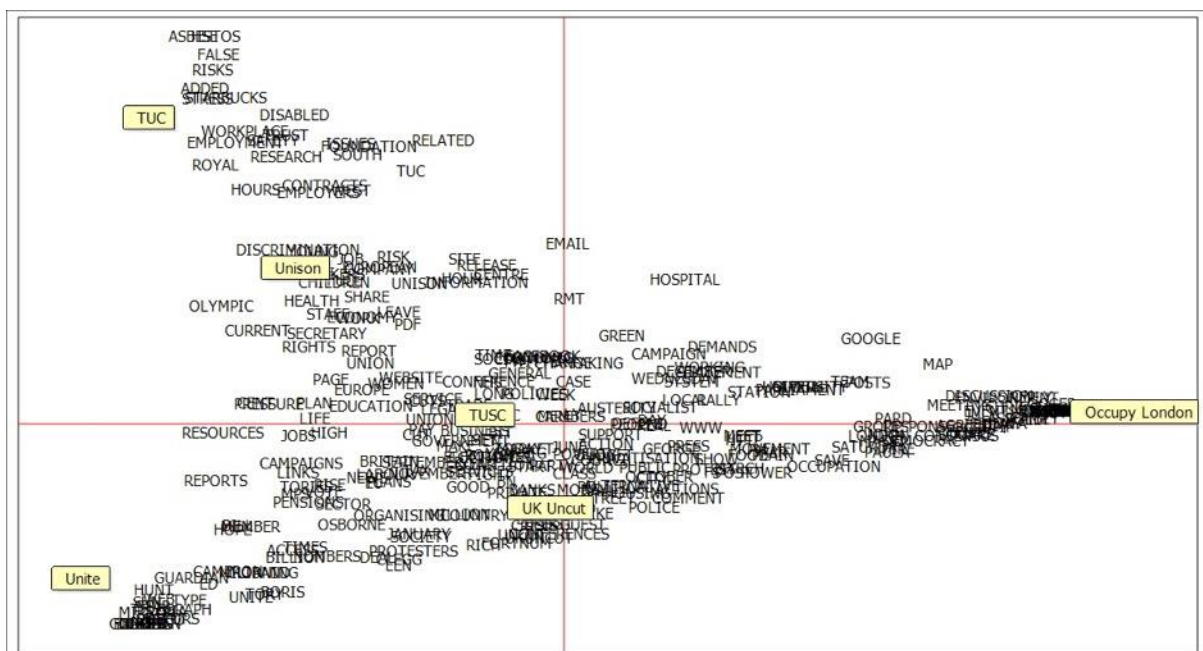


Figure 3: 2D Correspondence Plot (processed with WordStat)

The correspondence plot demonstrates, for instance, that organisations such as the TUC are more likely to use words such as *disabled* and *employment*. Whilst words such as *occupation* and *austerity* are clustered nearer to Occupy London and UK Uncut. This clearly matches with the focus of each organisation and demonstrates the differences between institutionalised and non-institutionalised groups.

In addition to producing a correspondence plot, WordStat can be used to group words in to categories, and, illustrate the percentage spread of each category (see: appendix six). In this instance, I have created a number of pre-defined categories in order to better understand how each organisation focuses on a particular service: *defence*; *education*; *health*; *housing*; *pensions*; *social care*; *social protection*; *training*; *transport*; and, *treasury*. The results from the crosstab analysis of services are particularly illuminating. For instance, they show that, across most organisations (apart from the TUSC), the *health* category is overwhelmingly represented: 50.5% for Occupy London; 27.18% for UK Uncut; 53.05% for the TUC; 33.33% for Unison; and, 51.24% for Unite. This is an unsurprising result, since the analysis of results thus far has shown that words such as the *NHS* and *health* have featured prominently. Interestingly, the service that features most prominently after *health* is *education*. The results show that the TUSC documents feature words associated with *education* by a percentage of 69.23%. If we compare this with Unite, for instance, the percentage coverage is 4.76%. This could, of course, be explained by organisational focus at the particular time of data collection. The importance of analysing the data with such tools is to gain an understanding of how each organisation has responded to the challenge of austerity governance. In addition, it bolsters the aforementioned arguments regarding key issues and concerns, and, where organisations decide to focus their efforts. Having

broadly identified some of the key issues and concerns, the following subsections will deal with core social policy issues, namely: inequality; austerity; and welfare services.

4.4.2. Identifying structural inequality

As already noted, *inequality*, especially economic inequality, is a key theme that is revealed in the textual analysis. Several quotes from Occupy London demonstrate the sustained commitment of the movement to address this directly:

The actions, taken on behalf of Occupy London highlighted corporate greed endemic within the UK and called for a change within society. The case itself was notable as it marked the first instance in which Occupy London directly challenged the working environment of the 'Global 1%'.³⁵

In addition to the criticism of other reforms, social movements in the UK have been vocal on the issue of paying workers in insecure employment a living wage – campaigns on this issue received vocal trade union backing. The issue of wage stagnation is one that has been firmly on the agenda in UK politics post-crisis. Social movements and unions have been integral to placing pressure and lobbying local and national government bodies, as well as businesses, on this issue. The following from UK Uncut demonstrates this:

GMB research confirms the Joseph Rowntree Foundations calculation that most employers paying less than £10 per hour for a 40-hour week rely on the

³⁵ Quotation from 'Occupy London' website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/occupy-london-activists-found-not-guilty-for-xtrata-action-at-panton-house/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

*fact their workers will claim in work benefits to keep body and soul together. A huge subsidy from taxpayers to the profits of poverty wage employers and further proof that £7.65 an hour is a state subsidised wage not a “living wage”.*³⁶

The evidence is clear that, by identifying core issues such as a living wage, inequality – and particularly economic inequality – is firmly on the agenda for social movements. To put this in to perspective, we can look at the usage of the words *money* and *poverty* by Occupy London and UK Uncut. The evidence for the textual analysis shows that the word *money* is used on 19 and 8 occasions (by each organisation respectively). As for *poverty*, there are 11 and 8 instances identified for Occupy London and UK Uncut respectively. Interestingly, the main union organisations use the word *poverty* less frequently: 2 instances for the TUC; 3 instances for Unison; and, 8 instances for Unite. There could be many reasons for this, but the most compelling could be that post-crisis social movements use more emotive language, especially when describing economic inequalities (see: Gaby and Caren, 2016). The focus of the next subsection is understanding how movements challenge austerity narratives in the post-crisis era.

4.4.3. Challenging austerity narratives

Although austerity is a key driving force behind the establishment of both Occupy London and UK Uncut, it is mentioned surprisingly infrequently by name, although it remains an underlying focus. Interestingly, Occupy London refer to austerity by name

³⁶ Quotation from ‘UK Uncut’ website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-from-gmb-trade-union> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

more frequently (on 33 occasions), but all organisations refer to other words such as *cuts* (on 86 occasions for UK Uncut; 67 instances for the TUC; 37 instances for the TUSC; and, 54 instances for Unite). For UK Uncut, the issue of austerity is dealt with more robustly, as the following quote illustrates:

*The cuts of the last five years have devastated people's lives and are destroying our society. And they're about to get much, much worse. We need to fight back with all of our energy, creativity and courage, to defend our public services and bring down the architects of austerity.*³⁷

The cuts to public services, as UK Uncut describes, are an attack on citizens, orchestrated by the rich and powerful, as well as an attack on the welfare state. The following quote illustrates this:

*The ruthless millionaires in charge are planning to cut another £12 billion, on top of the £25 billion they've already cut... The cuts are dismantling the welfare state, sending inequality sky-rocketing and hitting the poorest hardest. A cabinet of millionaires have decided that libraries, healthcare, education funding, voluntary services, sports, the environment, the disabled, the poor and the elderly must pay the price for the recklessness of the rich. The public are being made to pay for a financial crisis caused by the banks.*³⁸

In terms of setting out an agenda, the above is a reasonable indication of the types of issues that UK Uncut concerns itself with. Focussing on the matter of 'cuts' aimed at 'dismantling the welfare state' is an issue which will be returned to later in the chapter.

³⁷ Quotation from 'UK Uncut' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/action-call-out-30th-may/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

³⁸ Quotation from 'UK Uncut' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/fight-the-cuts-for-our-future/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

For now, it may be considered an obvious point, but it is nonetheless important to note here that not all areas of state expenditure are defended – such as defence, the police or the courts. The focus is, primarily, on *public services*, the *environment* and *core social policies*.

Recognising the role of social policy in activism is another question for this research. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the process of collecting data from activist and trade union websites returned results that confirmed an awareness of social policy issues. The first extract is taken from the TUC website, and addresses directly a section of society – disabled people – affected by the cuts to public services.

*These are profoundly tough times for disabled workers. The government's austerity drive is destroying jobs and cutting back the public services many rely on. The NHS, social care and mental health are all suffering real-terms cuts.*³⁹

The question of welfare distribution is undoubtedly a contentious issue, and the current conditions suggest that further state retrenchment will be a continued feature for the UK government, as well as governments across Europe. The process of collecting data from activist and trade union websites highlights that these concerns have far-reaching consequences. The recognition of social policy issues on activist websites – such as UK Uncut – are an indication of the steady production of narratives that challenge the austerity agenda.

We are deeply concerned by the impact austerity is having on women. Doors are being closed on women fleeing violence. Refuges are being shut down,

³⁹ Quotation from 'TUC' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.tuc.org.uk/equality-issues/disability-issues/disability-forum-focus-conference-special> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

money for domestic violence services is shrinking, legal aid has been cut, social housing is scarce and private rents are extortionate. What's more, local councils are selling out contracts to services who are running them on a shoe string – putting the safety of survivors at risk and deteriorating the working conditions for those who work with abused women. All the while, the number of women who are killed every week due to domestic violence is on the increase.⁴⁰

Whilst the detail on the impacts of austerity can be seen as part of the core concerns of post-crisis social movements, the important point is to note that there is an engagement with issues that social policy aims to address – namely, social housing. The above extract also speaks to the narrative of understanding the implications of austerity on the deepening of social divisions – those based on gender. It can therefore be said that far from being removed from struggles for social justice, social movements in a post-economic crisis context are embedded in the discourses constructed through the lens of social policy.

In terms of activism around austerity, 2010 and 2011 saw several planned public actions by the trade union movement in the UK alongside other movements such as the People's Assembly Against Austerity. Additionally, the Cuts Café – an outgrowth of activism from the Occupy movement and UK Uncut – organised in London to oppose the austerity agenda by holding public meetings and workshops. The following extract from the Occupy website demonstrates a link between social movements campaigning against austerity and the trade union movement:

⁴⁰ Quotation from 'UK Uncut' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog?page=10&q=quest+post> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

For the two weeks leading up to the Trades Union Congress (TUC) demonstration on October 20th, Cuts Café will provide a radical reclaimed space in London to build resistance to the cuts, and to explore real alternatives to austerity.⁴¹

In terms of protest tactics, there are some key differences between the organisation of social movements and activist groups – such as the Cuts Café and Occupy – and the trade union movement in the UK. The notion of a “radical reclaimed space” is placed in sharp contrast to the activities of some of the mainstream unions, such as the TUC. Criticisms levelled at the trade union movement – at least in recent history – have been that the tactics employed are largely ineffective and have, in some cases, inhibited the potential for organising a dynamic and radical movement based on class politics. Considering such criticisms, the space for anti-austerity movements has opened significantly. The period between 2010 and 2011 saw a spike in activism, particularly with the ‘March for the Alternative’ demonstration, which was held in March 2011. Predicting the rise in such activism, the following extract from the Occupy website illustrates the variety of activity that was predicted to occur during this period:

Tomorrow’s giant People’s Assembly Against Austerity demonstration will light the fuse on an explosive summer of strikes and protests, anti-cuts activists predicted yesterday.⁴²

⁴¹ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/cuts-cafe-first-public-meeting/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

⁴² Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/peoples-assembly-march-to-spark-summer-of-mass-action-livestream/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

The key issue illustrated in this extract is the combination of activism as expressed through “strikes and protests”. This demonstrates, at least in this case, diversity in tactics. Anti-cuts demonstrations in the UK since the economic crisis have, broadly, captured a cross-section of society. From the perspective of the trade unions, taking strike action is viewed as an effective tactic in terms of defending the interests of their members. The acknowledgement of a diverse set of tactics – from the above extract – reflects the different positions taken by the trade unions, and social movements to achieve broadly similar aims. How these movements sought to address social policy specifically is the subject of the next discussion.

4.4.4. Social movement interventions in social policy

The theoretical and methodological work undertaken throughout this investigation, ultimately seeks understand how social movements contribute to policy formation or are involved in the social and public policy landscape. As has been discussed, there is a wealth of existing work that has sought to investigate the structural and operational aspects of post-crisis movements (Halvorsen, 2015), but a deficit of knowledge in terms of social movement contributions to social policy. The following will examine evidence of policy initiatives or ideas that have been discussed in specific social movement outputs. In this instance, the material and output from Occupy London and UK Uncut will be the primary movements of discussion. The data drawn from this part of the study will highlight the direct and indirect demands made, and how they can be interpreted as part of a broader social and political mosaic of ideas presented to deal with the conditions of a post-crisis welfare state. On key issues, such as the NHS, there is some evidence to suggest that there is uniformity, or at least network-building,

being fostered between actors and organisations in institutional and non-institutional camps. As has been discussed, the extent to which these links are maintained is open to question. Where other social movements are concerned, the extent to which there is further engagement is also open to question. The decision for movements and unions to collaborate is based on several factors: the similarity of aims and objectives over specific policy issues being one example.



Figure 4: UK Uncut direct action outside Fortnum & Mason's on Piccadilly in London (26.03.2011) [photograph taken by author]

I have already noted the fact that specific and detailed recommendations and positions on social policy tend not to feature heavily amongst social movements. This does not mean they do not discuss social policies, nor that they do not have positions on social policies, but that the positions tend to focus on the most 'visible' or popular services.

As has been discussed, it is clear that a broad defence of the welfare state is viewed as important for social movements. And on this issue, Occupy London has used the welfare state as a rallying call to arms and a reason for joining together with other groups. The broader issues, relating to income-based inequality between the very rich and everyone else, are core issues for both Occupy London and UK Uncut. The focus for both groups, as already noted, is opposition to the bankers (as key symbols of greed and one of the causes of austerity and the diversion of resources from the public to the private sector during the crisis), and big businesses. The following from UK Uncut exemplifies this:

*On Saturday hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets of London to protest against the cuts. The turnout was enormous – much bigger than expected and the message was clear that people in this country are totally opposed to the Government’s choice to prioritise the needs of bankers and big business over the needs of ordinary citizens.*⁴³

Indeed, on key issues, such as the NHS, there is some evidence to suggest that there is uniformity, or network-building, being fostered between actors and organisations in institutional and non-institutional camps. As has been discussed, the extent to which these links are maintained is open to question – this will form part of the discussion in later chapters. Where other social movements are concerned, the extent to which there is further engagement is also open to question. The decision for movements and unions to collaborate is based on several factors: the similarity of aims and objectives over specific policy issues being one example. When political parties are brought in to

⁴³ Quotation from ‘UK Uncut’ website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/setting-the-record-straight-occupying-for-the-alternative---cif-article-for-the-guardian-full-length-veverson> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

the equation, the evidence from this stage of data collection is clearer, from a trade union and social movement perspective.



Figure 5: UK Uncut direct action outside Topshop on Oxford Street in London (26.03.2011) [photograph taken by author]

The following extract, from the Occupy London website, directly addresses several issues that have featured prominently in the debate over the political and economic viability of the welfare state. As has been discussed, government austerity has had far-reaching consequences, not least for the most economically disenfranchised – i.e. the working poor. These consequences not only directly affect incomes, but also serve to illustrate the widening inequalities post-crisis:

With prices rising and wages held back, living standards are under attack. Public services are being slashed across the country, as jobs are cut. Millions

– both employed and unemployed – will see benefits fail to keep up with prices.⁴⁴

Another extract – from the Occupy London website – highlights the correlation between government austerity and privileging the financial services industry:

We did not vote for NHS privatisation, the tripling of student debt or the governments unjust spending cuts. These policies do not have the consent of the people. They have been imposed at the behest of a tiny corporate elite, which will gain financially from such policies.⁴⁵

The notion of an assault on living standards is one that is almost uniformly recognised by the post-crisis social movements analysed in this study, as well as the trade union movements, and, to an extent, parties on the left of British politics. The inequality narrative has, however, been driven principally by social movements concerned with regulation of financial services as well as the redistribution of wealth – i.e. Occupy and UK Uncut. In addition, the recognition in the second extract of a “corporate elite” demonstrates an acknowledgment of the accentuated divisions and class stratification in the post-crisis era. The subject of the next theme turns to the role of the welfare state, putting in to context the evidence examined thus far in this chapter. It will also deal with the question of social movement interactions with discourses on the welfare state, and, the potential for building non-institutionalised responses to welfare state retrenchment.

⁴⁴ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/a-future-for-families-pre-budged-rally/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

⁴⁵ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/defend-our-right-to-save-people-and-planet/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

4.5. The role of the welfare state

The focus of this theme is the role of the modern welfare state in an era of post-crisis political engagement. The previous section sought to examine some of the broader interventions of Occupy London and UK Uncut on the contemporary policy landscape. The aim of the following is to specifically address current issues surrounding the British welfare state and discuss examples of interventions from social movements on dominant government narratives. The data examined here extends from the analysis of the previous section, and, as such, frames many of the issues along similar lines – i.e. ‘health’, ‘education’, ‘housing’ and so on. As discussed thus far, the results from the analysis indicate that the subject of protecting the NHS is one that unites both movements and returns a significant number of results across various documents. The political mishandling of the issue of welfare – by previous and current governments – is perhaps one that has ignited passions in social movement activity. The question of institutional and non-institutional arrangements is again pertinent to this discussion in terms of thinking through social movement objectives. It is therefore surprising that in one extract on the Occupy London website, a public display of unity between the trade unions, political parties and social movements is demonstrated:

A demonstration has been called by Save our Hospital campaigns across London and London Keep Our NHS Public. It has been backed by Unite the union, a number of MPs and councillors, trade unions and the London Labour Party.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/defend-londons-nhs-demonstration-18-may-loncon-keep-our-nhs-public/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

On the issue of protection of public services, it's perhaps unsurprising that the NHS would return the most results in the data analysis – the strength of public support behind a funded health service is relatively uncontroversial in the UK. What is more revealing, however, are the denunciations from movements levied against previous and current governments. In another extract from the Occupy London website, sharp criticism of government policies – especially those undertaken during the Labour Party's previous term in office (1997 – 2010) – are evident:

The government has continued Labour's neo-liberal policies of privatization and deregulation and applied them to the NHS and welfare provisions. The working class movement remains on the defensive as the government seeks new ways to limit worker's rights and attack the unemployed and welfare claimants.⁴⁷

In many respects, the criticism of the previous Labour government's policies highlights the extent to which social movements have been necessary to amplify specific concerns, and to contribute to debates that directly impact those which would have previously been represented by the Labour Party. Shows of unity, as demonstrated by the first extract, may only be transient. The role of bottom-up, grassroots social movements are often the first line of defence, critiquing the underlying structural inequalities that arise from government policy.

On the broader issue of welfare, social movements are, as discussed, often the first to be critical and to mobilise on issues that directly affect people at the lower end of the socio-economic demographic. The recent changes to welfare, as enacted by the Welfare Reform Act 2012, had far-reaching consequences. Among the changes, the

⁴⁷ Quotation from 'Occupy London' website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/left-unity-a-case-for-the-republican-socialist-platform/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

'bedroom tax' – a cap on housing benefit specifically related to under-occupancy – received the most criticism from social movements, such as UK Uncut:

93% of new Housing Benefit claimants are from people in work as rents soar by 18% a year. Work simply does not pay the rent. Those with mortgages taken out during the height of the bubble live in fear of interest rate rises. Thousands live in fear of eviction through the bedroom tax.⁴⁸

Campaigns on issues that relate to the distribution and receipt of welfare – such as the Living Wage campaign – are a good, recent example of the collaborative efforts of social movements and trade unions. More generally, there are many examples, as outlined in this chapter, where social movements and trade unions in the UK have worked to actively campaign against welfare state retrenchment – whether this is on the issue of austerity, cuts to public services or the claims of welfare recipients. What is clear from the analysis of this chapter is that social policy issues are firmly on the agenda, and moreover movements working from an institutional *and* a non-institutional standpoint are addressing them. As has been discussed, the extent to which these movements are working together and sharing resources is open to question and will be the subject of further investigation.

4.5.1. Building strategies for a post-crisis politics

The reason to focus on issues in public social and political discourses is, of course, to create change and build movements. The following extract provides us with an

⁴⁸ Quotation from 'UK Uncut' website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-from-gmb-trade-union> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

understanding about the decision to act. Importantly, it illustrates how their intentions to approach such challenges define a decision to act on many issues. It's also important to note that UK Uncut see the challenges as not being limited to the issue of austerity and public-sector cuts. Indeed, they recognise the challenges of the “environmental crisis” as being attendant to the broader social and economic crises that have been developing and worsening.

As movements of protest become movements for change, their challenge to the existing order becomes ever more pointed. The stakes get higher. We can no longer be content with complaint. If we are serious, we need to meet and deliberate, on our terms, in ways that seem right to us, about our response to an ongoing, and deepening economic, social, and environmental crisis.⁴⁹

This idea of non-institutional engagement is echoed on the Occupy London website, where there is an explicit call for “taking to the streets”:

The best way to defend the right that the government and corporate elite would take away from us is by exercising those same rights on a massive scale. That applies whether it be striking, occupying or simply taking to the streets.⁵⁰

What social movements do in an (non-) institutional sphere, and how they engage with some of the issues that have been discussed in this chapter, helps us to understand the impact and efficacy of their practices and actions. Moreover, in making decisions on whether to act or not, there are interesting questions to be raised about the nature

⁴⁹ Quotation from ‘UK Uncut’ website, accessed via web address: <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-common-sense-common-good-common-wealth> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

⁵⁰ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/defend-our-right-to-save-people-and-planet/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

of contemporary mobilisations, and which actors may or may not be involved. The use of the phrase “on our terms” is exemplary of the idea that there are many modes of engagement, and that these are conducted in separate spheres – institutional and non-institutional.

In terms of thinking through the institutional and non-institutional spheres of engagement, this research is also concerned with the relationship between social movements and political parties. The extent to which there is a crossover or interaction between the activities of movements – such as Occupy and UK Uncut – and the institutional domain of parties in the UK parliamentary democracy is open to question. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the analysis of links between political parties and social movements indicated that political parties were less likely to mention protest movements in their information. One key result, however, indicated that there are commonalities between the message of left-of-centre political parties and social movements.

When you look at the Occupy Protests, we all know that many people who would not go and camp outside St Pauls, share the anger of those who do – anger at rewards for failure in the banks and the squeeze on the 99%.⁵¹

The above extract is significant because it demonstrates that there is recognition, in one respect, that social movements have some legitimacy at an institutional level – the party-political level. Moreover, that some of the messages espoused from such movements – i.e. regulation of financial industries – correlate, to some extent, with the policies formulated by political parties on the left of British politics. The recognition of

⁵¹ Quotation from ‘The Labour Party (UK)’ website, accessed via web address: <http://archive.labour.org.uk/ed-miliband-speech-economy> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

the “99%” rhetoric also demonstrates that political parties will engage with such political discourses, though the extent to which this only serves their own interests is open to question. It should also be noted that in the data collection process, the above extract stands alone as the one of the few references to the Occupy movement on the Labour Party website. Whether this is representative of the Labour Party’s view of Occupy is, again, open to question. It does, however, serve to illustrate perhaps a reluctance to associate entirely with the aims and objectives of the movement.

The issue of funding is clearly high on the agenda, and particularly for social movements. In terms of mobilisation, the most significant barrier to organising effectively and consistently is the issue of financial resources. Previously in this chapter, it has been outlined that social movements may seek to gain the support of the trade unions, which has raised the issue of collaboration. The evidence from the data analysis suggests that social movements are in favour of collaboration, but that the financial resources should accompany this to mobilise effective campaigns. It should, additionally, be accompanied by giving exposure to movements through social media.

The contemporary role of the trade union movement is undoubtedly central to understanding a wider, more complex relationship with other civil society movements and organisations. There is a commonality between social movements and the trade unions on a variety of issues – most of which are attendant concerns in social policy. The extent to which these issues have overlapped has become clearer in the post-crisis period of austerity, where social movements have been at the centre of organising on matters that the unions would have previously been active. In a

particularly illuminating extract from the Unite website, there is a broad recognition that the unions could be doing more to link with groups that seek to go beyond traditional organisational parameters.

The Labour movement has started to put itself once more at the heart of British politics in the wake of the economic crisis, with two huge demonstrations and a massive strike in the last 18 months. But it also needs to link up with social protest in a new way in order to effect change, uniting its traditional strengths with the energy and vision of groups like UK Uncut and Occupy. Unite is seeking to engage with working class communities and social movements in a new way in order to develop a working class politics for the 21st century.⁵²

This extract also illustrates a desire, at least from the perspective of Unite, to link with social movements and develop an all-encompassing approach to working class politics – one that facilitates the rising interest in direct action movements. As discussed previously in this chapter, there is a hesitation from some of the unions to collaborate with social movements that engage in direct action. From a trade union perspective, there are certainly concerns that associations with some movements might result in a negative portrayal in the media. As has been outlined, the differences in formation are clearly an issue – on organisation and management. The differences in structure mirrors the divide between institutionalised and non-institutionalised organisations.

As has been discussed extensively, politics in the post-crisis period – in the UK – were over-shadowed by austerity. Each of the organisations reviewed in this investigation

⁵² Quotation from ‘Unite the Union’ website, accessed via web address: <http://www.unitetheunion.org/campaigning/events/lecturethelabourmovementandprotestaworkingclasspoliticsforthe21stcentury/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

dealt with the issue in different ways. This is especially important because they used their particular grievances as a recruitment device, one that would focus attentions and be used to recruit to the respective movements. Given that austerity goes to the heart of both the Occupy movement and UK Uncut, it is not surprising to find the evidence suggests that this was a point of convergence, and an issue where common agreement could be found. From a comparison of selected quotes, we can begin to understand a complex picture of linked networks and organisations, coordinating to oppose government policy. The first series of extracts deals with the prominent issue of austerity and the accompanying actions that social movements have organised. Information extracted from the Occupy London website gave some insight in to the reasons behind action against the UK coalition government's austerity agenda:

*The government is attacking the people with unjust, unequal and unnecessary austerity measures. The banks got bailed out; we got sold out. We stand with workers in opposing this government and this attack.*⁵³

There are a few things here that are important to unpack. The first is the patent awareness of injustice from civil society that has punctuated the narrative surrounding the financial crisis. Combined with the UK coalition government's commitment to cuts to public services and reductions in welfare spending, there is a pervading sense that people have been "sold out" by an indifferent elite. The second point to make is the notion of "workers" and social movements. Many of the criticisms levelled at social movements – such as Occupy – are that they are generally unrepresentative of the working class, and more reflect a movement of middle class, young professionals, and students. That Occupy should want to associate itself with workers is indicative, to

⁵³ Quotation from 'Occupy London' website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/build-up-to-n30-strike/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

some extent, of the recognition that there are class politics at work within the movement. The following quote, also taken from the Occupy London website, highlights the attendant struggles that have been active across Europe in terms of resisting austerity.

Across Europe, trade unionists have to resist an assault on living standards and an attempt to roll back all the gains won by our movement over decades. Yet, as unions have warned, cuts and ‘austerity’ are just making the economic crisis worse.⁵⁴

The recognition here in this extract demonstrates, to an extent, the shared interests of traditional trade unionism and social movements. The usage of the phrase “our movement” suggests that the struggles are interconnected as opposed to being divergent. Additionally, by broadly calling to “trade unionists”, there is evidence that social movements – at least in the case of Occupy London – reach out to those people engaged in institutionalised organisations. Having analysed and unpacked a range of documents, the following section will close the chapter with a discussion and some concluding remarks on this part of the empirical work.

4.6. Discussion and concluding remarks

To conclude this chapter, the following will discuss the findings from the analysis, and the implications for social policy. As has been outlined, this chapter used two sets of data (from textual and documentary analysis) to help understand organisational

⁵⁴ Quotation from ‘Occupy London’ website, accessed via web address: <http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/resisting-austerity-in-europe-and-the-uk/> [accessed 23rd September 2014]

linkages, the core issues of engagement for post-crisis social movements, and, their engagements with welfare state politics. The chapter has examined the policy prescriptions from *within* and *outside* traditional policy domains. It has been a primary objective of this chapter to make clear the relevance of non-institutional social movements to the issues embedded in social policy. By understanding how ideas between the institutional and non-institutional sphere can be transferred, this chapter has made efforts to answer the underpinning research question on social movement views translating as social policy ideas. There are a number of key points to make before proceeding to the next set of data – interviews with activists and social movement participants.

As demonstrated in the section on ‘organisational linkages and strategic differences’, there is a mixed picture of interaction between the British trade union movement, and post-crisis social movements. There could be for any number of reasons for this, but the strongest explanation may be that unions might not want to be aligned with the actions taken by ‘unaccountable’ and disorganised groups. This is important as it links back to the study undertaken in chapters one and two on the differences between institutionalised and non-institutionalised actors. The issues of funding, membership and strategy can, in part, explain why political mobilisations – between trade unionism and social movement – remain fractious. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that some unions and protest groups do work together – whether this is sharing resources or supporting actions. Again, in the section on ‘organisational linkages and strategic differences’, Unite the Union called to back the efforts of UK Uncut. This is convincing evidence to show that trade unions in Britain – such as Unite the Union – have been willing to support social movements. The documentary data

also illustrates that, in terms of links between organisations, there is a relationship between activist groups and the trade union movement, but that the relationship is weighted in the direction of activist groups – which link in greater frequency to trade unions.

With regards to political parties, the relationship between the Labour Party and protest groups is mixed. The data has yet to show any serious involvement of the main centre-left party – the Labour Party – in any of the identified protest movements or campaigning organisations. The evidence shows, particularly in the section on ‘the role of the welfare state’, that social movements view the Labour Party’s policies with great contempt (as indicated by the quote on p. 203). The data – both in terms of documentary and textual analysis – seems to indicate that support for movements, such as Occupy, has been mixed, and has only been strong when it has suited a particular narrative – i.e. to promote an idea or a policy. This is evidenced by the fact that the Occupy movement – according to the analysis – is mentioned once (as indicated in the quote on p. 206). In contrast, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that the bonds between the Labour Party and the British trade union movement are stronger, which fits the narrative of institutionalised organisations against non-institutionalised and disorganised movements. The reasons for this could be that the ties between the two organisations have, historically, been stronger, for many mutually beneficial reasons – i.e. for membership, political mobilisation and economic benefit.

In the section on ‘core issues and concerns’, the evidence has demonstrated that post-crisis social movements engage with social policy, and particularly on the issue of

welfare services. It shows that there is a spread of issues that concern protest movements and campaigning organisations alike (see: appendix six for further detail). Frequently, the issue of protection of the health service (or NHS) has been over represented (also see: appendix six). Austerity as a political challenge is also mentioned frequently, as are the cuts to public services. This is perhaps less surprising, but it does begin to provide some insight in to what these organisations seek to campaign on, and how they win support. There are potentially many reasons for why the health service would feature so prominently. A historical analysis (see: George and Wilding, 1976) would suggest that the NHS is the most revered of public services in the United Kingdom and wins strong public support across the political spectrum. The idea of any tampering with such a service is seen, politically, as incredibly contentious. This directly relates to the notion of health as a public and social good – something that is to many, indisputable. Somewhat unavoidably, the data shows that the issues of ‘cuts’ (to public services) and ‘austerity’ also feature notably (see: appendix six).

Examining the relationship between the multiple groups and organisations, there is evidence to show that activist networks work together, in some way, with the union movement, though the extent to which this is reciprocal (i.e. from the unions to the unaligned social movements) is highly questionable. Overall, the organisation that returned the most cross-referenced results was Left Unity (see: appendix four). In terms of the least: the GMB returned only 1 cross-referenced result from the organisations that had been analysed. There are a number of technical factors which could potentially influence the result; the structure of the website, for instance, could limit the breadth of any one search. More likely, the pattern that emerges is that the

union movement engages less with social movements than is true of the reverse. Explaining the particularly high density of results from Left Unity (305 cross-referenced results in total) is perhaps easier to ascertain. Left Unity, as a grouping of related organisations and trade unions, is more likely to return links that have relevance to their own organisation. Therefore, Left Unity would be more likely to feature protests, meetings and articles that have been linked elsewhere on activist websites, if they have a relevance to their own aims and objectives. Whilst the focus of these results is on a relatively small number of organisations, the data does indicate that there are definite links between social movements and trade unions, but that these links originate from the former. Having broadly discussed each of the themes, the final subsection of this chapter will consider some of the implications for social policy and moving forward to discuss the reflections of the interview participants in chapter five.

4.6.1. Implications for social policy

The data presented and analysed in this chapter presents a number of specific implications for social policy thinking and research. In particular, the role of class struggle is important to consider, since the ideas presented by social movements help determine, to some extent, the direction of political discourses on welfare. More broadly, there have been many contemporary efforts in the literature to draw together class conflicts and social policy outcomes (Farnsworth, 2005). Thinking through notions of labour, capital and the state are all important in considering how social movements or trade unions can make efforts to intervene on structural matters of welfare state resilience:

[On] the question of the sustainability of welfare, including social security policy and pensions, such questions only arise, according to labour, because of the failure of economic policy and of national governance. The real problem, for labour, is that persistently high levels of unemployment, which governments have come to tolerate, undermine the affordability and operation of welfare services... Hence, for labour, tackling unemployment remains a top priority, alongside related issues, such as eradicating poverty and social exclusion. (Farnsworth, 2005: 222)

The important point here is where the most favourable conditions for labour movements to be active in challenging policy failures exist, and if they can be advanced by social movements, trade unions or other related organisations. As has identified in this chapter, the new forms of political engagement – non-institutionalised in character – have replaced traditional hierarchical organisations, such as trade unions. Recognising that the union movement is less relevant in the contemporary sense, social movements have manoeuvred into the arena of protest and direct action, where they have been at the front of many struggles against austerity. The evidence in this chapter highlights a complex system of networks and organisations that are often linked, sharing information and resources. The question throughout, however, has been to test the strength of these bonds, and whether they are consistent across time. For social policy, the important point to consider is the extent to which conversations on related issues are present in the discourses of such movements.

In assessing the points of convergence, this chapter has extensively covered where we find both agreement and disagreement between the institutional, orthodox organisations and disorganised, non-institutional movements. The fervent language of

anti-neoliberal capitalism espoused by Occupy London, as discussed earlier in this chapter, is one example where there are some limits to the agreements on action that could be made between institutional and non-institutional movements. In this respect, the tensions between trade unions and social movements are evident: the evidence suggests that there is an imbalance in the relationship between the two types of organisation. The ad-hoc nature of these mobilisations opens questions of power and influence over social and political discourses, particularly in the public sphere. Whilst the desire to make some informal interventions on matters of social policy have been clarified, there is an open question on the relevance of social policy *to* social movements, and whether there are considerations made by such movements to address key elements and interests. That is to say, the direct link between the ideas of movements and the specific interests *in* social policy cannot be explicitly made, at least from the evidence presented in this chapter. The following chapter examines in detail some observations made by activists and organisers from *within* the movements that have been discussed thus far, in order to expand and elaborate on this question of an ambiguous relationship between social policy and social movements.

As is evident from the investigations in this chapter, there is a wealth of evidence from the data to suggest that, in the post-crisis environment, left-wing organisation saw an acceleration of activity after 2011, and this is particularly true of Occupy London and UK Uncut. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the activity of such movements has clear linkages with the aims and objectives of social policy. On the second point, the evidence from this stage of the data collection suggests that there are indeed efforts being made between some mainstream unions and social movements. What the character and nature of these links look like in practice is open to further

investigation. On the public-facing websites of movements and unions, an element of image management might explain some of the enthusiasm for cooperation. Whether this enthusiasm translates as practical action is again open to question. As for engagement with political parties, the indication is that engagement from the mainstream, at least at the top level, is not evident and this is emblematic of wider theoretical and political discourses on the relationship between the institutional and the non-institutional.

The relevance of both Occupy London and UK Uncut should also be reasserted, in terms of locating examples of interventions on social policy issues. The direct use of language on ‘inequality’, present in extracts from both movements, is a clear indication of the significant contributions of such groups in shifting dominant social and political narratives on questions of policy objectives in an era of multiple crises. It is important to situate the ascendance of social movements in the broader context of class struggle. Exploring other forms of activism and direct action – i.e. social movements – in contrast to trade unionism allows us to critique the composition and form of protest activities in a post-economic crisis context. Moreover, the information extracted from activist and trade union websites serves to illustrate the links between different groups and organisations. It also informs us of the strength of these bonds, and, whether there are differences of opinion on certain issues.

In reasserting the research questions of this investigation, it is evident that this chapter makes an important contribution in terms of answering all three research questions – with a particular focus on **RQ2** and **RQ3**. More specifically, it takes the question of *process* and uses the frame of movement organisation by way of understanding how

contributions can be made by social movements to influence the post-crisis narrative. The strengths of this chapter have been to examine the complexities of organisation and struggle, and how individuals organise and act on specific issues. Understanding the organisation of movements is, however, only part of the investigation. It is the aim of the following section to examine the reflections of those directly involved in contemporary struggle, and how this might add to our understanding of the crossover between social policy and social movement activity.

Chapter five

Reflections and observations on contemporary struggle

This chapter analyses interview data collected from participants of contemporary social movements and trade union organisations organising in the UK. Previous chapters of data collection have sought to investigate the relationship between these different actors through a combination of content and documentary analysis. This chapter will address all three research questions, as set out in the introduction, but, in particular, **RQ2** and **RQ3**.⁵⁵ The purpose of this chapter is to: (1) analyse the interview data thematically, drawing on the analysis from chapter four; (2) interrogate the data in order to understand the contribution of social movements to social policy; and, (3) discuss the implications of the findings for this investigation. As has been outlined in the methodology chapter (chapter three), the interviews completed for this study took place between June and September in 2015. The spread of organisations approached for interview in this stage of empirical work are drawn from table 1 – as indicated in chapter three. Whilst there are mentions of the organisations involved in the research, care has been taken, as per the process of ethical considerations, not to be specific about, or name, individual participants. Table 4 in the methods chapter provides key information about each participant – all interviewees are given individual codes, i.e. DPAC1.⁵⁶ As this chapter demonstrates, there are clear links between the previous

⁵⁵ Details of the research questions are set out on p. 28.

⁵⁶ The codes for each participant are shortened versions of the full organisation name, linked to a unique number for the participant. For instance, DPAC1 is the 1st interview participant for the organisation, Disabled People Against the Cuts.

sets of analyses from online content with the views and opinions of those engaged in social movements. The interview data is organised around 3 key themes: (1) understanding the intersections between social movements, trade unions and institutional politics; (2) the ideas espoused by social movements, and the potential links to social policy; and, (3) how social movements decide to act on a particular issue. This echoes the broad thrust of the semi-structured interviews (and interview schedule), in which it was important to explore and tease out how activists identified which issues were important, and, what strategies they used to follow through on their political engagements.

5.1. Summary methodological note

The following will briefly restate the methodological approach to collecting and analysing data from the completed semi-structured interviews. As has been outlined in chapter three, the purpose of the interview data was to expand on, and add to, the textual and documentary analysis, discussed in chapter four. The process for analysing data in this chapter – also outlined in the methods chapter – utilised a manual coding process, through Nvivo. Interview participants for this study are drawn from 4 organisations: DPAC (Disabled People Against the Cuts), NCAFC (National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts), Occupy London, and, the TUC (Trades Union Congress). Although a greater sum of organisations was approached – as outlined in chapter three – the response rate for the investigation was, unfortunately, low. All participants involved in the investigation were approached by e-mail and were provided with a participant information sheet (PIS) (see: appendix one). Once participants had agreed to be involved, they were asked to complete a consent form

(see also: appendix two). On completion of all interviews, a process of coding, through Nvivo, was utilised in order to thematically investigate participant responses. The broad thrust of the analysis followed the structure of the interviews and spoke directly to the primary research questions. For instance, participants were asked about their knowledge and understanding of government austerity, and the cuts to public services. This was crucial in terms of how activists in social movements understand core issues, on *austerity, public services, taxation, regulation* and so on. Participants were also asked to consider the extent to which the movement or organisation they were involved in sought to campaign on issues, and, what strategies were deployed in pursuit of communicating with the public (full details of the interview schedule can be found in appendix three).

5.2. Summary of key findings

As outlined, a number of themes have been drawn from the analysis of interview data: (1) the differences in institutional and non-institutional engagement; (2) ideas espoused by movements, and links to social policy; and, (3) the impact of movement and organisational decisions to act. Each of the themes identified has resonance with the primary research questions: **RQ1, RQ2** and **RQ3**. As will be discussed, there are a number of points that participants made which help reinforce arguments made about the documentary material in chapter four. Significantly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the differences between institutionalised and non-institutionalised organisations are candidly explained by participants. For instance, the suspicions of activists in social movements towards the trade union movement – a point made in chapter four – are expanded on in the following section on ‘movements, unions and institutional politics’.

On the matter of core issues, the evidence outlined in section 5.4 demonstrates that post-crisis social movements do meaningfully engage with social policy issues. One participant from Occupy London, for instance, notes that *financial regulation* and *tax avoidance* were high on the agenda. Interestingly, when analysing responses on movement decisions to act (as in section 5.5), distinctions are made between the types of actions that activists were more likely to engage with. One participant, from Occupy London, stated that protest actions were viewed as a one-off interaction, and not as a part of a wider movement objective. This is particularly important when considering how social movements maintain energy and interest (see: Piven and Cloward, 1977). Thus, as outlined, the following will first investigate responses that look back to a period of institutional, trade union organisation and contrast that to the current situation of radical politics in a post-crisis era. The discussion will then move to analyse the interview responses that dealt with the visions for social policy as advanced by social movements. Finally, it will conclude examining the decisions of social movements to act given all the above, and, explain how such movements are working with other similar struggles on the left, and, providing the most vocal challenge to government austerity.

5.3. *Movements, unions and institutional politics*

One of the key issues explored in the interviews undertaken for this study related to interviewees' reflections on the present state of class politics and organisation. Some of the respondents chose to reflect on tensions between different trade union organisations and movements, which, in the context of the present crisis, pointed to tensions between different organisations on the left. Most pointed to changes in the

way trade unions organise on a national scale and that, at least as far as trade unions are concerned, membership and organisation is not what it used to be. One respondent – an active regional and national organiser in the TUC – gave a familiar account:

There's a large number of Trades Councils that are now defunct, that are not meeting at all. There's renewed interest in some of them, but it's very patchy on a national basis, it's not like it was 30 years ago when every town, city, local authority had a very vibrant Trades Council.⁵⁷

In this instance, the evidence suggests that there might have been a shift in the organisation in working class political mobilisation. The mobility of action has been changing significantly in recent times, as has been explored in chapters one and two. The work of Della Porta (2014) and Fanelli and Brogan (2014) certainly echoes these points and provides further weight to the argument that organisation (and mobilisation) in the post-crisis era is demonstrably different to previous decades. On this, the evidence from the interview data – and particular the TUC respondent – supports the fact that shifts in the organisation of the workers and of the union have affected wider political engagement. This is partly the result of changes in trade union membership and anti-union legislation, as well as changes in industries, but the respondents I spoke to pointed to broader disengagement and apathy amongst what might be referred to as the working class.

Another common theme was that 'traditional' organisations had left their core constituents behind or let them down. The representative of the TUC suggested that the key problem is due to a shift in attitudes within the Parliamentary Labour Party.

⁵⁷ Participant ID: TUC1

For the respondent, the Labour Party had been taken over by *careerists* and has steadily evolved to a less democratic party that:

...has been ignoring the votes of its own conferences, ignoring the wishes of its own membership, at least 40 or 50 years now, going back to the 60s and 70s.⁵⁸

More importantly perhaps, the Labour Party has disengaged from the concerns of the poorest and most vulnerable:

Under Kinnock and Blair, this became more and more egregious [and] inequality increasing practically every year under the new Labour government, Blair's failure to tackle the anti-trade union laws and all the rest of it...⁵⁹

The respondent pointed to the fact that many within the labour movement are not members of the Labour Party and would not identify strongly with it:

a lot of rank and file trade unionists, and certainly a lot of the best activists, are not Labour, they are members of the SP, the SWP, or they're anarchists, or they're involved in other organisations.⁶⁰

The sense of difficulty over taking a position or choosing between two methods of engagement in many respects reveals the tendency to reluctantly put intellectual and practical weight behind the orthodoxies of institutional politics, despite the scepticism over how hierarchies between movements and parties reveal a tense relationship. Others, amongst the sample, spoke of the importance of trying to find a 'home' for radical action and ideas, in the absence of such politics within the Labour Party. Nor

⁵⁸ Participant ID: TUC1

⁵⁹ Participant ID: TUC1

⁶⁰ Participant ID: TUC1

was it only the Labour Party that was considered to have 'sold-out' workers, trade unions also came under attack. This will be explored later in the chapter.

Another account of one particular interviewee – actively involved in DPAC as an organiser – illuminated reasons as to why radicalism has been stunted in recent times and what the consequences were.

Over the New Labour years [we] really lost the radical edge, and I think lost our way, and then that meant that the movement wasn't really prepared when the coalition government came along in 2010, when the cuts started to happen there wasn't what was very clearly was needed was some kind of national coordinated response to that from disabled people being targeted by the cuts and hit disproportionately and so... [Our movement] basically fit in that gap.⁶¹

For this respondent, therefore, New Labour was both a cause of the perceived problem, but it also triggered a solution. This has echoes with Piven and Cloward's (1977) reflections on how disappointment with mainstream politics can cause organisations or civil society to turn to non-institutionalised action which may be more effective in tackling various issues.

What became clear from talking with my respondents is that the turn towards more radical, non-institutionalised struggle, is not just about the failure of institutionalised politics to defend particular rights and interests, but also because, within those very 'institutions', there are hierarchies and organisational barriers that prevent them from being effective. As one activist from DPAC explained, such organisations have strained the relationship and the spirit of collaboration:

⁶¹ Participant ID: DPAC1

They've been sort of like historically barriers between disabled people's rights movement and the trade union movement and there's lots of reasons for that... One of the things I think you can trace it back [is the] history of the long-stay institutions, and when those were being closed down the trade unions were defending the workers of those places. For example, denying that abuse was happening, and the DPRM doesn't forget... There's a tension between the workers who are being seen to perpetrate the abuse or oppression, the unions who are defending them, and the disabled people...⁶²

In a similar vein to the previous respondent, the above recalls a reticence over social movements working with organisations with hierarchical and institutional arrangements – in this case, the trade unions – that prevents them from adequately defending or representing the most radical, and, the poorest and most vulnerable within society. This might help to explain why social movements develop: to represent the interests of those that have been forgotten. There are echoes, once again, with the work of Piven and Cloward (1977), and this provides further weight to the argument that some social movements feel they must pull away from more institutionalised bodies, such as trade unions. The following, from a member of DPAC, clarifies the point on organisational linkages of non-institutionalised and 'disorganised' workers:

You've got the Sotheby's workers; you've got the PCS National Gallery; you've got pockets of workers that are taking really serious action and they want [us] to be involved, and to support them, because it means something to them which is exactly what we want to do...⁶³

⁶² Participant ID: DPAC1

⁶³ Participant ID: DPAC1

On the relationship between trade unions and social movements, some respondents representing the latter groups viewed unions with a degree of hostility and suspicion. They were especially critical of the lack of engagement, support and consistency from a number of trade unions as groups such as Occupy began to mobilise in 2011. As one respondent, who had been a key member of the Occupy camp outside St. Paul's in London, stated:

In my experience [the unions] will press release and try and get something in their supportive media, such as the Morning Star, and then that will be it, it doesn't seem to then be followed up with anything more and their involvement with [our movement] back when we had lots of meetings was about trying to learn from our perhaps more direct action tactics, and it's just not followed up from them, because what they're going to have in the back of their mind is perhaps the fear of them facing legal action... being categorised as terrorists or something like that... there's a reluctance that needs to be dropped by people generally if they want to enact change.⁶⁴

In this instance, the formal engagements between the social movement and trade union organisations demonstrate a fractious relationship by which some actions taken in non-institutional activism are viewed with suspicion. From the view of another activist involved in Occupy London, the relationship between movements and unions was less of an issue in terms of activity, and more of inconsistent communication:

We've tried with the trade unions and had a little bit of contact, but it's very hard to get anywhere with them, but we have had some... There was [some contact], way back at Occupy St Paul's [and] there were connections made. I wasn't involved in that bit so I can't really remember, but I know there were people that

⁶⁴ Participant ID: OCU2

went out in support of striking workers, and we had a couple of trade union people come and speak at Occupy.

This same respondent did point to the fact that social movements can and do want to reach out to more institutionalised ‘supporters’ or sympathisers – and this was also clear from the analysis of the previous chapter. But here there are suggestions that a lack of formal linkages, or simply practical matters, get in the way:

I think there were a few people in Occupy who really wanted to make links with the trade unions, and there were probably a few trade union people who really wanted to make links with Occupy, but there weren’t enough on either side for it really to happen in a big way.⁶⁵

It is reasonable to suggest, given what has been revealed thus far about the nature of the relationships between organisations, that differences regarding tactics and what is deemed as legitimate protest inevitably get in the way.

Of course, many of those who were involved in social movements are seasoned activists who themselves have been involved with trade unions and in the Labour Party. And such activists pointed to the problems of such organisations in reducing the effectiveness of activism and agitation. One interviewee from NCAFC (the National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts) shared a personal experience of attempts to organise after the 2010 UK general election:

At the time, there was a huge energy [in the anti-cuts alliances], and there were loads of new groups... I feel like the energy just got sapped out of everyone, and I feel like a lot of people would say one of the major reasons for that was

⁶⁵ Participant ID: OCU1

*the actions of the big trade unions, selling people out – particularly on pensions.*⁶⁶

One of the key problems is that activists 'joined' with others on marches and other campaigns before the campaign fizzled out:

*The organisations that are supposed to lead us and give us that energy, took everyone on these big A to B marches and then let everyone down. I think that energy was killed by those actions [of the trade unions], and I think they should take some responsibility.*⁶⁷

The issue of an individual's use of time and energy became a focus for several of the interviews conducted with activists, especially in relation to trade union actions. Participants were forthcoming about the fact that building solidarity between organisations – social movements and trade unions – had, at times, been difficult primarily as a result of trade union intransigence, in particular towards changing tactics or strategies. For activists organising at this particular time, the lack of organisational energy from trade unionism effectively stultified meaningful progress against government austerity.

There were some interesting observations from the senior member of DPAC regarding relationships between social movement and trade union organisations. The links that groups might have, by this account, might not always be as clear.

It's not surprising that the most militant unions are the ones we get on best with, so we have very good links with the bakers, just because they're loud and they want action and are not afraid to take it. The trade unions we've got links with,

⁶⁶ Participant ID: OCU1

⁶⁷ Participant ID: NCAFC2

*both really good links with, are the RMT and TSSA, which is the more conservative union, but we've got quite a lot in common. The cuts they are facing to the railways, to the underground, have a direct knock-on effect on disabled people's ability to travel... [These are] some of the unions which we have the best links with, which you wouldn't really expect, considering what they do... We do a fair bit of work with unions that work in the voluntary sector, social care settings, which are UNISON and UNITE. UNISON really don't like us, because we're too militant.*⁶⁸

Regarding the point of 'militant' action, there is nothing new or surprising about where social movements find common ground with radical trade unions. The point raised by the participant regarding 'conservative' unions is important as it speaks to the wider narrative of this investigation regarding differences between organised and 'disorganised' mobilisations. The tendencies of conservative unions towards procedural democracy and internal hierarchies inevitably frustrate those organisations and movements more concerned with 'militant' or direct action (see: Fanelli and Brogan, 2014). The point about hierarchy is that, in the main, we tend to think about more institutional organisations – such as trade unions and political parties. Social movements tend to frustrate this, as they represent 'disorganised' political engagement. The evidence presented here fits with the broader thrust of this investigation, which seeks to draw distinctions between institutionalised and non-institutionalised movements.

On the point of 'conservative' unions, this somewhat disrupts the picture of unity amongst groups that deploy a set of tactics in the field. Some movements might find

⁶⁸ Participant ID: DPAC1

common ground on certain issues and grievances but disagree on the tactical behaviour of group actions. For the most part, this section has shown that there are tensions between movements and organisations. In terms of bringing together a cohesive response from the left, the terrain becomes more challenging. If the aim is to demand alternatives and influence policy, the above would suggest that there are obstacles – at least from an institutional perspective – in terms of developing coherent strategies to solve problems in the post-crisis environment.

5.4. Social movement ideas and objectives

The following discusses extracts from the interviews where participants have alluded to or explicitly mentioned objectives and ideas linked to constructing a post-crisis narrative. It also examines how such interventions from movements can be viewed as alternative, and more progressive, visions of constructing social policy. Discerning the types of policy objectives that social movements *might* espouse has been relatively straightforward in earlier chapters of this study. Document analysis has demonstrated that there are many examples of interventions put forward by social movements in the post-crisis environment. During the process of conducting interviews, it was perhaps less clear to discern the issues that activists were willing to make specific links with policy aims. Though this was limited, there are a few examples where issues of social policy were placed front and centre of an individual's critique. Overwhelmingly, it was clear that, in the case of Occupy London at least, the space provided was one that signified a collective activity, aimed at discussing shared grievances. One interviewee, who had been active in Occupy from the beginning of protest activities in 2011, explained the following:

*The way I saw it was a collective group of people ascertaining, or asserting, that enough was enough. For them, even though they were resolutely peaceful, something had changed in consciousness, and they were willing... to be defiant.*⁶⁹

If the objective is to create spaces for citizens to express defiance on shared grievances, then much of the evidence – theoretical and empirical – would suggest that Occupy London succeeded in this regard. The point here, however, is to demonstrate that there were ideas about the direction of the movement. The practice of such an approach made it difficult, at least from the outside, to understand fully the demands of Occupy – this is true especially if you were an ‘outsider’ of the movement. Another of our respondents from Occupy London gave an account of the ideas that spurred the movement, although qualifying it by highlighting the problem of overstretching – a criticism that has frequently been levelled at the Occupy movement in London:

[Occupy] was trying to do a lot of things: greater regulation of the financial industry, clamp down on tax evasion and avoidance, tax loopholes, reduce the power of corporations and of the financial sector, but also sort of more social kind of community based stuff as well like trying to help people with housing troubles, trying to affect policy by changing attitudes... making it known that it's ridiculous that all the social housing has been sold off and that we've got loads and loads of empty buildings, and they're clamping down on squatting at the same time as the housing crisis. So, supporting people in local communities.

⁶⁹ Participant ID: OCU2

That happened more towards the end of Occupy when we went and helped with libraries that were being shut down...⁷⁰

The range of issues discussed here indicates that there was no one clear objective – at least for this respondent – on what should be the focus of Occupy. It does, however, demonstrate that the movement was willing to engage with local issues – such as social housing – which is clearly important to, and a strength of, the direct-action activism. It also reflects some of the earlier discussions on what contributions social movements might have to a post-crisis narrative – engagement on ‘tax avoidance’ and ‘corporate power’ is certainly a part of that. The same respondent continued to give an account of engagement with similar grassroots activist networks:

We engaged with loads of groups: UK Uncut, DPAC, local campaign groups such as E15 housing stuff, Barnet Library, a lot of small community grassroots stuff, as well as Reclaim the Power, anti-fracking groups, fuel poverty action, London Black Revs, more recently with Occupy Democracy. [There are] lots of groups Occupy has co-operated, coordinated with and networked with.⁷¹

In discussing the overlaps with similar campaigning groups, we were presented with a picture of multilateral support networks, focussing on cooperating and coordinating on the local and the proximal. In terms of ideas and objectives, the notion that there are social movements acting and coordinating together, on several grievances, provides an indication of how the boundaries of engagement are fluid.

⁷⁰ Participant ID: OCU1

⁷¹ Participant ID: OCU1

5.5. The impact of the decision to act

Concerning the decisions of movements to act upon a grievance, there were many interesting responses from interviewees. The decision to act takes the theory for social movements into practice. In moving from organising either in person or on Internet forums, a decision is made by these movements that direct action is a viable and important method for communicating demands on specific issues.⁷² One of the respondents – an organiser in DPAC – gave an account of their actions, which used a set of norms and beliefs as the foundation for any activity.

We respond in [any given] situation, and it's based on the underlying principles and values that [our movement] is founded on, which is the social model of disability. The principle idea is that we work with the left and trade unions, and that were coming from an anti-austerity position. In terms of setting our plan of work, we try and have annual conferences, though we can't always, and so what we try and get is [allow our] members to say what the important things are that they want us to focus on.⁷³

Responding to events as they happen is an example of where social movements are adept at mobilising – especially where networks are well-developed. The decision to act, in this case, is predicated on the grievance being related to anti-austerity. The same respondent continued to add:

⁷² Issues raised by social movements and analysed in chapters four, which are relevant to social policy – *financial regulation, social justice, tackling inequality* and so on.

⁷³ Participant ID: DPAC1

We're always trying to broaden out, but the problem is capacity, because we do try and work with anyone that we agree with, around basic points on anti-austerity. After the [2015] election, a lot people's response was to setup new things, and that meant a proliferation of different groups that we want to be involved in, and that we're relating to, but don't possibly have the time to be everywhere. I think we'll see a lot more industrial disputes, but with groups of workers, rather than coming from the national leadership.⁷⁴

As with the previous discussion on objectives, the crucial point here is that some social movements are flexible in their strategies for engagement. If there is a mutually agreed objective, then the decision to act collaboratively is a straightforward response.

There are difficulties, of course, in deciding to act on an issue, and in some cases maintaining a level of momentum. One consideration for those involved in social movement action, as raised by an activist involved in DPAC, is to view an aspect of a struggle as part of a wider set of actions that bring activists together.

One thing I've heard since the election, and the horribly disappointing result [of 2015], is people looking at how to go forward from here with five more years of Tory rule, and about connecting with local communities at the sharp, both to support them, the people involved in grassroots stuff at really basic level but also to help to inform those people about the fact that it that they might not be able to see the bigger picture, because they're concentrating so much on their own struggle. So, bringing the bigger picture in and saying that it's not just you,

⁷⁴ Participant ID: DPAC1

*it's the whole system, therefore trying to inspire people to work more together...*⁷⁵

By this account, part of the decision to act is based on an understanding that work undertaken on the local level should not be dismissed. The process of keeping momentum and focus in social movement activity is, perhaps, where much of the critical work should be undertaken in considering how and when to act.

Another significant issue raised by respondents was that of internal organising, and divergent views impacted the decision to act. In horizontal activist groups and community sites of action there are often disagreements on the tactics involved in organising on an issue. Whilst this is certainly nothing new to social movement scholars, it does pose some questions for those engaged in social policy research, understanding the efficacy of actions where tangible objectives – for example, influencing the direction of domestic economic policies – are not achieved because of directionless individuals or movements. One respondent – involved in Occupy London – made a very clear statement on this matter:

*What I'm increasingly frustrated about is that people who organise certain protests will do the protest and for them that'll be it. They don't look at it in context of the protest being a tactic for wider objectives. For example, an occupation of St. Pauls outside should've been seen as a tactic and then progressing on to things to be worked and developed on... So, what I want to see going forwards is for people to be thinking far more intelligently about how they enact change so perhaps a protest on the ground is only the first step...*⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Participant ID: OCU1

⁷⁶ Participant ID: OCU2

The frustrations – often widely shared in direct-action activist groups and networks – underscore the importance of collective behaviour and activity. For this respondent, a lot of the work in following through on an initial decision to act did not materialise. There are, of course, many reasons for the failure of movements' objectives, as is well covered in social movement theory literature. But this respondent identifies a specific grievance: seeing protests as a tactic in the pursuit of wider objectives. In this context, the decision to act has limited impact and the efficacy of interventions from movements are significantly diminished. The broader ramifications are that well-meaning social and direct action can fall short of influencing the political discourses that have been previously identified as being contentious. There are, of course, short term gains to be made from some tactics employed by social movements, and particularly on contentious issues – such as government austerity – that have a strong public focus and impact. One respondent – a prominent disabled activist and campaigner with DPAC – gave an account of how employing direct action had been valuable for increasing public awareness:

They [the media] see us as being out there, just to cause trouble. What DPAC does so well is they get our actions on the front page, and it makes everyone aware of what we're doing – whether you agree with us or not, at least [the public] is talking about us. For me that's what DPAC is about: for too long disabled people have been silenced. DPAC is about bringing the conversation in to the public domain, and I don't care if you agree or disagree with me, as long as you engage with me.⁷⁷

On a personal and reflective note, the respondent made clear that the actions of DPAC have indeed been effective, drawing the attention of the public to issues affecting those

⁷⁷ Participant ID: DPAC2

with disabilities – though of course the scope for attention is not only limited to such groups. Grievances can be articulated, in such instances, through direct action, and provide the desired impact: shaping public discourses and consciousness. The differences for DPAC are that – as a social movement – they amplify the voices of disabled bodies, which are invisible from the media, thus, from 'public consciousness'. This makes visibility an already important goal, one which for other groups might not be. It is important to note that, in spite of the challenges for post-crisis social movements, some of the interview testimonies indicated avenues for influencing the direction of travel, in terms of policy and dialogue.

Participants were, additionally, encouraged to reflect on the varying successes and failures of the movements they had been involved in. For most, the sense of disappointment, pervading from a dry landscape of political struggle in the UK after the 2015 election, underscored a deeper malaise for the potential of radical movements to affect change. For instance, one respondent felt that successes had, largely, been limited in terms of social movement activity, after the imposition of the austerity programme in 2010. The participant – a prominent, young activist within the NCAFC – gave a candid account of both success and failure:

I can't think of many successes we've had... [maybe] how many people we've spoken about stuff to and convinced of our ideas, and I do think that's good. People get so easily put down by how much we don't win, and also things we have won... have just been delayed, the government have just gone ahead [with an austerity measure] months later.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Participant ID: NCAFC1

As with this reflection, notions of defeatism shaped many of the responses from participants, especially when considering the speed at which desired change – theoretically and materially – had been, or could be, achieved. When questioned on how social movement actions and activities might change over the course of a year, participants maintained a pensive mood, but also, crucially, gave insights in to how radical left politics could gain momentum, build on previous gains, and challenge some of the orthodoxies of traditional trade unionism. On this point, an interviewee – the same activist and organiser from NCAFC – noted the following:

I think compared to now, [the movement] is going to be a lot bigger. I think there are more people who are pissed off after the general election. We've had so many new members since then, it's actually quite ridiculous. I think a lot of people would like to see NCAFC as an alternative union to NUS (the National Union of Students), but that'll take a lot longer than a year to do.⁷⁹

There are two salient points, as per the interviewee's insights, that should be emphasised: 1) the exponential growth of post-crisis social movement activity on the back of relative gains during the first wave of anti-austerity activism (post-2010)⁸⁰; 2) the ascent of an alternative and radical trade unionism, in some cases, in the guise of student activity, becoming a feature in the complex mosaic of contemporary class struggle in the UK. Both points, vis-à-vis the impact of social movement actions and activities, have implications for the well-entrenched histories and orthodoxies of trade unionism, as well as those in the political establishment on the left. In the era of highly

⁷⁹ Participant ID: NCAFC1

⁸⁰ As has been highlighted previously, it is important to note that the political landscape in the UK has changed significantly since this research was undertaken – and interviews completed. The final chapter of this thesis will analyse and discuss these changes with relevance, and in relation, to the empirical work of this chapter.

networked individuals and groups, the challenge for traditional trade unionism and political parties is to match the spontaneous enthusiasm for eruptions of discontent on a specific, or set of, issues. Whilst inevitably during the cycle of social movement activity people will become demoralised – as is evidenced by some of the testimonies in this chapter – the underlying sentiment of dissatisfaction and resistance does not disappear, and in fact provides momentum for successive movements.⁸¹ Having analysed some key responses from activists in the field, this chapter will move to discuss the findings in the context of the wider literature on social movement activity and engagement.

5.6. Discussion

This chapter has highlighted some of the key observations and reflections from activists in social movements and trade union organisations across the UK. It has served to accompany chapter four in the sense of providing clarity and additional analysis on the positions of post-crisis social movements. The findings of this chapter – and the research more broadly – have demonstrated a very mixed picture for linking protest action with policy outcomes. As this chapter has attempted to set out, there are several ways in which contemporary social movements have intervened where traditional forces of trade unionism and political parties have failed to uphold the interests of the working class. As has been discussed at length, this relationship has been fraught with various tensions.

⁸¹ This point will be returned to in the analysis and discussion chapter, which will examine recent developments on the landscape of political struggle in the UK.

From the data presented in this chapter, the following points are very clear: (1) there are several points of contention on grounds of organisation and tactical objectives; (2) some views of those engaged in social movement activity reflect a wider discontent over actions which has resulted in activist fatigue; (3) the distance between people and networks is, in some cases, too great, resulting in ephemeral moments of action; (4) there are significant tensions between institutional and non-institutional actors that are hindering, if not preventing, meaningful dialogue. If there are to be challenges to institutional orthodoxies, they should be sustained and coordinated across organisations and movements, rather than inward-looking. Despite this, there is a more positive interpretation of the results: signs of collaboration between movements are emerging. In addition to this, the evidence suggests that social policy issues are firmly on the agenda. For researchers and scholars engaged in debates on social policy it would be pertinent to refocus the present research agenda on the impact of social movements.

5.6.1. Bringing social movements in

The literature focussing on the role of social movements and anti-austerity movements in the contemporary period has grown substantially, within and outside of an academic context. This is particularly true when considering the rise of the Occupy movement (see: Van Gelder, 2011). As has been outlined previously, the extent to which there is a substantive discussion on how such movements are advancing social policy issues through their practices and actions has been touched on lightly, if at all. On the weight of the evidence collected so far, and following from discussions in the previous

chapter, there is a necessity to re-evaluate the possibilities of a new class struggle, given the failures of the democratic apparatus in contemporary British society, and of the hierarchical political arrangements of the contemporary trade union movement. The importance of this is that social movements, in the post-crisis context, can be considered as the 'real' actors of change (see: Bailey, 2017; Worth, 2013). A direct result of this is that matters of inequality and disparities in economic outcomes are open for discussion and criticism. In bridging the gulf between non-aligned citizens and committed activists, the surge in such activity provides an insight in to how the left might envisage moving forward for a wider class struggle, and a broader and less hierarchical labour movement.

There are a few main points in the literature that need to be given attention if we are to understand the (re-)emergence of social movements as part of a broader mosaic of political upheavals after the economic crisis (Shannon, 2014). The first, as discussed, is to view such interventions through the lens of a class dynamic, or, cleavage. Second, the notion of radicalism should be restated – especially in terms of anti-capitalist activity – by way of understanding the demands of social movements as coherent political alternatives. Finally, we need to address the question of democracy *within* social movement activity, as without such a grounding it would be difficult to consider the effectiveness of long-term interventions. On these questions, there have been several recent pieces of work by academics which aim to clarify our understanding (Fanelli & Brogan, 2014; Della Porta, 2015; Della Porta & Mattoni, 2015). A unifying aspect of the literature is the position taken on the role of class in explaining the rise of recent protest activity.

In all of these mobilisations, a new class – the social precariat, young, unemployed, or only part-time employed, with no protection, and often well-educated – has been singled out as a main actor... Precariat is characterised by a sum of insecurity on the labour market, on the job, on the work, on income. (Della Porta, 2015: 5)

Re-examining notions of class is essential to understanding the thrust of contemporary social movement activity. In this chapter, actors from different networks and groups – some of which fit the above definition – have been discussed as part of the broader anti-austerity patchwork of activity. The most recent understanding of class activity has been reinvigorated by the emergence of new groupings, such as the precariat (Standing, 2011). It can be argued that many of those attending the demonstrations described – as has been evidenced by this chapter – fit the mould of a ‘social precariat’. As has been indicated throughout this investigation, historical notions of class have been set against the appearance of individuals and groups that do not fit a traditional analysis. In drawing attention to this aspect of post-crisis social movement analysis, it is clear that the traditional modes of organising through institutional means bear less significance to the wider and more nebulous interpretations of mobilisation that have emerged recently.

On the second point, we turn to notions of radicalism, and the contribution of post-crisis social movements to the development and furthering of alternative narratives (Graeber, 2013; Mason, 2016; Srnicek and Williams, 2015). This chapter has identified from respondents that there are elements of militancy and direct action which are viewed by contemporary protest groups as advantageous to spreading radical and alternative narratives. The literature on this topic confirms some of the findings, but

also provides nuance. In terms of Occupy London, as an example, there have been a significant number of investigations into the standpoints of the movement, which have, in the past, suffered criticism for their incoherence. More recently, the notion of an anti-capitalist Occupy movement in London has been downplayed:

In our interviews... activists expressed some anti-capitalist sentiments but they are articulated at best a very shallow critique of the elements of the prevailing socio-economic system, echoing much of what might be described as romantic anti-capitalism... [Occupy] was a critique mostly on a moral level, on issues such as bankers' bonuses or the privileged tax regime enjoyed by big corporations... (Sotirakopoulos & Rootes, 2015: 184)

Whilst not entirely consistent with the sense of radicalism exuding from Occupy London, it should be emphasised that the encampment and online presence were part of a wider set of anti-elitist narratives, made popular after the economic crisis of 2007/2008. The somewhat complicating juxtaposition (as pictured below in figure 4) is that one of the primary images shared globally of Occupy London was that of a banner which stated: 'capitalism is crisis'. The ostensible disconnect between theory and praxis can be summarised thus: Occupy London maintained an image of radicalism but was in fact a reformist in its intentions for material change (see: Haiven, 2014).



Figure 6: Occupy London encampment outside St. Paul's Cathedral, London (22.10.2011) [photograph taken by author]

Nevertheless, the summary above should not detract from what some elements of the movement aimed to achieve by way of promoting a radical image. Recent studies have made assertions consistent with the evidence presented not only in this chapter, but also throughout this study: “the main issues of the movement are policy reform, governance, and regulation (especially in the financial sector), and there are also major concerns regarding the environment and all aspects of social reproduction, wherein housing, education, and health care are key” (Dowling *et al.* 2012: 613). Indeed, taking such positions that challenge the narrative of government austerity – and articulating progressive views on social policy issues – can be understood as a part of a broader radical attitude that characterised a period of contention, post-economic crisis.

The final point to address is that of democracy within social movement activity. As a rule, this investigation has been interested in the ideas that emerge from movement activity, and how they can be interpreted as demands and interventions in social policy. That said, it would be negligent not to engage in an understanding of the sociological aspects of social movement activity that have been present in many recent investigations. This chapter has made several points in terms of thinking about democracy *and* democratic structures in post-crisis social movement activity: (1) the organisation of resources is a key factor in considering how movements decide to act on a grievance; (2) the capacity for intersecting actions and activities (between social movements) is a consideration, but is limited by the availability of resources; (3) a strong set of values and beliefs are the cornerstone of any action, and, as such, should be taken as the principle factor in deciding to act. The evidence from both the literature, and that presented in this chapter, confirms that there are coherent methods of direct democracy being deployed in social movements, which have enabled alternative narratives (against the prevailing economic conditions) to be expressed and disseminated.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter has examined and detailed responses from individuals, activists and trade union officials ‘on the ground’ in an attempt to draw together some of the key issues being raised in contemporary struggles against government austerity in the UK. More importantly, it has suggested where the organisation of social movements has overlaps with the domain of policy formation. Thinking directly about the wider

research questions of this investigation, this chapter has sought to address **RQ2** and **RQ3**.

The findings from the interviews present a mixed picture of activism, organisation and protest action in a post-crisis environment. What stands out ultimately from the results is a rejection, at least from social movements, of the hierarchies that dominate left-wing political struggles within the UK. Moreover, there are signs of frustration with key elements of left-wing organisations that have failed to take on the challenge of sustaining protest activity against government austerity. The findings here represent a shift in thinking, in some respects, from the organised left. The post-crisis era of government austerity and increasing inequality has forced people to re-think strategies, practices and actions, and, has, in many ways, ushered in a period of reflection on how activism contributes to debates in public social and political discourses. It has also, more importantly, demonstrated that the institutional arrangements and organisations orchestrating austerity *can be* challenged, and, coherent – and alternative, progressive – visions for social policy are observable.

The processes of social movement activity have been important to clarify from the position of activists embedded in, and organising with, certain groups. The courses of action that have been taken have involved direct action and confrontation, through the lens of an anti-austerity critique – this is arguably a strength of social movement action over trade unionism. On the point of the decision to act, this chapter has discussed some examples where individuals and groups have taken steps to think about capacity, resources and the efficacy of certain mobilisations. For the most part, the responses indicated that the nature of contemporary organising – between social

movements and trade unionism – resulted in a complex and ambiguous relationship. Respondents gave indications that, at times, there were issues in making connections between institutional and non-institutional actors. This of course has ramifications for future coordination of left-wing movements, and for the presentation of an alternative and coherent narrative for social policy. The final section of this chapter brought together recent theoretical innovations in the literature to frame the evidence gathered from activists organising in the field. Given the extensive evidence presented across both chapter four and five, this investigation will now move to further analyse and discuss the empirical work and conclude on how the evidence helps to answer the underpinning research questions of this thesis.

Chapter six

Analysis and discussion

Drawing on the theoretical and methodological work of previous chapters, the final chapter of this thesis will look to summarise the main arguments, and, examine the answers to the research questions. In addition, it will investigate recent events in the UK, and whether these changes affect the broader analyses presented in this thesis. This chapter will also take a cumulative and comparative approach and draw upon document and data analysis in previous chapters to compare the ideas and views espoused by social movements and trade unions. Prior to commencing this chapter, it is worth restating the purpose of this investigation: *to understand the relationship between post-crisis social movements and social policy*. Using this as the foundations for inquiry, this thesis has deployed several methods to build on our understanding of how protest movements, activist groups and other associated networks articulate ideas relevant to contemporary social policy. In taking this approach, there have been several key findings, some of which have been highlighted in previous chapters; others will be addressed in this chapter.

The first section of this chapter examines the current social and political conditions and considers what, materially, has changed for social movement organisation and social policy since the economic crisis of 2007/2008. It will then restate the research questions that have underpinned this investigation and take each in turn as a point of discussion, focusing on the ideas that have shaped movement organisation and mobilisation. The second part of this chapter will then consider what has not changed

for social movements – in the context of contemporary political struggle and economic crisis – and why some movements have been unsuccessful in their aims and objectives. The second part will also introduce some of the recent developments in contemporary left-wing organisation. The final part of this chapter will, as discussed, take account of recent events in the UK political context, and, introduce new bodies of literature that add to our understanding of post-crisis organisation and struggle, linking it to the prospects of a renewed and egalitarian vision for the British welfare state.

6.1. *What has changed?*

The theoretical and empirical work of this investigation has sought to understand how post-crisis social movements have (or have not) contributed to social and political discourses, on matters of welfare and social security. In chapter four, a process of textual and documentary analysis helped to understand the emergent, and shifting positions, that post-crisis social movements take on social policy (see, for example, the results that appear in section 4.4). In chapter five, the interview data helped us to understand in greater detail the motivations of activists in social movements, and, how they might perceive their role in bringing about material change (section 5.4, on social movement ideas, is key in this respect). This thesis has, arguably, made the greatest contribution on examining a collage of information, and ascertaining what demands are being made, with relevance to British welfare politics. On the most significant changes to the present political landscape, there is one clear answer, which is that austerity and anti-austerity issues are firmly on the agenda, as well as responses to the crisis – such as highlighting inequalities. It can be said with confidence that the contemporary social, political *and* cultural conditions of crisis capitalism have instituted

a popular consciousness of anti-establishment and anti-authoritarian thinking (Worth, 2016). Post-crisis social movements, have, in many ways, mobilised as a result of such a shift in public consciousness. Materially, this is the most significant shift in our political climate, as the following will examine.

6.1.1. Ideas for/from post-crisis social movements

This thesis has sought, first and foremost, to deal with the question of ideas **(RQ1)**: what was important to the post-crisis movements in terms of contemporary issues, and, were such matters given attention in the public sphere. On this question, there is little doubt regarding the abundance of knowledge production and information sharing in the period after the economic crisis and harnessed by social movements. In this investigation, the literature on post-crisis social movements – as presented in chapter two – gave a strong indication of the types of grievances that were being debated. Primarily, the question of opposing government austerity was a clear concern, and developing coherent alternatives became a preoccupation. The empirical work of chapter four confirmed the framework for which we could observe and understand the interventions and innovations of post-crisis social movements. Indeed, the findings show (particularly in section 4.4 and 5.4) that we can understand the interventions of social movements as part of a montage of post-crisis political discourses, aimed at attacking the ills of the economic crisis.

As Occupy London and UK Uncut were key case studies in this investigation, it is important to explain their part in framing the relationship between social movements and social policy. From both movements, the evidence is clear that issues of

inequality, taxation, public services, housing and welfare were amongst a range of concerns. This is important since it serves as a precursor to the actions that would be taken by post-crisis social movements, in order to influence and affect mainstream political discourse (see: sections 4.4.2 – 4.4.4). The broad thrust of these movements indicated that the disparities and injustices created by the current economic system had to be addressed through direct action, and, that historical forms of engagement (through the institutional pathways of trade unionism) had, to a large extent, been exhausted. One of the key lessons from the evidence presented in these chapters, and supported by some of the literature, is that the contributions of social movements in opening spaces for political transformation – and those that aim to influence policy – should not be undervalued.

Against unidirectional explanations of social reform and mobilisation, an important lesson of history is that the possibilities for resurgent social movements should never be entirely discounted. The very process of organising can open-up spaces of resistance where perhaps none seemed to exist before. This is what gives movements their ‘astonishing’ or ‘miraculous’ character. Even where conditions seem unpropitious movements can emerge; it is only retrospectively that they appear to be an inevitable outgrowth of their times. (Mooney *et al.*, 2009: 17)

The point here is that, in the practices and actions of post-crisis social movements, the opening of spaces for shifting social and political discourse becomes an important and necessary aspect of transformation. For social policy, this means taking account of the radical interventions made by social movements and using them as coherent alternatives against entrenched economic orthodoxies – such as the reaffirmation of neoliberal doctrines after the crisis. As far as contributions of this thesis, this is

particular important, and enhances the arguments of Martin (2001), Yeates (2002) and others, that have sought to identify connections between social movements and social policy.

6.1.2. Building from the ground up

Key to the examination of ideas within this thesis has been the notion of a separation between the institutional and non-institutional sphere. In policy making, this is significant since there are already theories of how ideas of change become a reality, through a process of deliberation, argument and consensus. The second research question (**RQ2**) looked to understand social movement views as tangible and coherent social policy objectives. On this question, chapters four and five provided the evidence and detail in clarifying social movement activity, examining the interventions from selected social movements on matters of interest to social policy, and, drawing conclusions on how social movements think through problems affecting the welfare state. The evidence presented in sections 4.4 and 4.5 demonstrate, with clarity, that post-crisis social movements have a vocal position on matters relating to social policy – and indeed, the welfare state. What was very clear from the analysis of both Occupy and UK Uncut, in particular, is that both movements had relevance on specific issues relating to social policy, and to the welfare state: Occupy in addressing inequality, and UK Uncut in drawing attention to tax injustice. For social policy, the attention drawn to such issues in a post-crisis environment is clearly of benefit to the shifting of narratives towards progressive alternatives. This is important in demonstrating the contribution of this investigation to the literature, especially in echoing the work of Della Porta (2014), Hardy and Cooper (2013) and Shannon (2014).

On the subject of democratic interventions and innovations, this investigation has explored some of the recent trends that have been crucial to mobilising activists, and, creating new narratives – for instance, against government austerity. The literature on this subject is very clear, and equally so are the recent innovations of both theoretical interventions (Della Porta, 2015), and the practical applications of social movement activity. In understanding such innovations, the following model of participation and deliberation can be used as a lens through which to view the actions of social movements:

- (a) *Preference (trans)formation*, as deliberative democracy requires the transformation of preferences in interaction;
 - (b) *Orientation to the public good*, as it draws identities and citizens' interests in ways that contribute to the public building of public good;
 - (c) *Rational argumentations*, as people are convinced by the force of the better argument;
 - (d) *Consensus*, as decisions must be approvable by all participants;
 - (e) *Equality*, as deliberation takes place among free and equal citizens [...]
 - (f) *Inclusiveness*, as all citizens with a stake in decisions to be taken must be included in the process and able to express their voice;
 - (g) *Transparency*, as a deliberative democracy is an association whose affairs are governed by the public deliberation of its members'
- (Della Porta, 2015: 166)

The model outlined above is one recent example of how we can view the interventions of post-crisis social movements as innovators in the modern democratic state. It adds theoretical weight to the empirical work that has been undertaken in this investigation,

and demonstrates that there are, indeed, possibilities in the future for 'building from the ground up', especially where movements focussed on the welfare state are concerned. Where the evidence is concerned, sections 4.5.1 (building strategies for a post-crisis politics) and 5.5 (the impact of the decision to act) are important to reflect on. In both sections, the analysis of the data demonstrates that social movements are innovative in their practices and actions, and, moreover, are willing to fill the void left by institutional organisations.

The interventions of social movements, as discussed, are critical in providing counter-arguments, but the question raised here is how a programme of transformation can be delivered. Returning to the chasm between institutional and non-institutional action, we uncover some familiar problems. Recent commentary on the formation of political movements against the role of formalised and institutional structures (such as the party) has been instructive on this issue. The focus, in this instance, is on the political capital that can be built upon from crowds of people (organised and unorganised social movements) in opposition to the institutional framing of the political party. Dean's book *Crowds and Party* (2016) is one recent example of how the study of movements against political parties has reframed the question of political organisation. We might question what it is that social movements can do that political parties cannot achieve. Dean makes it clear that: "[The] party is a form for the expression and direction of political will. It concentrates disruption in a process in order to produce political power: these acts are connected; they demonstrate the strength of the collective" (Dean, 2016: 195). For the party, in this instance, the trajectories for political transformation are more tangible than those that might result from social movement intervention. This

is to say that: a left-wing government would have better success in realising the objectives of post-crisis social movements from *within* the state apparatus.

Amid a resurgence in thinking about the political party as a vehicle for transformation, there are commentaries that take a different view (see: Rushkoff, 2013). One of the relatively mainstream views on Occupy was that the interventions of social movements should be viewed as an ongoing project of political revolution. By these accounts, notions of taking power are to misunderstand the functions of building movements and transforming society.

The Occupy movement is indeed revolutionary, but not in the sense of victory, overthrow, and replacement of authority. That cycle seeks simply to entrench a new regime (figure) within the same environment (ground). The Occupiers appear to be groping instead for something more sustainably iterative than the steady state of a single solution. The only sort of permanence in the occupation is the ongoing process of revolution, itself. (Rushkoff, 2013: 171)

The notion of an 'ongoing' political transformation could be viewed as part of shifting the narrative in a post-crisis environment, and indeed, setting the ground for progressive alternatives in policy. Whilst the question of process remains open (between institutional and non-institutional transformation), the evidence presented in this investigation demonstrates how social movements have presented radical alternatives, and, in doing so, made an impact on post-crisis discourses. The evidence presented in chapter four (and section 4.5.1 on strategies for a post-crisis politics) provides the strongest indication that this is very much the case. That said, this investigation has also considered the possibility that the political landscape in the post-crisis era remains, largely, unchanged. This is the focus of the following section in this chapter.

6.2. *What has not changed (and why)?*

In spite of the momentum behind social movement activity after the crisis, the necessary and substantive change sought by such organisations has, arguably, not materialised. Further, it can be argued that some of the progressive discourses of post-crisis social movements have yet to find a foothold in the mainstream (i.e. in the centre ground) of political thought. Beyond the frontiers of political discussion, there are evidently structural factors at play which have hindered the development of post-crisis social movement ideas. Materially, the conditions of austerity (and limited government intervention) are still at play in the British welfare state.

As discussed in previous chapters, the realism of neoliberal capitalism presents substantive problems for agents of change – the political philosophy of ‘TINA’, or, there is no alternative, being the most fundamental (see: Fisher, 2009). On this, any movement or organisation has to consider and analyse their political failures, and work to overcome them through strategies of shared discourse building, and solidarity. Dealing with the pace and scale of change – or the lack thereof – can be incredibly difficult for movements seeking fundamental structural transitions, which is precisely why the logic of neoliberal capitalism presents such an obstacle. As the following will examine, there is much that has not changed in the present political climate and dealing with negative outcomes (or not affecting change) is one considerable problem for post-crisis social movements.

6.2.1. *The illusion of change*

Broadly speaking, this thesis details some prominent ideas that have driven social movements to act and challenge contemporary political discourse. The final research question (**RQ3**) considered how non-institutional and 'disorganised' social movements discourses were converging, or diverging, with the institutionalised discourses of trade unions. This question, at its core, looked to analyse such discourses and to understand how different actors (institutional and non-institutional) sought to influence contemporary social and political discourses. For example, it was essential to understand if the actions of social movements, taken outside of traditional policy-making parameters, could have a measurable impact, and, if so, how this could be understood. It sought to understand cooperation between organisations and movements on left that had sought to challenge the narrative of government austerity.

Considering the evidence (as indicated in sections 4.3 and 5.3), the data showed that efforts to collaborate were very mixed. In terms of the theoretical frame of this thesis (between institutional and non-institutional), the results support the theory, which posits that, ultimately, organisational differences are difficult to reconcile. This certainly echoes the work of Piven and Cloward (1977), but also, more recently, in the work of Cooper and Hardy (2012) as outlined in section 1.5 of the first chapter. Although there are elements of cooperation between movements on the (non-)institutional divide (see: section 4.3), it can be argued that the data presents us with some barriers to the enactment of progressive visions in social policy. Indeed, there are conflicting and competing visions of political demands, and of tactics and actions in aiming to influence the austerity agenda driven by government. Much of the evidence for this is

presented in chapter five (see: section 5.3), where issues of trust and reciprocation between movements and organisation are examined in detail. The 'illusion' referred to in this sub-section is that of collaborative and cooperative efforts from individuals and activists that result in material or meaningful gains for progressive visions and political struggle.

Looking at the results of this investigation from the perspective of critical methodologies, we can ask some questions as to how researchers think about the strategies employed by social movements, and whether they are viewed as a success or a failure. The measurement of success is entirely open to question, especially when thinking about the theoretical frames in which we, as researchers, view outcomes. There is a growing body of literature that seeks to deal with the question of social movement outcomes, and how they are given scholarly treatment. In recognising the present conditions for protest and social movement activity, it is clear that the simple narrative of strategy, mobilisation and outcome does not take in to account wider, contextual factors that have an impact on achieving goals of a movement.

Early analyses of the political consequences of protest mobilisation sometimes argued that the combination of protest strategies and political opportunities were responsible for the movement achieving its goals... Today, the focus is more on the combined effects of various factors such as public opinion, powerful political allies and different mobilisation strategies... and instead of the movement, the analysis centres on targets and asks why politicians, political parties, market actors or citizens actually listen to protest mobilization... This focus means that more attention is paid to the mechanisms or processes of change. It allows researchers to demonstrate how the different

contextual factors, such as political regimes, party systems and cultural experiences, interact with the movement strategies and how this all aids or hinders the achievement of the movements' goals. (Uba, 2016: 2)

What the above outlines is a more discursive conversation about the processes of change (and subsequent impacts), which, in many cases, may not be immediately visible in the material sense. To summarise, the metrics by which movement success is measured may not accurately or holistically the conditions on the ground, or indeed broader social and political discourses. Fishman and Everson (2016) discuss at length other conceptual frameworks as a means of social movement success against so-called 'power-holders':

The theoretically distinct mechanisms that we elaborate – *'conversation'*, *displacement and disruption* – are ideal types in nature and not intended to be an exact or fully exhaustive reflection of the complete range of possibilities to be found in empirical reality. In the Weberian methodological tradition... we view our typology as an analytical device that can help researchers – and actors themselves – identify and understand certain coherent *tendencies and logics* in the ways that movements succeed in bringing about change, but we assume that the precise dynamics of success to be found in specific cases can only be uncovered through careful contextually-focused work. (Fishman and Everson, 2016: 2)

Evidently, this has myriad impacts for thinking about the way we consider the aims, objectives and outcomes of social movement activity. To take the theoretical frame of the *conversation*, Fisher and Everson discuss the merits of activities which privilege 'voices of discontent': "conversation' in our sense may include actual discussions between activists and power-holders but may also be understood to incorporate any

exchange of perspectives through the public declarations and discourse of protesters and institutional office holders who never actually talk to one another in direct face to face fashion” (Fisher and Everson, 2016: 5). In applying this frame to the findings of this thesis, we might reconsider how critical conversations on issues of anti-austerity, protection of social security and so on are a fundamental part of considering movement success, regardless of whether any material gains are made from the broader activities of protest groups. As researchers, we might therefore place more weight on the micro-level work undertaken by individuals and groups, which contributes as much to the outcomes of a protest activity as the spontaneous or planned eruptions of direct action.

6.3. *The future for social movements and the welfare state*

This thesis has sought to give attention to the myriad functions of social movement activity as a vehicle for affecting policies on welfare, for example, at the institutional level. For social movements in the future, there are several paths that can be envisaged in terms of engagement with issues of social security, and the welfare state. As has been considered throughout the thesis, there is plenty of empirical evidence – such as that from the document analysis in chapter four – demonstrating an engagement with issues of welfare. Returning to the question of (non-) institutional engagement, the recent political shifts in the UK⁸² portray an interesting picture for social movement engagement. On the one hand, we could see the proliferation of

⁸² By recent shifts, I am referring to all post-crisis social and political activity in the UK since the end of the economic crisis, and up to the present day – i.e. between 2010 and 2017.

prefigurative social movement activity (from Occupy London to UK Uncut) as indicative of a move towards grassroots-based activism, which seeks to engage with questions of democracy, equality and social justice from the ground up. We can be certain, as has been discussed, that the post-crisis social movements of the present day have been a focus for popular political activity, and a channel for articulating common demands – even crossing class boundaries. Bailey (2017) argues that the growth of such activity is no coincidence:

What unites many of these movements is the way in which they bring methods and techniques that have been developed over the course of the anti-globalisation and anti-austerity protests – including horizontalism, prefiguration and a commitment to direct action – to a range of issues and grievances that might otherwise be addressed through conventional parliamentary channels.

(Bailey, 2017: 184)

In terms of the future of social movement engagement on issues of welfare, one might cautiously suggest that a continuation, or upward trend, towards further direct action would be feasible. Further, although tensions between social movements and trade unionism in the UK have been highlighted – as discussed in the empirical data of chapter four – a move towards collaboration could also be a possible outcome. Any shifts of this nature, however, might be tempered – or even muted – by the recent developments in Labour Party politics. As the following will discuss, a return of the left in the UK will continue to be underpinned by questions of how to exercise legitimacy and authority – through either the institutional or non-institutional routes of engagement.

6.3.1. *The return of the left*

The political context within which this research project began is now very different, and, with the knowledge of the present context, there are a number of significant social, political and economic changes which add to and influence our understanding of the relationship between social movements and social policy. A return of the left raises questions in regards to the present state of post-crisis organising and mobilisation. One might ask what the left is returning from: redundancy or obscurity, for instance? The passage of time has demonstrated that some of the movements discussed in this thesis did not attain the velocity to have a discernible impact on the policy landscape in the UK – though its supporters may argue otherwise. Briefly, there are a few points that should be explored in this section of the chapter: (1) what does the empirical data tell us about the state of contemporary organising on the left; (2) how has the re-emergence of radicalism in the Labour Party informed such efforts, and, what implications does this have for social policy; (3) how are the trade unions responding, and, how are contemporary, post-crisis social movements responding to the shifting political context? Key to this part of the chapter will be examining some of the recent outcomes of different and opposing types of engagement – for example, the professionalization of protest and social movements becoming involved in institutional politics.

The return of a left-wing narrative in mainstream politics can be understood in many ways. In one sense, it could be argued that the nadir of post-crisis, non-institutional action concluded with the decline of the various Occupy movements that erupted in

2010/2011.⁸³ The explosion of activity which brought together citizens from across the political spectrum had ultimately resulted in few material gains, and so the idealism of political opportunity was extinguished. The moment of opportunity in those earlier years has been reinvigorated by the recent events within the Labour Party in the UK. The most significant change in the political mood is arguably the election of a radical and progressive Labour Party leader – namely, Jeremy Corbyn. This provides the most obvious shift in institutional politics. As a consequence of the election (and subsequent re-election)⁸⁴ of a radical leader, it can be argued that there is an urgency of progressive and left-wing ideas for social change that had previously been given little attention. This is indeed one example of where the return of left-wing narratives can be observed. The non-institutional rhetoric of the Occupy movement has, by this measure, been succeeded by the resurgence, and a return, of institutional political organising, centred around the Labour Party.

On the first point – that of the empirical data – this investigation has shown (particularly in chapters four and five) that the left has made gains in terms of organising on particular issues, and that there are contributions that they make to the shifting of social and political discourses in the UK. On the second point, there are many reasons that the resurgence of institutional organising is particularly relevant now, not least because methods of acting *outside* of traditional parameters had failed in the test of

⁸³ Although, it can be said that there are more contemporaneous movements – such as E15 Mothers and Sisters Uncut – that have continued to channel non-institutional methods of organising. These will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁸⁴ Two elections took place within the space of a year in the Labour Party. The first took place in 2015 following the resignation of the then leader, Ed Miliband. A second leadership election – after a vote of no confidence in Jeremy Corbyn – took place between August and September in 2016.

longevity. Some have argued that, because of this shift away from non-institutional social movement action, efforts have been redirected, and a reignited spirit of political optimism has been placed in the possibilities of parliamentary democracy as a vehicle for radical social and political change. As evidenced by the shift from non-institutional to institutional, it can be asserted that the revisiting of an anti-austerity narrative (through the party-political system) opens the debate for wider examination, to be tested through public discourse. The primary obstacles, however, for those that find optimism in the new radicalism of the Labour Party, are that the promise of power is tempered by the realities of being in government.

A radical government finds it difficult to wield power precisely because, if left to itself, it is rapidly encircled by those who actually hold power and who are accustomed to exercising it. Should it find a way to win time and space for its own agenda, the next obstacle it faces is that it somehow has to administer capitalism, while making it work for reform. That is, it has to find a growth formula that both makes capitalism grow, and profitably, while also transferring wealth and power to workers and the poor. (Seymour, 2016: 186)

For the movements supporting radicalism within the Labour Party, the question of governing is one that would have to be addressed if there were an opportunity to present an alternative narrative on austerity. Nevertheless, it is clear that the recent attention given to alternative and progressive social policy visions – emerging recently outside of the Labour Party – have reenergised debates on the future of the welfare state. It remains to be seen whether a return to institutionalist thinking can satisfy the demands of social movements and result in meaningful change of social and political discourses. On the final point of a return of left-wing political engagement, Bailey and Bates (2012) offer some clarity. They posit that the question here is not whether the

left has returned, but whether it has *been allowed* to return within the parameters of recent critical thought, or even within the institutional thinking of traditional party politics:

Placing greater emphasis on [the] strategic choices [of non-institutional organising] allows for greater analytical and political space for the left to (re-)empower itself, re-imagine the horizons of possibility, and create change, rather than merely wait and respond to it. It also points us, at least at present, towards grassroots direct action strategies whether within or outside the TU movement... such forms of left struggle have been both visible and in the ascendant during the course of the crisis and, we believe, offer the best strategy for a resurgence in left power. (Bailey and Bates, 2012: 213)

This point here is that, within the present political imagination, the notion of non-institutional organising *should* be seen as part of a wider resurgence of left-wing engagement with the demands of the post-crisis era – of austerity and welfare state retrenchment. The evidence in this investigation certainly reveals a breadth of perspectives and engagements from post-crisis social movements on the critical issues in social policy (as outlined in sections 4.4 and 5.4).

6.4. Consolidation or change in mainstream politics?

The notion of consolidation (i.e. the firming of the present neoliberal condition) or change is an important premise to consider, as, ultimately, the objectives of movements – institutional or non-institutional – are to affect some form of transformation within society. A recent interpretation of protest events, social movement activity and dissent – since the global economic crisis – puts forward the

idea that, despite the upheaval, neoliberalism has gone through a phase of political and economic consolidation.⁸⁵ The interventions and innovations of social movements have, by this account, been mostly unsuccessful. Another view taken is that, in light of the progress made in shifting narratives towards progressive visions of post-crisis restructuring, the possibilities for radical change are increased. By re-examining some of the theoretical discussions presented by this thesis thus far, this section will – in two parts – focus on the premise that, in spite of such change, the move towards progressive visions of social policy has been limited by any meaningful transformation of material conditions – both nationally and transnationally. The second part will look at whether the doctrine of neoliberalism has limits and seek to understand the notion of change in mainstream politics, suggesting some recent ideas that have been prominent in public and academic discourses.

6.4.1. Managing decline in the British welfare state

We first turn our attention the notion of a chastening – or slow decline – of the British welfare state. As has been discussed in the earlier chapters of this thesis, there are two main theoretical approaches to the shifting political and economic post-crisis conditions: the first is that there has been an upheaval, and a shift, in thinking in regards to the hegemony of the state and the transfer of wealth and capital in relation to the citizen; the second is that any shift in narrative has only served to strengthen

⁸⁵ This idea is explored earlier in chapter two, explaining how the narrative of ‘There is No Alternative’, and the theory of capitalist realism, helps to understand how meaningful change has not been experienced as a result of social and political upheaval.

the relationship between the state and the market economy – a consolidation, therefore, of neoliberalism. It has often been argued, as Srnicek and Williams (2015) assert, “that neoliberalism succeeded (and continues to succeed in spite of its failures) because it is supported by a series of overlapping and powerful interests – the transnational elite, the financiers, the major stockholders of the largest corporations” (Srnicek and Williams, 2015: 93). As is evident from the present political conditions in the UK and across Europe, the persistence of the neoliberal model has resulted in the catastrophic decline of welfare and social security as a necessary function within the apparatus of the state. The fallout from the economic crisis of 2007/2008 resulted in a consolidation and reaffirmation of the values of the free market, despite the failures that precipitated the crisis. Some commentators have indicated that this period was one of neoliberal restructuring. On this point, Worth (2016) is particularly instructive with an analysis of the post-crisis conditions:

The financial crisis provided not just a rethink of the existing global economic system, but it also allowed for a review of the way the state should function in order to aid its overall management. In the aftermath of the crisis, the decision to intervene by the instigation of cash injections to bail out faltering banks was one that in particular examined what role the state should play in the functioning of a market economy. (Worth, 2016: 5)

Taking the premise of this argument, there is much to be said for the role of the state after the economic crisis as a balancing and mitigating agent. Rather than demanding rigorous change to the functioning of high-level financial institutionalism, the exact opposite occurred. Post-crisis governance became about excusing excessive, unregulated financial conduct, and penalising some the state apparatus – in particular, the premise of social security itself as a social good. This is one of the primary

concerns for those studying the British welfare state, but also European welfare states. The question for scholars in social policy is whether post-crisis narratives will continue to be dominated by calls for fiscal restraint, or, if a different set of ideals can overturn the ill-conceived logic of free market thought.

6.4.2. The limits of neoliberalism

As a counter to the arguments that an unending inertia of neoliberal economical realism provides the only governance, there is strong opinion to the contrary – at least in terms of describing how neoliberalism might be limited in its orthodoxy. If the present conditions of crisis in capitalist societies demonstrate anything, it is that the cyclical nature of wealth creation and subsequent inequality is entirely unsustainable, and, furthermore entirely contingent on the functioning of external governing apparatus – for instance, the state. The financial crisis of 2007/2008 is an example of the creation of uncertain conditions, and in which the logic of neoliberal orthodoxy was tested. Recent discussions and debates on such questions have produced renewed theoretical work on the embedded logic of the market economy. Davies (2014), for instance, has set out at length the arguments for shifts in neoliberal orthodoxy after the crisis: “[A] new form of contingent neoliberalism has emerged, which renounces the classically modern schema of judgement, offering only cultural-political affirmations of certain forms of conduct and certain representations of reality. A politics of anti-crisis arises, through which the very authority of doubt (and hence of critical judgement) is challenged, and the time and space of political uncertainty are closed down” (Davies, 2014: 127). From this perspective, the certainties that propelled neoliberalism to ideological pre-eminence have become destabilised by crisis.

There have been several wider academic commentaries on what could be expected in a period following neoliberal predominance. Some have observed that, since the crisis, and the accompanying divergence of political thought, there has been a weakening in the authority of neoliberal doctrine. This is a position taken by Springer (2015), who argues that such the decline of such legitimacy and ideological hegemony leaves open spaces for post-neoliberal criticisms:

The rise of polarized positions is of significant concern with respect to the latent potential for violence that exists as diametrically opposed viewpoints come into conflict, but what the recent crisis has at least potentially precipitated is the weakening of neoliberalism's political legitimacy. People are now openly asking questions as to why the general population should shoulder the responsibility of those who got us all into this mess by effectively paying for the financial misappropriation of a small group of wealthy elites. The financial bailouts have accordingly tied tax policy more explicitly to exploitation, which has thereby exposed taxation and bailouts as capital accumulation via a compounding of state and class power rather than the product of just one or the other. (Springer, 2015: 9)

Springer is clear that there are questions over the continued authority of neoliberalism. This is also a position where we find evidence of engagement from post-crisis social movements: the language of Occupy, as has been discussed throughout this investigation, is one example of where challenges to neoliberal orthodoxy have been espoused. For social policy of all strands, the continued predominance of neoliberalism is clearly a point of contention. The expectations of movements – but also the critical public and academic thought – would suggest that there are indeed

limits to its hegemony, but, that the spaces created for intervention have not endured the passage of time, or the continued assault on the welfare state.

6.4.3. *New horizons for post-crisis social movements*

In terms of a final thought on the issue of consolidation or change, there have been some contemporary developments in the literature on post-crisis alternatives that are useful to discuss here. Though relatively clear, it should be restated that criticisms of left-wing activity in mainstream political discourse – and media narratives – have focussed on the fact that ideas on alternatives have largely been absent. This investigation has made attempts to discredit this argument and sought to draw attention to the myriad interventions made by post-crisis social movements. A recent and key development in left-wing critical thought has centred on what futures could emerge from the end of neoliberalism, and indeed of capitalism (Srniczek and Williams, 2015; Mason, 2016). There have, of course, been several iterations of new theories of economic development after capitalism (Fraser, 2016). Much of the latest innovations in thought owe a debt to both a traditional and modernising reading of Marxist political thought. In terms of a contemporary and radical programme for transformation, the ideas of a basic income and automation within the workplace have become a prominent feature of left-wing narratives. Earlier in this investigation, I drew upon the work of Srniczek and Williams (2015) by way of thinking through the interventions of the Occupy movement. On a programme for transformation, their work – *Inventing the Future* by Srniczek and Williams – clearly sets out some alternatives to entrenched and stubborn economic orthodoxies. A programme for left-wing transformations, they argue, must involve a radical reconsideration on the nature and purpose of work:

A twenty-first-century left must seek to combat the centrality of work to contemporary life. In the end, our choice is between glorifying work and the working class or abolishing them both. The former position finds its expression in the folk-political tendency to place value upon work, concrete labour and craftwork. Yet the latter is the only true postcapitalist position. Work must be refused and reduced, building our synthetic freedom in the process... [Achieving] this will require the realisation of four minimal demands: (1) full automation; (2) the reduction of the working week; (3) the provision of a basic income; (4) the diminishment of the work ethic... This is not a simple, marginal reform, but an entirely new hegemonic formation to compete against the neoliberal and social democratic options. (Srnicek and Williams, 2015: 171)

The options for realising a different future based on automated production, economic parity and post-work narratives is one contemporary theoretical innovation that *could* replace the predominance of neoliberal orthodoxy. In both public and academic circles, the principles of the manifesto above have been dubbed: ‘fully automated luxury communism’ (FALC). It is, of course, a tradition based in a Marxist view of industrial relations and the role of capital. In terms of a set of innovations for the modern welfare state, the ideas of a basic income, and a shift in thought regarding the primacy of work, are clearly an interesting development. Academic and journalist commentary on this developing field has frequently been tied to visions of a postcapitalist future. On this, Mason’s (2016) book – *Postcapitalism: A Guide to Our Future* – has been particularly instructive in terms of outlining some of the potential futures that emerge from failures in social democratic capitalism:

There are two basic possibilities ahead of us. Either a new form of cognitive capitalism does emerge and stabilize – based on a new mix of firms, markets

and networked collaboration – and the remnants of the industrial system find an orderly place within this third capitalism. Or the network erodes both the working and the legitimacy of the market system. If so, a conflict will take place that results in the abolition of the market system and its replacement by postcapitalism. Postcapitalism could take many different forms. We'll know it's happened if a large number of goods become cheap or free, but people go on producing them irrespective of market forces. We'll know it's underway once the blurred relationship between work and leisure, and between hours and wages, becomes institutionalized. (Mason, 2016: 179)

Mason's analysis predominantly focuses on innovations within the market, and, in particular, the adaptive nature of new technologies in producing political and economic transformation. What both commentaries provide – on so-called 'luxury communism' and postcapitalism – is a renewed focus on notions of improving the balance between work and leisure, decoupling productivity from individual labour, and, setting a minimum standard of income. These are evidently current issues that social policy scholarship should be concerning itself with. In addition, the presence of such theoretical innovations demonstrates that left-wing alternatives are far from being peripheral in contemporary thought (see: Seymour, 2016). Having examined some of the new developments in the literature, the following will consider radical research methodologies, and how future investigations might benefit from such an approach.

6.5. *Radical research about/with social movements?*

As has been outlined, this research project has conducted investigations at some theoretical and practical distance from the actions of post-crisis social movements –

testimonies have provided the majority of accounts and insights. The reasons for this are, as explained, both to maintain integrity and an objective position, but, also, to circumvent some ethical issues that are raised when approaching research projects with radical movements. The possibilities, however, of conducting research *with* social movements should not be overlooked, especially for a discipline such as social policy. The work of Barker (2011) is particularly instructive here in terms of thinking about the possibilities of research with and about social movements – particularly in contrast to the sites of investigation surrounding the trade union movement.

Theorising about movements requires a stronger sense than is sometimes present of the role of movement strategizing in creating the conditions for its own successes and failures. Connected with this, we might also note that much of the literature is inattentive to the role of *arguments* within movements. Movements are inherently *fields of contestation* among their own adherents, in which every question about movements is open to question and debate: What is the movement's meaning and purpose? What is it seeking to defend or change? (Barker, 2011: 6)

There are, in other words, avenues for investigation and questioning that would otherwise be less visible or open for inquiry in the institutional framing and dynamics of other organisations – such as trade union movements. Barker's work also forces us to think about the notion of radical research through the lens of cooperation, and, ongoing struggle against structures that seek to separate and diminish the power of collective examination and inquiry.

On this subject, research in cooperation with social movements is one meaningful example where activism and scholarship can coproduce knowledge in pursuit of

challenging certain practices and actions of academic research. It also provides an opportunity for information to be disseminated amongst movements, challenging the hierarchical nature of knowledge production (Cancian, 1993). Radical research *with* social movements has an extensive history in the disciplines of human geography, anthropology, sociology and so on. In social policy, studies often place protest movements at an ontological distance – or, by a process of othering – in order to circumvent political and ethical issues bound with conducting radical research. The process of othering also contributes to, and encourages, hierarchies in knowledge production and the construction of epistemologies. In acknowledging this, activist/radical/militant research (or research in cooperation with social movements) *can* provide a framework for the deconstruction of embedded epistemological hierarchies.

The benefits of cooperation for social movements should also not be overlooked, as the relationship between academic and activist has the potential for increasing both awareness and mutual understanding. Brem-Wilson (2014) is instructive on this, in setting out a rationale for participatory approaches: “the recognition of the inherent utility of knowledge, whilst leading to an appreciation of the different ways in which academic knowledge production can work for movements, also leads to an awareness of the extent to which movement interests must compete with various private and structurally determined incentives and motivations that shape the activity of the academic” (Brem-Wilson, 2014: 118). In essence, such an approach can be viewed as a reimagining of how researchers and participants can work collaboratively to challenge top-down frameworks and approaches to research work. There are further, and less recent, examples in this body of literature that note the importance of

conducting such research – and indeed outlining the benefits of research in cooperation:

[An] important benefit of doing research in cooperation with activist organizations is that it makes it possible to challenge the traditional relations of domination between researchers and the disadvantaged people they study or intend to benefit. Activist organizations also provide opportunities for doing activist research and support the researcher's commitment to activism. (Cancian, 1993: 101)

The challenges for critical and reflexive research, such as those experienced in forms of activist scholarship, present questions for academics wishing to engage more directly in the actions of social movements. Maxey (1999) encourages us to be attentive to the power of conducting research reflexively, and, intimately, with participants, movements, activists and so on:

Given the scale and depth of oppression and exclusion in this increasingly brutalized and globalized world, reflecting on our minuscule individual contributions could be disempowering, leaving us to shrug our shoulders and reject the whole reflexive challenge. However, the empowering potential of engaging critically and reflexively with our research, and all aspects of our lives, remains there for us all, whether we choose to embrace this potential or not. (Maxey, 1999: 206)

What has been outlined is partly a short examination of other, radical research design approaches, but also a statement of intention, to deliver a piece of research that takes into account the activist-academic situation. There is clearly much to be gained from conducting research that is both critical and reflexive, but, primarily, engages in radical methodologies in pursuit of deconstructing hierarchies and coproducing knowledge.

6.6. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to evaluate the findings in this thesis – in relation to the research questions – and suggest where there are issues that remain open for investigation. In concluding this chapter, the following will make some brief comments on how the theoretical and methodological work in this thesis has contributed to a better understanding of the relationship between social movements and social policy. It would of course be disingenuous to suggest that any gaps in our knowledge on the subject have been covered fully, and that any further inquiry would be superfluous. Indeed, it is with the close of this chapter, and the main part of this thesis, that I set out in modest terms which research questions have been satisfied, and which demand attention in future work.

The first of the research questions in this thesis (**RQ1**) aimed to locate and analyse contemporary ideas that have defined the post-crisis era. As far as the theoretical work is concerned, the first chapters in this investigation – chapters one and two – were essential in providing the foundations for understanding the economic crisis, and its relationship to contemporary social policy. In terms of any gaps in knowledge, attempts have been made in this final chapter by way of updating the work and being open regarding how much of theoretical terrain can reasonably be covered. The empirical work undertaken to answer **RQ2** and **RQ3** has provided a mixed set of results, and it has been the intention of this chapter to provide a thoughtful commentary on where expectations have not matched the outcomes. Complexity is an issue that has been grappled with during this investigation, and, in admitting this, there are clearly far too many accounts on the interventions of post-crisis social movements in pursuit an

absolute or definite picture of change in discourse or narrative. Any future work on this subject would have to involve longitudinal methods of data collection and analysis. Where this investigation has succeeded is in making clear associations between the language of social movement activity, and the relevance to contemporary social policy. The concluding section of this thesis will look at some of the implications for social policy research, and, make suggestions for future studies.

Conclusion

i. Summarising the thesis

In the introduction, an overview of the thesis was outlined in detail, along with the contributions of the research as a whole (see: p.19). In brief, the overview outlined the intentions of this investigation, its original contribution to knowledge and key empirical insights. In summarising this investigation, the following will detail precisely how this thesis contributes to original knowledge regarding post-crisis social movements, and the relationship of those organisations with contemporary social policy in Britain. It will illuminate this through highlighting specific examples of why this is relevant now to broader discussions of social policy, drawing on evidence from the empirical chapters (four and five). Finally, the summary will reaffirm the original contribution to knowledge of this investigation.

Returning to the 'story' of the thesis, there are three key points which should not be understated: (1) a clear discourse on social policy did not emerge during the period of austerity in quite the way we expected (see: section 4.4); (2) there are characteristic differences which separate the perspectives and engagements of post-crisis social movements and the more traditionally 'organised' working class movements, especially on matters pertaining to the economic crisis (see: section 5.3); (3) the emergence of a 'radical and progressive agenda' from post-crisis social movements demonstrates complexity in the development of ideas, which materially adds to debates on social policy formation (see: sections 4.5, 5.4 and 5.5). The empirical work

in this thesis has revealed a number of important insights on how post-crisis social movements have sought to engage with, and shape the direction of contemporary social policy in Britain. As chapter four reveals (summarised in section 4.2), there is clear social movement engagement with key social policy issues and in some cases public services are promoted as key issues around which social movements can organise. This is clear with organisations such as UK Uncut, but other examples were also found, for instance, where the NHS featured heavily in the documents collected on Occupy London (see: section 4.4.4). This is further revealed by the empirical work undertaken with WordStat (section 4.4.1), which clustered commonly used words around key organisations researched in this thesis (see: p.189). One of the primary findings here is that positions on, for instance, *health* and the NHS are overrepresented from post-crisis social movement documents and online literature (see also: appendix six). In addition, the data collected in this thesis – and dissected using methods of textual analysis – demonstrates that non-institutional and ‘disorganised’ movements are engaged with the development of new ideas on social policy. This is brought to our attention in sections 4.5 and 4.5.1, where ideas for post-crisis politics, and post-austerity social policy, are articulated by the emergent and non-institutional movements which have been central to the investigation.

Where the interview data is concerned, evidence is also located which shows that the traditional forms of organising – through the trade union movement – have been replaced, to some extent, by new forms of political agitation. Moreover, the tensions between the two groupings have been revealed by the empirical work in chapter five (see: p.220 onwards). Nowhere is this better exemplified than in section 5.3 (see: p.222) where our attention is drawn to the experiences of ‘frontline’ activists,

particularly from the Occupy London movement, and their patent unease with British trade unionism. As has been discussed in the outset of this thesis, these empirical observations and insights add theoretical weight to the post-1980s understanding of welfare state engagement. In particular, sections 4.5.1 and 5.4 (on the innovations of social movements in a post-crisis era) serve to show the contemporary role of non-institutional and ‘disorganised’ political groupings in the policy making process, as the parameters of engagement widen out from the wholly traditional and institutional.

A final point regarding the contributions of this thesis to original knowledge relates to the use of social policy by post-crisis social movements as instrumental thinking. On this point, the empirical work completed in chapters four and five revealed that post-crisis social movements (and their adherents) were less likely to make specific demands on matters of welfare policy, and more likely to use a canopy of related terminology as an instrument of protest, and to attract further support. The evidence presented in chapter five (and particularly section 5.4) speaks directly to this conclusion. Participants in the Occupy London movement were quick to suggest that Occupy itself attempted to pull together a host of grievances: ‘greater regulation of the financial industry, [a] clamp down on tax evasion and avoidance, tax loopholes, reduce the power of corporations and of the financial sector, but also sort of more social kind of community-based [activism] as well’⁸⁶. This is reinforced by the points made by activists in section 5.5 (on the impact of the decision to act), where the instrumentalization of protest is demonstrated – for instance, demands on the state are used to mobilise activists ‘in any given situation’⁸⁷. Having summarised the ‘story’

⁸⁶ Participant ID: OCU1

⁸⁷ Participant ID: DPAC1

of the thesis, the following will further detail some of the key findings, and the implications for social policy, and social movement research.

ii. Recapping findings and observations

Following from the summary of the thesis, the intention of this section is to both conclude the theoretical and methodological aspects of the research, as well as commenting on the process of writing and researching in general. It will develop some of the points made in the summary (above) as well as expectations from the conception of this project – i.e. what I intended to find, and what was observed. The following will also consider the implications for social policy as a discipline, and comment on some of the prospects for any forthcoming research papers and projects, given the fractious state of political engagement in the UK. It will, furthermore, detail some of the recent opportunities for new investigations in to this area of research, and how social policy scholars should be responding.

From the earliest efforts to research this area, the literature on post-crisis social movements within the UK – and more broadly across Europe and North America – made several points clear: the first is that the re-emergence of contentious politics had forced the broad left to reconsider its position, and formulate a sustained and meaningful critique of the crisis (Della Porta, 2014). As has been widely discussed throughout this thesis, the apparent lack of a coherent message – one that can be used to critique neoliberal arguments and ideas of reconstructing capitalism – had distracted attention away from the actions of individuals and groups (see: section 2.2).

Media narratives indeed sustained this line of argument, that the new protest groups had no single, clear message – which became especially true of attempts to assess the Occupy movement (see: Fuchs, 2014; Roberts, 2014). The second point raised by the literature indicated some of the potential structural issues: those within certain movements had fallen, or were falling, out of activism or into a level of fatigue. The absence of immediate and material gains from actively organising were inducing a sense of despondency. This is a particularly significant finding in chapter five, which focussed on the reflections of activists engaged in social movement actions (see: section 5.5). For social movement studies, this is well-covered terrain: the theoretical and spatial distance between people and networks, at some point in active struggles, becomes too great to sustain any possible challenge to existing social and political structures (Lofland, 1996). Whilst the structural aspects of social movements have not been the focus of this investigation, it's clear that we cannot make any claims about the successful dissemination of ideas from social movements without considering their organisational limitations. The findings from this research equate in many respects to the existing literature, but also add to it in terms of viewing the demands of social movements as progressive and coherent visions of social policy.

In terms of the substantive findings of the research, there are several key points that needs to be restated. To begin with, the empirical work of chapter four aimed to make sense of the organisational links and capacities of post-crisis social movements. It also looked to the organisation of the trade unionism in the UK, and, if there were observable overlaps between the two methods of mobilisation. In answering **RQ1** and **RQ2**, this chapter examined at length the data output from a selection of organisations. The evidence gave a firm picture of the types of organisation – at the institutional and

non-institutional level – from different groups. It also used textual and documentary analysis in terms of indicating the types of objectives that such movements had, which were consistent with an alternative and coherent narrative on social policy. As the data suggested from this chapter, there were some clear examples of where Occupy London and UK Uncut had made relevant interventions on issues of social policy. This is especially clear in sections 4.4 and 5.4, where the details on social movement perspectives are revealed. In section 4.4.4 (social movement interventions in social policy), the evidence demonstrates that – amongst other issues – clear emphasis was placed on health provision (i.e. the NHS) and on social security. This is significant for the investigation as it directly answers **RQ2**, on how post-crisis social movements have articulated an alternative vision for social policy. In addition to this finding, the somewhat mixed picture of evidence lifted from trade union activity – in comparison with social movement activities – provided weight to the theoretical framing of thesis, which drew attention to the differences between institutional and non-institutional engagements with issues of social policy. The detail on this point is no clearer than in sections 4.3 and 5.3, where the evidence shows that there are limits to the crossover between institutional and non-institutional activity – as represented by British trade unionism and post-crisis social movements respectively.

Although there are evidently some gaps in knowledge yet to be filled, this thesis has contributed heavily to answering questions on social movement demands and social policy outcomes. The evidence presented in both chapters four and five suggests that engagement on such issues from *outside* of the traditional policy domains is strong. Chapters four and five demonstrate that we can indeed make clear links between organisation on the left and the transfer of ideas. The approach of chapter five, in

particular, makes it clear that the demands of post-crisis social movements in the UK are indeed relevant to the work that is undertaken to understand social problems, and the crisis of the contemporary British welfare state. This is especially true in terms of the evidence presented in section 5.5 (on the impact of the decision to act), which reveals the extent to which post-crisis organising has played a key role in contemporary class struggle. This has clear implications for the narrative of this investigation, which has sought to draw distinctions between institutional and non-institutional forms of engagement. Namely, that any new scholarship needs to re-examine notions of class and class struggle (as set out in section 5.6.1) and the material impacts on dealing with contemporary social problems – i.e. the deepening of social and economic inequalities under austerity.

The use of interview data, and first-hand accounts from those involved in social movements and trade unions is further confirmation that social policy issues are indeed considered by social movements as part of a wider reflection on influencing social and political discourses. For this reason, chapter five was essential in providing accounts from the perspective of individuals active in contemporary struggle. The chapter, therefore, set out clearly to address **RQ2** and **RQ3** as part of an ongoing investigation in to what actions post-crisis social movements take, and how their contributions might be understood as tangible policy objectives. On this, chapter five was integral in terms of taking account of the considerations that individuals and groups made before they intervened on an issue. It also provided weight to broader arguments in this investigation on the types of (non-) institutional activity, and how such work can be viewed as a contribution or intervention on matters of contemporary

social policy. Having recapped some of the findings of this research, the following will turn to look at some of the contributions of this thesis to the discipline of social policy.

iii. Contributions to social policy research

In terms of thinking about how this thesis contributes to the field of social policy, there are several key points that need to be addressed here. The process by which we can view social movement ideas as social policy demands has patently been a primary objective of this investigation, and indeed the evidence suggests that there are avenues for social movement interventions, and, where this research can make contributions to the discipline.

In setting out these contributions, principally, this thesis makes a key contribution by demonstrating that the plurality in contemporary political, anti-austerity activity *does not* rely on – and indeed is suspicious of – institutional actors and structures in the formation of social policy objectives. Indeed, non-institutional actors and movements in the post-crisis context are organising and formulating ideas in the spaces where organised labour movements – funded by political parties on the left – used to hold a firm ground. The implications for social policy are, then, that social and political discourses aimed at influencing and informing new policy arrangements, are no longer the preserve of state and institutional actors. Whilst there is some evidence to suggest that social movements and non-institutional actors – many of which feature in this thesis – have become subsumed in to the institutional sphere – i.e. professionalization of protest – the investigations broadly demonstrate that the location of class struggle

is no longer fixed and is not governed by the rigid labour organisations that characterised the 1970 and 1980s.

The visions for social policy, radical or otherwise, are actively informed by movements which have no recognisable constitution or discernible organisation. Key to this is the point that labour movements, which have historically shaped the domain of many social policy issues, are now characterised by a cosmopolitan, flexible and transnational culture. The anti-austerity movements of the post-crisis (2011 and onwards) period demonstrate this clearly, and this thesis makes a tangible link between movement interventions, protest actions and policy objectives. It should be made clear, however, that any contributions in this manner should not be overstated. The work of Piven and Cloward (1977), as has been raised throughout this investigation, should be viewed as totemic in linking protest movements, public policy and political outcomes. It is through the lens of their critical work that this thesis can, in part, be viewed, and indeed is indebted to.

iv. Implications for social movement research

Across the chapters in this thesis, I have endeavoured to address some underlying methodological concerns about engaging with social movements – in a discipline such as social policy – and particularly those that organise outside of the parameters of institutional political engagement. Thus, the empirical and theoretical work conducted in this research raise some interesting questions for scholars currently engaged in social policy research. The research conducted for this project has made much of an

approach to address the radical and shifting dynamics of social movements, and how their presence aggravates both conventional discourse and praxis – whether in an academic context, or on the streets. Straying from conventional practices of social policy research, in particular, is an area which could be developed in future studies. For instance, some of the discussion in chapter three has considered the possibilities of militant and direct-action research – or, doing research *with* and *informed by* social movements. As a general reflection, I return to *The Radical Imagination*, which has been instrumental in thinking through open and critical research designs that have applicability across the disciplines of social movement research and social policy. Part of what is interesting about Haiven and Khasnabish's (2014) observations is that the strategies of research often employed in similar projects do not explicitly tie themselves to the reification of activism and radicalism. In order for future studies to make a success of this approach, the 'radical imagination' posits that the traditional approaches for thinking through research design need to be replaced:

“we need to trade in three key phrases for the research imagination's triumvirate of ontology, epistemology and method: imagination, strategy and tactics. Like the research imagination model, these three align from the abstract to the concrete, from the general to the specific, although (as with ontology and method) imagination and tactics are also connected” (Haiven and Khasnabish, 2014: 159).

For scholars engaged in social movement research, the chasm between activist and academic collapses rapidly when considering how good relationships with research participants are fostered. Social movement research has been keen to investigate the possibilities for knowledge production, but, also, challenge the hierarchical nature of certain methods employed in academic research. The ideas discussed in *The Radical*

Imagination provide a thorough and critical blueprint for future studies that actively consider such relationships, and the transfer of knowledge and information. In summary, the work of Haiven & Khasnabish (2014), is clearly useful when considering the possibilities for social movement research. The methodological work of this thesis has aimed in part to build on the existing literature in this field and make some suggestions as to how it can be applied for the benefit of investigations in social movements and social policy. In particular, this area of work should be seen as critical in the pursuit of the deconstruction of embedded hierarchies that persist in certain elements of research, and also in the practice of fieldwork. Whilst it should be made clear that this investigation has not entirely used such a frame, it has indicated the methods for which this can (and should) be achieved.

v. Opportunities for future investigations

The following section examines some of the openings for future critical and radical research, and, how academics, scholars and individuals could approach such work. The field of research on social movement activity, arguably, has seen a resurgence in academic work since the economic crisis of 2007/2008 (Bailey, 2017; Della Porta, 2015; Gerbaudo, 2017). The responses to the crisis, in terms of social policy research, have also been informed and timely (Farnsworth and Irving, 2015). Given the complex and continually shifting political landscape (particularly in the UK), there are a number of potential avenues for future research on the subject of social policy and social movement activity. In the context of the rise of progressive narratives on the parliamentary left (embodied by the post-2015 Labour Party), there is a clear

opportunity to analyse how the Labour Party has reconnected with the ideas of non-institutionalised struggle (Seymour, 2016). The promise of change, after the economic crisis of 2007/2008, is an unequivocal driver in the concerns that have been raised in this investigation. Re-institutionalising the dynamics of 'disorganised' protest movements, as the Labour Party has been successful in doing, is one avenue for future investigation.

In addition to the above, future and substantive work could investigate the shifting dynamic between institutional, organised labour and non-institutional social movements, and, what impacts they have on the social and political discourses surrounding social policy. Ideally, any future research project would begin to study the impact of autonomous labour movements in the UK (as influenced by struggles across Europe) on the formation and direction of social policy – against the backdrop of increasing government austerity measures. It would also build on the work of the current project in terms of locating contemporary class struggles, and, deepening the analysis in to social and class cleavages which have, in many respects, contextualised anti-austerity narratives. Therefore, I suggest the following potential avenues and opportunities for future research:

1. Investigating future relationships between the state and social movements in the UK.

As has been widely discussed over the course of this thesis, the age of government austerity has inarguably changed the political landscape. The effects of this transformation of social and political realities have had implications for people across different sectors of work and day-to-day life. In response to the shifting narrative, social

movements have shown to be a critical component in impacting on public discourses – those which often focus on the relationship between the state and the citizen. Attendant to this, the era of post-crisis economics, and the rise of bottom-up social movements, has complimented a shift in thinking on how we might consider the delivery of public services. To take some examples of community resistance in the post-crisis era (such as those discussed in previous chapters), we only need look as far as the housing movements that have attracted media attention – the Radical Housing Network, Focus E15 and Sweets Way Resists, to name a few. In drawing attention to current political issues – such as the UK housing crisis – these radical social movements have demonstrated the power of community organising and have comprehensively shown that top-down narratives can be challenged. Whilst successes are geographically limited (predominantly in Greater London), they provide a blueprint for addressing current issues – such as housing people in ex-council homes, or, forcing local government officials to reconsider policies that affect a vulnerable, low-income demographic. There are of course questions on the extent to which communities could be self-sufficient in this regard, and there are even some interesting questions as to how far communities could distance themselves from state oversight and control.

In any case, future investigations should work to prepare the ground for a recognising the value of social movements in contributing to policy research. The public sector should not be blind to the increasing influence of community organising, self-help and so on. Indeed, there are very important lessons to be learned from organisations that embed themselves in small communities, and, that work together for the common good. Whilst a future where such movements are recognised in political parity may be

some way off, social policy researchers should reflect critically on the usefulness and importance of the hegemonic state intervention if there are working alternatives on the ground. An avenue for future research could therefore examine how grass root social movements have made specific interventions – in housing policy, education or other areas – to directly and materially change the local or regional social and political conditions. The focus of the project would have to narrow on a specific area of policy intervention as to not become unwieldy or unmanageable. The promise, however, of radical, grassroots interventions is one that should be taken seriously by social policy researchers and would be recommended as an avenue for further investigation.

2. Critical and ethnographic approaches to understanding social and public policy change in the post-crisis environment.

As has been discussed, this project has been grounded in an approach to studying the proliferation of ideas from social movement activity in a post-crisis environment. In other words, the ‘sociological’ elements of discussion and analysis have not always been front and centre in pursuit of answering the primary research questions. With this in mind, there are avenues for research that could be taken in terms of understanding the various trajectories of policy change, through the application of longitudinal studies, and, in using an ethnographic approach. Policy ethnography is one such area of inquiry that has seldom had the attention it deserves in mainstream social policy research and studies. There are certainly limitations to the study of policy through the framing of those that construct it – governments and policy elites – and in an investigation through critical and ethnographical approaches, there are avenues for a more nuanced approach to the policy process (Dubois, 2009). The literature on this area provides some context for how research of this kind should be approached:

Anthropology has not ignored the policy debates, but anthropologists have refused to analyse welfare reform on the narrow terms set by the policy elite. I will add that in the current context the scientific scope and social usefulness of such research only reach their full extent in a critical perspective that tends to deconstruct prevailing categories of understanding and reveal the relations of domination that structure the situations observed. (Dubois, 2009: 3)

In other words, an approach to research that harnessed a critical outlook of disciplinary boundaries and the observations of individuals and groups from the ground up – recall earlier in the methodology section of this thesis, the notion of radical research *with* social movements. This type of approach to studying their interventions could indeed help to clarify the successes and failures of movement actions and activities in challenging dominant political narratives.

A critical approach in interrogating the basis for policy formation – one that does not preference top-down processes – would arguably be of benefit to the study of social movement contributions to the policy process from *outside* traditional disciplinary and professional parameters. As discussed, the studies in this area are indebted to the framing of anthropological work in understanding ground-level impacts of welfare reform. It is the specific contestations of an anthropological framing – especially in challenging neoliberal reforms – that could provide the necessary weight to future research.

It is important that anthropology continues to define its research agenda in ways that go beyond the narrow concerns, neoliberal assumptions, and ideological confines of the public-policy debate. This does not mean anthropologists should abandon the policy arena. But given that politics and vested disciplinary and

institutional interests are so deeply entrenched, anthropological research on welfare restructuring should also see itself as part of the larger project of deconstructing neoliberalism and contesting its attendant patterns of racial and gender inequality and class polarisation. (Morgen and Maskovsky, 2003: 332)

The point on institutional concerns is key here when thinking through disciplinary parameters of research, especially where embedded orthodoxies of top-down policy formation are not challenged. It is suggested here, then, that a future research project could adopt a critical and ethnographic approach to policy change, directly involving individuals and groups as part of the policy process, and, in pursuit of deconstructing entrenched institutional and disciplinary interests.

vi. Coda

In this thesis, I have explored the complex and multifarious interactions between social policy and social movements. Specifically, I have sought to investigate the demands of post-crisis and anti-austerity social movements as progressive and coherent visions of social policy (within the British welfare state) in an increasingly hostile environment of austerity and continued neoliberal ascent. Moreover, I have intended with this work to provide an unapologetically critical view of social policy research, with the intention of bridging a gap between grassroots activism, in the post-crisis environment, and academic practice.

In terms of the broader political climate, much has changed since the inception of this project, and indeed many of the movements discussed have either become inactive or have disbanded. In the process, however, several other grassroots protest

movements have begun organising on issues directly related to social policy – and some have been mentioned in this concluding section. The present conditions for the British welfare state, nonetheless, could not be worse, and the various aspects of security afforded to citizens that provide wellbeing are on the decline. In the face of such a dire political context, it is the social movements and protest groups that have consistently defied expectations and continued to organise. The (re)invention of anti-austerity protest activity in the UK after the economic crisis of 2007/2008 has provided some much-needed respite and critical thought. There are signs, in this context, that their ideas have found a foothold and mainstream recognition in wider political and policy discourses – especially as the Labour Party (in the UK) has shifted towards a more progressive political outlook since 2015. This investigation has sought to provide some acknowledgement of the demands of contemporary social movements, and it is hoped that, with sustained action, future political discourses in the UK will belong to those movements.

Appendix I: Participant information sheet (PIS)

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Social Policy and Social Work

PhD Research Project

Gregory White

Contact: gregory.white@york.ac.uk

Under the supervision of Dr. Kevin Farnsworth & Dr. Zoe Irving

Department of Social Policy and Social Work

Information sheet for participants in the following study:

Policy, protest and power: contemporary perspectives and engagements of post-crisis social movements

Dear participants

I would like to invite you to take part in my research project. Before you make your decision, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to carefully read the following information. Feel free to ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like additional information.

What is the purpose of this study?

This research is being undertaken as part of doctoral degree in social policy at the University of York. The subject of this research is protest and social policy. In particular, it addresses social movements and the extent to which such groups campaign on, and engage with, core social policy issues.

Social movements have a particular significance in contemporary society as pressure groups. Commonly, a social movement will aim to address a particular issue that has had an observable effect on the capacities and capabilities of either a specific demographic, or an entire population. In this instance, this project is interested in a range of social movements, trade unions and civil society organisations – as well as political parties – and, how they might articulate views on social policy issues – such as regulation, redistribution and social justice. The primary aim of this research is to investigate this relationship, and what implications it might have for discussions on the

future of social policy. The second aim is to approach members of such movements and organisations, and discuss their aims and objectives, and, whether these aims can be interpreted as social policy objectives. The third and final aim of this research is to bring together the theoretical, methodological and empirical work in order to create an understanding of the interface between policy, protest and power in contemporary democratic societies.

What will happen if I take part?

The research will take place over a period of at least two months, starting in April 2015. If you are happy to participate you will be invited to take part in a one-to-one interview. The interview will be informal and should take no longer than one hour. This will take place wherever you feel most comfortable. I would like to make an audio recording the interview. However, I can take written notes if you would prefer not to be recorded. I will also make notes based on my observations during the time of research. The interview itself can be ended by you at any stage.

Any recordings will be treated as confidential, kept in a secure, locked environment, will remain anonymous, and the originals destroyed after the research has been written. Transcripts of interview and observation data will, additionally, be kept in a secure, locked environment where the researcher has access to the data, and you (the participant) will be able to review your own contribution on request. You have the right to request that any data collected as a result of your participation is destroyed at any stage prior to the writing up of the research.

In order to ensure that your personal data is kept separate from information collected in the interview and observation process, the researcher will keep a secure database of participant information. The transcript will have a corresponding number to your personal data (i.e. name and contact details), and only the researcher will have access to this information. This will ensure that your contributions to the research project are kept anonymous.

What are the benefits of taking part?

There may not be any direct benefits from taking part in this research. However, you will have the chance to express your opinions and observations. The results of this research will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of how social movements can articulate views on key social policy issues through their practices, actions and discussions.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not you would like to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and also be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide that you would like to take part, you are still free to change your mind and withdraw up until the end of the data collection process.

What will happen to the results of the project?

The results of the project will be written up as a PhD thesis. They may be presented at conferences or seminars and published in books or articles. You can request a copy of the thesis if you wish. All information that you provide for the research project will be given anonymously. This means that your contributions provided as part of this research cannot be traced back to you from the written work.

What if I want to make a complaint?

If you wish to inquire further at any stage of the research, or to discuss my conduct as a researcher, please contact my supervisors:

Dr. Kevin Farnsworth, Senior Lecturer, Department of Social Policy and Social Work,
University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD
Email: kevin.farnsworth@york.ac.uk

Dr. Zoe Irving, Senior Lecturer, Department of Social Policy and Social Work,
University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD
Email: zoe.irving@york.ac.uk

Contact details

If you have any questions or concerns or decide to withdraw from this project please contact me:

Gregory White, Doctoral Researcher, Department of Social Policy and Social Work,
University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD
Email: gregory.white@york.ac.uk
Mobile: 07952583913

Appendix II: Participant consent form (PCF)

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Social Policy and Social Work

Consent Form

Policy, protest and power: contemporary perspectives and engagements of post-crisis social movements

Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from this study up until the end of the data collection process for any or no reason.

Please read the statements below **carefully** and tick the box next to each statement that you **agree** with.

I agree that I have read and that I understand the information sheet provided for the research project about the relationship between social movements and social policy.

I have had a chance to ask questions about the project.

I understand that it is up to me whether or not I take part and that I can stop at any time without needing to say why.

I understand that the researcher is collecting information anonymously, and that my personal data will be kept in a secure environment.

Please sign below if you have ticked all the boxes above and are happy to participate in the study.

Name of participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

Appendix III: Interview schedule

Social movements

Questions

Could you tell me briefly about your role/your involvement in [insert movement]?

- How active are you in this movement?
- Do you have any duties within [insert movement]?
- When campaigning/protesting: have you been taking a lead or organising as a group?
- How often does the group meet to discuss tactics and protest actions and/or campaigns?
- What kinds of meetings will you have as a movement (online and/or offline)?
- Are you employed and/or studying at the same time as being involved in the movement?
- Are you involved in any other movements (if yes: in what capacity?)

Knowledge and understanding

- What do you know about the UK government's agenda for public service cuts?
- Have you become actively involved in this movement because of the government's austerity agenda?
- Have you been personally affected by the government's agenda for public service cuts?
 - Have a particular set of circumstances encouraged you to be active in this movement?

Activism and protest engagement

- Were you an activist before you began your involvement in this movement?
- Which particular campaigns have you been actively involved in?
- Have you attended any protests against the government's austerity measures?
- In terms of length of time: how much have you been able to commit to the movement?
- Are there particular protests/campaigns you're more willing to work on (if so: why?)

Engagement with social policy

To what extent is the movement interested in: redistribution of resources, regulation of financial institutions, social justice etc.?

1. What is your understanding of social policy and its attendant issues?
2. Can you detail the position of your movement on the following (does the movement you campaign with the following)?
 - a. Austerity and cuts to public services
 - b. Redistribution of resources
 - c. Regulation of financial sector?
3. Would you consider the movement to be particularly active on more than one issue or focussed on a single issue?
 - a. Could you detail the campaign work this movement is involved in?

To what extent does the movement seek to raise awareness or campaign on these issues?

4. Can you describe any recent protests or actions that you, or others involved in the movement, have been involved in that have challenged the austerity agenda?
5. In terms of raising awareness, what does the movement do outside of protest action to increase understanding of...?
6. Has the movement been involved in discussions with the general public?
 - a. If yes: how has it sought to start such conversations, and in what setting? Does the movement actively seek these discussions?

Strategy

- What has the movement been informed by in its decisions to act on a specific complaint?
- Are there particular strategies that the movement employs to directly challenge a policy and/or directive?
- How does the movement communicate its messages to its own members/affiliates and the general public?
 - How successful is the movement in communicating its message on a particular issue? In your opinion, what else could it be doing?
- Does the movement tend to organise within the sphere of institutional politics, or does it use methods of direct action?
- Is your movement involved in a wider network of activist and protest movements?

Outcomes

- Can you describe the events at a recent demonstration and/or protest?
 - If yes: were you on a demonstration organised by [insert movement] or by another movement and/or organisation?
 - What worked at the demonstration and/or protest?
 - Do you think the movement was able to communicate its message effectively?

- What are immediate/short-term effects of your campaigns and/or actions?
 - Can you talk about any recent successes or failures?
- What is [insert movement] doing in the future to campaign on/protest against the cuts?
- Have you forged any links outside of the movement as a result of campaigning and/or protesting?
 - If yes: will you be working with other groups in future?

Trade union movement

Questions

Could you tell me a bit about your role in the union/ [insert organisation]?

- How long have you been involved in the union? Do you have a full-time job with the union?
- What is your role within the union/do you have specific duties?
- Do you meet locally or at a national level? What types of organisation might you be involved in through working with your union?
- Are you involved in any other movements and/or political organisations (if yes: in what capacity?)
 - Does your involvement with [insert movement] compliment or compromise your work with the union?

Knowledge and understanding

- What do you know about the UK government's agenda for public service cuts?
- Have you been personally affected by the government's agenda for public service cuts?

Strategy

- How has the union/organisation been organising to counter the government's austerity agenda?
- Does your union employ specific tactics or strategies to demonstrate and/or protest?
- How does the union communicate this strategy to its members and affiliates?
- In your opinion, how effective have recent strategies been to organise and protest?
- Does the union actively communicate its message to the general public? How successful has it been, in your opinion, in communicating its message (what else could it be doing?)
- In your opinion, could the union be doing more to work with members of the public on specific issues (if yes: what?)

Activism and protest engagement

- Were you an activist before you began your involvement in this union?
- Which particular campaigns have you been actively involved in?
- Have you attended any protests against the government's austerity measures?
- In terms of length of time: how much have you been able to commit to the union?
- Are there particular protests/campaigns you're more willing to work on (if so: why?)

Does the trade union movement seek to engage or forge links with social movements?

- Has your union previously organised with social movements/is it currently active in campaigning with social movements?
- If yes: which particular campaigns has the union been working with another movement on?
 - Have these campaigns/actions/protests been successful (if not: why not?)
- If no: would the union consider working with a movement on a particular campaign?
- Does your union seek to forge links with civil society organisations?
 - What about community and local activist groups?

Engagement with social policy

To what extent is the union interested in: redistribution of resources, regulation of financial institutions, social justice etc.?

1. What is your understanding of social policy and its attendant issues?
2. Can you detail the position of your union on the following (does the movement you campaign with the following)?
 - a. Austerity and cuts to public services
 - b. Redistribution of resources
 - c. Regulation of financial sector?
3. Would you consider the union to be particularly active on more than one issue or focussed on a single issue?
4. Could you detail the campaign work this union is involved in?

What evidence is there to suggest that these links have already been forged, and can this be usefully measured?

1. Can you tell me about a recent example where your union has worked with a social movement on a campaign?
 - a. If yes: how did that campaign work, and did it succeed in its aims?
 - b. If no: Would your union consider working with social movements on campaigns in the future?

Outcomes

1. Describe a recent action and/or campaign where your union has been successful?
 - a. Which groups did it work with and what was your role?
 - b. Does the union look outside of its membership base in terms of support for actions?
 - i. If not: would it consider doing so?
2. What are immediate/short-term effects of your campaigns and/or actions?
 - a. Can you talk about any recent successes or failures?
3. What is your union doing in the future to campaign on/protest against the cuts?

4. Have you forged any links outside of the union as a result of campaigning and/or protesting?
 - a. If yes: will you be working with other groups in future?

Political parties

Questions

Role

Could you briefly explain your position within [insert political party]?

- How long have you been involved in this party?
- Do you have a specific role/carry out duties for this party?
- Does the party employ you, or are you a community activist and/or volunteer?
- How often do you meet with the party? Are you organised mainly online or offline, and what methods of organisation are you using?

Activism

- How active are you in your party in terms of organising?
- Were you previously an activist before joining the [insert political party]?
 - If yes: what types of activism have you been involved in? Are you still active outside of your party in terms of campaigning on specific issues?
- Which recent campaigns and/or protests has the party been involved in?
 - If yes: how successful have these campaigns been? What could be done to improve the campaign work your party is involved in?
- Are you involved in any other movements or trade union groups outside of the party (if yes: which?)?
- Have you been involved in direct action movements (if yes: which?)
 - What is your level of engagement with these movements? Does your involvement compliment or compromise the work you do within your party?

Knowledge and understanding

- What do you know about the UK government's agenda for public service cuts?
- Have you been personally affected by the government's agenda for public service cuts?

Strategy

- Has your party been active in campaigning against the government's austerity agenda?
- What tactics and strategies does the party use in order to campaign/lobby on a specific issues and/or policy?
- What does the party do to communicate its message with the general public?
 - Could it be using other methods to communicate its message?
- How does the party work with its members? Is it reliant on their direction, or are there specific issues that have to be addressed (top-down)?
- Does the party use its membership base for outreach? Is it working with community groups?

- If yes: have the attempts at outreach been successful? If not, why not?

Engagement with social policy

1. What is your understanding of social policy and its attendant issues?
2. Can you explain, in brief, this party's position on the following (does this party take a position/have a policy on the following)?
 - a. Austerity and cuts to public services
 - b. Redistribution of resources
 - c. Regulation of financial sector?
 - d. Any other related issue?
3. Would you consider the party to be particularly active on more than one issue or focussed on a single issue?
4. Could you detail the campaign work the party is involved in?

Actions with social movements

To what extent are political parties engaging with social movements?

1. Does your [party/organisation] engage with movements outside of the party system?
2. If yes: on which campaigns has your party organised with other movements?
 - a. Were these campaigns/protests/actions successful (if not: why not?)
3. If not, would your party ever consider working with movements on similar campaigns and issues?
4. What links have been forged with groups outside of political party networks? Is the party working with/open to working with community groups and other civil society organisations?

Outcomes

1. Can you describe some recent campaigns that have been successful?
 - a. What did you do with the party and whom did you work with?
 - b. Did you rely on your membership base or did you work with groups in the community and/or civil society organisations?
 - c. If not: would your party consider working with these groups?
2. What are immediate/short-term effects of your campaigns and/or actions?
 - a. Can you talk about any recent successes or failures?
3. What is your party doing in the future to campaign on/protest against the cuts?
4. Have you forged any links outside of the party as a result of campaigning and/or protesting?
 - a. If yes: will you be working with other groups in future?

Appendix IV: Phase 1 data collection⁸⁸

Organisation	Linked group/organisation	Type	Link	ID	Key information
TUC	Occupancy London	Newsletter	http://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/tucfiles/un	TUC1	Changing the Subject. A Bottom-Up Account of Occupy Wall St
TUC	UK Uncut	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/economic-issues/50000-nhs	TUC2	UK Uncut is a brilliant example. It started as a few friends sendi
TUC	UK Uncut	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/economic-issues/labour-cma	TUC3	UK Uncut is a brilliant example. It started as a few friends sendi
TUC	Coalition of Resistance	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/international-issues/europe	TUC4	Later on Wednesday, our friends in the Coalition of Resistance
TUC	DPAC (Disabled People Against Cuts)	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/equality-issues/disability-iss	TUC5	The Communication Workers Union called on the incoming Dis
TUC	IWW (Industrial Workers of the World)	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/workplace-issues/health-an	TUC6	Global gourmet coffee chain Starbucks has been ordered to rei
TUC	IWW (Industrial Workers of the World)	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/workplace-issues/health-an	TUC7	Workers at Starbucks in New York are attempting - so far witho
TUC	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/international-issues/europe	TUC8	Our friends at 38 Degrees and the Robin Hood Tax campaign h
TUC	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/workplace-issues/health-an	TUC9	They are also denied paid annual leave, sick pay and other bor
TUC	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/workplace-issues/emplovmt	TUC10	High profile campaigns from 38 Degrees are highlighting busine
TUC	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.tuc.org.uk/social-issues/digital-campaig	TUC11	There are more than a dozen workshops for participants to cho
Unite	Occupancy London	News article	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT1	Unite, the largest union in the country, has given 'sanctuary' to
Unite	Occupancy London	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT2	The digest opens with Europe high on the agenda as the conta
Unite	Occupancy London	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT3	St Paul's protest continues - Some of the right wing papers cor
Unite	Occupancy London	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT4	Support the Occupy London 'Movement'Friends, the Occupy Lo
Unite	Occupancy London	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT5	On the edge of the City the Occupy London protesters have los
Unite	Occupancy London	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT6	Occupancy London profile (p12)Occupancy London profile (p12)
Unite	UK Uncut	News article	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT7	The UK's biggest union, Unite, is calling upon its members to b
Unite	UK Uncut	News article	http://archive.uniteunion.org/campaigning/events	UNT8	The Labour movement has started to put itself once more at the
Unite	UK Uncut	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT9	Fortnum protesters convicted - Ten members of UK Uncut hav
Unite	UK Uncut	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT10	More protests - And finally as Ed Milliband's team confirm he w
Unite	UK Uncut	News article	http://www.uniteunion.org/news_outlook-hope-t	UNT11	Tell that to the millions who marched against the Iraq war. Or, i
Unite	UK Uncut	News article	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT12	A: We've linked up with UK Uncut as a union. I'm amazed and c
Unite	UK Uncut	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT13	Also under fire was WPP's Martin Sorrell who was taken aback
Unite	UK Uncut	Resource	http://www.uniteunion.org/uploaded/document	UNT14	There are various national resources for campaigners and activ
Unite	UK Uncut	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT15	Blood and guts protests - UK Uncut is planning to set up a moc
Unite	Coalition of Resistance	Briefing	http://archive.uniteunion.org/pdf/CUTS%20AR	UNT16	We urge and encourage our activists, shop stewards and mem
Unite	DPAC (Disabled People Against Cuts)	Policy	http://archive.uniteunion.org/pdf/003-Unite-Fin	UNT17	Add an additional paragraph. Conference should actively supp
Unite	38 Degrees	News article	http://archive.uniteunion.org/regions/north_ea	UNT18	38 Degrees brings you together with other people to take actio
Unite	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.uniteunion.org/how-we-help/list-of	UNT19	7. Stop the privatisation - Fewer than 1 in 10 NHS workers thin
Unite	38 Degrees	Digest	http://www.uniteunion.org/news/unite-news-dig	UNT20	But soon the TUC and many other bodies will not be able to sp
Unite	38 Degrees	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT21	Senior doctors attack NHS reforms - As the Sun (p2) reports th
Unite	38 Degrees	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT22	There has however been some good news as pressure on Gok
Unite	38 Degrees	Digest	http://archive.uniteunion.org/news_events/un	UNT23	Away from jobs and the weekend news over the possible privat
Unison	Occupancy London	News article	http://www.unison.org.uk/news/unison-jobs-durbi	UNI1	These include the Arab Spring, the global Occupy London mov
Unison	Occupancy London	News article	http://www.unison.org.uk/news/new-film-expos	UNI2	The film also shows how a well-loved local library was closed d
Unison	UK Uncut	News article	http://www.unison.org.uk/news/prentis-says-osbo	UNI3	On poverty, he said it was shocking that "poor people were get
Unison	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.unison.org.uk/news/unison-urges-mar	UNI4	A reaction to another scandal of an MP taking cash and favour
Unison	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.unison.org.uk/news/say-no-to-privatis	UNI5	Keep profit out of child protection - 38 Degrees petition to sign
Unison	38 Degrees	News article	http://www.unison.org.uk/news/take-action-now-t	UNI6	The NHS is now threatened with full marketisation. Health secr
Labour Party	Occupancy London	News article	http://www.gmb.org.uk/newsroom/eu-us-trade-de	GMB1	A YouGov poll last week commissioned by 38 Degrees, the Brit
Labour Party	Occupancy London	News article	http://archive.labour.org.uk/ed-miliband-speech-l	LAB1	When you look at the Occupy London Protests, we all know tha
Labour Party	38 Degrees	Press release	http://archive.labour.org.uk/occupy-protestors-mj	LAB2	"I hope that those occupying Leyton Marshes and impeding the
UK Uncut	TUC	Blog	http://press.labour.org.uk/post/81592970167/lab	UKU1	Labour fiercely opposed Ministers' attempts to gag charities an
UK Uncut	TUC	News article	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/question-uk	UKU2	This is why the TUC wants to see a crash programme to build c
UK Uncut	TUC	Information	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/191	UKU3	Or the TUC's report on the Corporate Tax Gap here: http://www
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/about/support	UKU4	"UK Uncut have played a significant part in changing the terms
UK Uncut	TUC	News article	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/543	UKU5	On Sunday 1 May, join millions of people around the world to cr
UK Uncut	TUC	News article	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/setting-the-recor	UKU5	The UK Uncut actions were fun and friendly and organised to w

⁸⁸ Due to the size of the dataset, the spreadsheet has been truncated and converted to an image file to fit in the appendices.

UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/865	UKU6	On May Day we are calling on all those fighting back against the UK Uncut, the anti-cuts direct action group, will take over retail
UK Uncut	TUC	Press release	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/press-release-occ	UKU7	Join the TUC May Day march for a warm up stroll around town.
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/526	UKU8	
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/457	UKU9	This action is on the same day as the TUC March for the Altern
UK Uncut	TUC	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/occupy-for-the-air	UKU10	But there is an alternative. And on March 26th the fight back be
UK Uncut	TUC	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-public	UKU11	Of all the failures of privatisation, it is in rail where we are makin
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/819	UKU12	Assemble 11am, East End Pool, Shields Rd. Byker, for march v
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/827	UKU13	Also Join the Counter Conference and help organise the resist
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/294	UKU14	The event is part of the build up to the TUC demonstration on it
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/232	UKU15	All the UK's major banks make extensive use of tax havens in t
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/531	UKU16	At night Dundee TUC social at Lyrics from 7.30 with Donna Ma
UK Uncut	TUC	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/706	UKU17	The TUC have called a national demonstration to be held in Ma
UK Uncut	TUC	Press release	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/press-release-50	UKU18	Richard Murphy, a long standing and respected campaigner c
UK Uncut	TUC	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/beyond-clicktivism	UKU19	The TUC are organising a massive demonstration against the c
UK Uncut	Unite	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/812	UKU20	This resistance has the formal support of Unite, and internatio
UK Uncut	Unite	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/a-message-from-t	UKU21	So Unite commends UK Uncut for challenging this bill. This gov
UK Uncut	Unite	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog?page=10&q=ue	UKU22	The second great myth is that public sector pensions are gold-f
UK Uncut	Unite	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-post-ten-nc	UKU23	Unite is striking because our members have told us they want t
UK Uncut	Unite	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-unions	UKU24	In fact, unions are you and me. They are part of society, like a c
UK Uncut	Unite	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/breakfast-press-r	UKU25	The show of increasing unity between direct action groups and
UK Uncut	Unite	Press release	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/press-release-uk	UKU26	A statement of support for UK Uncut and a condemnation of po
UK Uncut	Unite	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/1016	UKU27	Join Unite Community members in leading the fight back agains
UK Uncut	Unite	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/885	UKU28	Members of the PCS, Unite (Health) and UCU Unions are all ta
UK Uncut	Unite	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/244	UKU29	Seven deputations were heard by councillors including Unison,
UK Uncut	Unite	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/join-us-on-wedne	UKU30	Students will be joined on the day by thousands of striking elec
UK Uncut	Unite	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/763	UKU31	Notts Uncut will be supporting the November 30th strikes by me
UK Uncut	Unite	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/?i=3&page=1&q=	UKU32	The show of increasing unity between direct action groups and
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/219	UKU33	On Sunday 31 January dozens of Notts UKuncut protesters clo
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/778	UKU34	We are holding a protest at the Bar Gate, Southampton betwee
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/824	UKU35	Notts Unison will be holding a demonstration outside County Ho
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/839	UKU36	Organised by the joint unions GMB, NUT and UNISON
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/852	UKU37	On Wednesday 21st March, we will join PCS and Unison to pro
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/244	UKU38	In September of this year I started working as a Learning Supp
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-post-why-in	UKU39	in September of this year I started working as a Learning Supp
UK Uncut	Unison	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-hands	UKU40	15MLondon, 350.org, Biofuelwatch, Campaign Against Climate
UK Uncut	Unison	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/346	UKU41	The Birmingham Against the Cuts and Unison demonstration at
UK Uncut	GMB	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-from-g	UKU42	But welfare dependency is not limited to greedy landlords. GME
UK Uncut	GMB	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/about/support	UKU43	"This Sunday's direct action demonstrates the depth of anger a
UK Uncut	GMB	Information	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/support-from-gmt	UKU44	Extracts from a letter of support for UK Uncut jointly signed by C
UK Uncut	GMB	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/press-release-uk	UKU45	A statement of support for UK Uncut and a condemnation of po
UK Uncut	GMB	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/unions-and-camp	UKU46	Paul Kenny, GMB Paul Kenny, GMB Paul Kenny, GMB
UK Uncut	GMB	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/763	UKU47	Notts Uncut will be supporting the November 30th strikes by me
UK Uncut	GMB	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/?i=15&page=8	UKU48	This is a guest blog from Martin Smith, National Organiser, and
UK Uncut	Labour Party	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog	UKU49	For the last four years the Government have been punishing th
UK Uncut	Labour Party	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/cell-out-crash-the	UKU50	Labour's Conference is first up.
UK Uncut	Labour Party	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/408	UKU51	Save EMA is calling for the action as part of their campaign to s
UK Uncut	Labour Party	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog?page=22&q=ue	UKU52	UK Uncut is standing up for the 99.99 percent of British people
UK Uncut	Labour Party	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog/guest-blog-unions	UKU53	The most empowering aspect of unions is that they are controll
UK Uncut	Labour Party	Blog	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/blog?page=3&q=quest	UKU54	In Britain, too, there are signs that things are changing. In Marc
UK Uncut	Labour Party	Action	http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actions/653	UKU55	One placard read, 'Where is Labour Party protest? ...test anyone

Occupy London	Unison	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/housing-crisis-2	OCU49	Contributors will include Toby Lloyd, Charles Seaford (NEF) an
Occupy London	Unison	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/the-struggle-to	OCU50	The cleaners who are in the independent workers union IWGB
Occupy London	Unison	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/join-the-mass-1	OCU51	out side-Tory Party Conference, ManchesterA national demons
Occupy London	Unison	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/july-10-union-mass-1	OCU52	"The depth of feeling on the pay issue is reinforced by the fact t
Occupy London	Unison	Message board	http://occupylondon.org.uk/occupy-london-gets-r	OCU53	Commons than newspaper sketch writers or members of the pl
Occupy London	GMB	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/noltp-action-1	OCU54	350.org, Biofuelwatch, Campaign Against Climate Change, Cor
Occupy London	GMB	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/2-million-decid	OCU55	"The depth of feeling on the pay issue is reinforced by the fact t
Occupy London	GMB	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/docs/20111216-swgt-1	OCU56	Support for the demo includes: Save Lewisham Hospital Campi
Occupy London	GMB	Meeting minutes	http://occupylondon.org.uk/tag/rhns29/	OCU58	Danielle from the Move your Money Campaign (which came ou
Occupy London	GMB	Meeting minutes	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/socially-useful	OCU59	our side-Tory Party Conference, ManchesterA national demons
Occupy London	GMB	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/join-the-mass-1	OCU60	Event supported by: United Reformed Church, Unite the union,
Occupy London	GMB	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/july-10-union-mass-1	OCU61	out side-Tory Party Conference, ManchesterA national demons
Occupy London	Labour Party	News article	http://occupylondon.org.uk/british-labour-camps-1	OCU62	"The depth of feeling on the pay issue is reinforced by the fact t
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/lewisham-defend-cou	OCU63	At a time when Ed Miliband's Labour Party are denouncing Tor
Occupy London	Labour Party	News article	http://occupylondon.org.uk/public-meeting-save-h	OCU64	A public debate on housing with candidates from the local partit
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/the-house-of-commo	OCU65	I did find it interesting that some of the Save Lewisham Hospita
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/eu-elections-and-a-c	OCU66	I despair – not only of the weak & ineffective opposition raised t
Occupy London	Labour Party	Event	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/labour-cnd-d	OCU67	The Green Party are against the TTIP (Trans-Atlantic Trade an
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/left-unity-getting-bev	OCU68	Join us in discussing how we ensure Labour acts on its commit
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/emergency-demo-12	OCU69	Positioning yourself to the left of One Nation Labour, as it now f
Occupy London	Labour Party	News article	http://occupylondon.org.uk/left-unity-a-case-for-l	OCU70	Occupy London called an emergency demo. We invited the Bus
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/reasons-to-vote-alt	OCU71	The tragedy of austerity flowed from the global financial and ec
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/new-unionism	OCU72	In social and economic terms, the Green party occupies the tra
Occupy London	Labour Party	Event	http://occupylondon.org.uk/dpac-bromley-and-gr	OCU73	Trade unions in Britain still have almost seven million members
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/classwar-traffic-sou	OCU74	A number of London Occupy attended the local meeting of the l
Occupy London	Labour Party	News article	http://occupylondon.org.uk/stop-the-bedroomtax	OCU75	We remembered the poll tax and the miners, the milk-snatching
Occupy London	Labour Party	News article	http://occupylondon.org.uk/rent-controls-by-pete	OCU76	We don't know what happened to the two previous Event pages
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/support-arm	OCU77	Since Ed Milliband's statement last week on housing, the issue
Occupy London	Labour Party	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/peoples-assembly-m	OCU78	Here's a video of one of the best bits of a really excellent event
Occupy London	Labour Party	News article	http://occupylondon.org.uk/peoples-assembly-m	OCU78	Speaking at a press conference in Parliament yesterday, Labou
Occupy London	Labour Party	Action	http://occupylondon.org.uk/how-a-scotland-yes-v	OCU80	Labour MP for Leyton and Wanstead John Cryer recently point
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/economy-democrac	OCU81	Systemic failings of the U.K. Parliament, particularly on the que
Occupy London	Labour Party	Blog	http://occupylondon.org.uk/peoples-march-for	OCU82	But over the last 60 years, that has been almost entirely lost. T
Occupy London	Labour Party	News article	http://occupylondon.org.uk/creating-alternatives	OCU83	I did not find it worthwhile to listen to the politicians speaking, b
Occupy London	Labour Party	Meeting minutes	http://occupylondon.org.uk/events/trade-union-f	OCU84	In the UK 12 million people are members of co-ops, more than
Occupy London	Labour Party	Action	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16837/11-09-2013/time-to	TSC1	During the rest of the year the campaign will be holding meetin
TUSC	TUC	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16837/26-04-2014/lincoln	TSC2	FOLLOWING ON from Ed Miliband's speech at the TUC on Tur
TUSC	TUC	Event	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin4.php	TSC3	The president of the Lincoln & District TUC, Aileen Morris, said:
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin22.php	TSC4	We also need your help to get TUSC presence and programme
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin50.php	TSC5	This conference will discuss how to respond to common myths
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin18.php	TSC6	Could the outcome have been different? The byelection came e
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin27.php	TSC7	After due consideration the 22nd has been chosen over the 8th
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin5.php	TSC9	Sunday 11 September 2011, 12:00pm at TUC Congress House
TUSC	TUC	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press	TSC10	TUC LGBT Forum 15 December 2011 The TUC LGBT Forum y
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin47.php	TSC11	FOLLOWING ON from Ed Miliband's speech at the TUC on Tur
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin36.php	TSC12	TUC anti-cuts demo 26 March 2011 At its last meeting the TUS
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/comment100511.php	TSC13	Fresh from leafleting in the town to promote the TUC Demo on
TUSC	TUC	Comment	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin14.php	TSC14	In 2012 the TUC is calling on health and safety representatives
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin			TUSC was standing on an explicit 'No Cuts' platform. Whilst the
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin			Bolton TUC and Uncut campaigners are organising a protest on

TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin21.php	TSC15	Wages failing to keep up with inflation, tax and benefit changes
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin23.php	TSC16	After years of campaigning by trade unions, from 1 October 2011
TUSC	TUC	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/pressarchive2011.php	TSC17	Dave, a Coventry Socialist Party councillor and former MP, spoke
TUSC	TUC	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/pressreleasebudget.htm	TSC18	Trade Unionist & Socialist Coalition calls on TUC to name the day
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16878/17-11-2013/trade-u	TSC19	The CWU supported Equal Pay Day on November 7th - the day
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin8.php	TSC20	The metropolitan police are telling the TUC that they can't hand
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin6.php	TSC21	TUC anti-cuts demo 26 March 2011
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/17017/11-08-2014/genera	TSC22	Would you support an incoming Labour government banning ze
TUSC	TUC	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/17010/25-06-2014/workin	TSC23	The TUSC agent argues that the rise of UKIP is partly a result c
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin40.php	TSC24	Lincoln & District TUC Save our NHS march marking Workers N
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin30.php	TSC25	Ending corporation tax relief for pay and bonuses worth more th
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin46.php	TSC26	9th September Lobby the TUC to call a 24 hour general strike -
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin34.php	TSC27	Incapacity benefit tests are falling disabled people, says TUC h
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin35.php	TSC28	Birmingham TUC debate "Should trade unionist support an Elec
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin26.php	TSC29	Mechanics Centre, Major Street entrance, Manchester, North W
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin16.php	TSC30	Low and middle-income earners have suffered a 30-year incom
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin28.php	TSC31	Pension lobby of TUC General Council, Congress House, Gt Ri
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin45.php	TSC32	Greater Manchester open meeting to organise and build for TU
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16844/04-10-2013/trade-u	TSC33	Rugby TUSC has gained more publicity for TUSC with a report
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin48.php	TSC34	New TUC research - Poor households will lose eight times as m
TUSC	TUC	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin11.php	TSC35	Black and Asian workers are almost twice as likely to be out of
TUSC	TUC	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/home_archive2012	TSC36	After due consideration the 22nd has been chosen over the 8th
TUSC	TUC	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/a/16724/17-05-2013/ukip-	TSC37	FOLLOWING ON from Ed Miliband's speech at the TUC on Tur
TUSC	Occupy London	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin24.php	TSC38	51 per cent believe that the Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Lo
TUSC	Occupy London	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16782/03-06-2013/tusc-st	TSC39	The TUSC candidate in Plymouth council's Southway ward is a
TUSC	Occupy London	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin23.php	TSC40	Occupy' is a response to economic permafrost writes Paul Mas
TUSC	Occupy London	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin15.php	TSC41	Greek protestors occupy finance ministry as general strike is ca
TUSC	Occupy London	Information	http://www.tusc.org.uk/resources	TSC42	Sunday 3 June at 12 noon from St Pauls to the South Bank OC
TUSC	Occupy London	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin26.php	TSC43	751 per cent believe that the Occupy Wall Street and Occupy L
TUSC	UK Uncut	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin42.php	TSC44	Occupy movements internationally have continued to develop a
TUSC	UK Uncut	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16809/13-07-2013/trade-u	TSC45	That's why on Saturday 20th July UK Uncut will be setting up o
TUSC	UK Uncut	Event	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16844/04-10-2013/trade-u	TSC46	UK Uncut to hold protest 'Great British Street Parties' before Ju
TUSC	UK Uncut	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin48.php	TSC47	UK Uncut: Resist cuts to legal aid: no justice, no peace - Saturc
TUSC	UK Uncut	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin51.php	TSC48	UK Uncut CALL OUT! 8 December: refuge from the cuts - targ
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin21.php	TSC49	On Saturday 13th April, UK Uncut will be using civil disobedie
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16995/21-05-2014/unison	TSC50	Below a few of the 75 members of UNISON, Britain's biggest pl
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press190312.php	TSC51	Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition (TUSC) (1) candidate Ap
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press190412a.php	TSC52	The brilliant meeting was co-hosted by Hillingdon Against Cuts
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press070513.php	TSC53	A meeting of Southampton TUSC supporters on Thursday agre
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/17012/27-06-2014/rmt-co	TSC54	*As well as the RMT candidates there were 19 Communication
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16809/13-07-2013/trade-u	TSC55	Speakers: Steve Hedley - RMT Assistant General Secretary. H
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16775/30-05-2013/sixty-a	TSC56	From the floor, John Dolan of Haringey Unison quoted Labour c
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press240413.php	TSC57	Steve Bell, a member of Unison's national Health Sector Group
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press210213a.php	TSC58	Speakers: Daz Procter, RMT Executive, Tim Cutler, Hampshire
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press050812.php	TSC59	More disappointing, however, was the score in Stoke's Springfi
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press080213.php	TSC60	Darren's candidacy was immediately welcomed by Tim Cutler,
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press081112.php	TSC61	The Middlesbrough seat, vacant following the death of sitting M
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16920/28-02-2014/second	TSC62	Today was also the deadline for nominations for another by-ele
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16747/22-05-2013/trade-u	TSC63	The TUSC candidate is Sue Atkins, a Labour Party member fro
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16955/04-04-2014/low-juri	TSC64	Labour won the March 27th by-election in the South Yorkshire t

TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin26.php	TSC65	UNISON: Queen Mary University bans trade union victimisation
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin50.php	TSC66	This time last year Respect was the vehicle for protest in Bradford
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin34.php	TSC67	Unison, the UK's largest union, has warned that local pay bargains
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/home_archive2013	TSC68	A meeting of Southampton TUSC supporters on Thursday agreed
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16963/23-04-2014/national	TSC69	The workers, members of the trade union Unison, have voted u
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin32.php	TSC70	Representatives from the local government unions, UNISON, G
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin51.php	TSC71	TUSC candidates include national executive committee member
TUSC	Unison	Event	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16967/26-04-2014/lincoln	TSC72	The hustings will take place at 7pm on Thursday 1st May in the
TUSC	Unison	Event	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin25.php	TSC73	Speakers: Matt Wrack, (FBU general secretary); Brian Kelly (TL
TUSC	Unison	Event	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin28.php	TSC74	Pension lobby of Unison Health & Local Government Service G
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin15.php	TSC75	Unison and Unite announced an extension of their strike action
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin23.php	TSC76	Matt Wrack to speak at Southwark TUSC public meeting: 'The f
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin47.php	TSC77	UNISON, the UK's largest union, has said that cuts to civil servi
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin49.php	TSC78	Open organising meeting Monday 14th January, 6:30pm Unison
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16954/03-04-2014/one-in-10	TSC79	Other trade union candidates include national executive memb
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin6.php	TSC80	TUSC supporter John Pearson reports that 'a Blackpool and Fy
TUSC	Unison	Information	http://www.tusc.org.uk/candidates2013.php	TSC81	TUSC candidates include national executive committee member
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16910/19-02-2014/tusc-on	TSC82	Saturday's march culminated in a rally addressed by David Lloy
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16894/27-01-2014/what-c	TSC83	Implement the UNISON trade union's ethical care charter to eni
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16843/03-10-2013/warning	TSC84	The notion that 'there is nothing else we can do', is wrong. Cou
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16830/07-09-2013/another	TSC85	With the backing of the council unions Unite and Unison, Keith
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16751/23-05-2013/south	TSC86	Below a few of the 75 members of UNISON, Britain's biggest p
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press011212.php	TSC87	In November 29's eleven-candidate by-election contest in Roth
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press210312.php	TSC88	(2) The Public rally to launch London TUSC campaign event wi
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/pressarchive2012.php	TSC89	The Middlesbrough seat, vacant following the death of sitting M
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press130312.php	TSC90	Tuesday 13 March Joint lobby of Parliament including UNISON
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press200312.php	TSC91	(3) The Public rally to launch London TUSC campaign event wi
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin36.php	TSC92	UNISON demands pay increase in higher education http://bit.ly
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin42.php	TSC93	Three of Europe's largest unions, UNISON, Verdi and CGIL, re
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin43.php	TSC94	This means the 'deal' has now been rejected by health workers
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin46.php	TSC95	In the contest for a seat on Lincolnshire County Council on Aug
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin27.php	TSC96	UNISON is calling for the Government to refocus on local gover
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin13.php	TSC97	In eight wards contested by TUSC the Labour Party was so mo
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press180413.php	TSC98	Later, having a celebratory drink, Jim Board, Doncaster Unison
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16844/04-10-2013/trade-u	TSC99	Unison has just announced that Birmingham City Council and t
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin48.php	TSC100	In November 29's eleven-candidate by-election contest in Roth
TUSC	Unison	Bulletin	http://www.tusc.org.uk/bulletin14.php	TSC101	UNISON and the PCS Cambridge Branches are holding a 'Pick
TUSC	Unison	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16878/17-11-2013/trade-u	TSC102	GMB, UNISON and Unite, representing 1.6 million local govern
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/pressarchive2011.php	TSC103	Nancy Taaffe, Walthamstow general election candidate for the
TUSC	Unison	Press release	http://www.tusc.org.uk/press	TSC104	The workers, members of the trade union Unison, have voted u
TUSC	Left Unity	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16950/26-03-2014/an-agg	TSC105	Printed below is some correspondence with the Left Unity party
TUSC	Left Unity	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16934/10-09-2013/de-wel	TSC106	They certainly do - and now, a new political party is about to b
TUSC	Left Unity	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16996/21-05-2014/senior	TSC107	'We are not arguing here for support for particular candidates s
TUSC	Left Unity	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/17003/30-05-2014/local-e	TSC108	But there were also candidates who are members of more soci
TUSC	Left Unity	News article	http://www.tusc.org.uk/16962/17-04-2014/over-5	TSC109	And there is a political spread. Candidates from the TUSC cons
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/tuc-calls-for-mass-demonstrat	LFT1	The TUC points out that despite the government crowing about
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/mobilising-the-public-sector-fog	LFT2	One of the biggest problems that we are facing is the scissor cr
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/newsletter-11/	LFT3	On Saturday 28 September, Left Unity is organising a workshop
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-potential-of-november-14th	LFT4	Whilst Britain, for a variety of reasons, has not yet achieved the
Left Unity	TUC	Action	http://leftunity.org/no-more-austerity-join-the-dem	LFT5	The demonstration on 21 June prepares for an autumn of action

Left Unity	TUC	Action	http://leftunity.org/event/barnet-left-unity-2/	LFT6	Branch meeting to plan autumn activities including supporting c
Left Unity	TUC	Newsletter	http://leftunity.org/newsletter-11/	LFT7	On Saturday 28 September, Left Unity is organising a workshop
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/banksy-slave-labour-is-withdra/	LFT8	Haringey TUC, the North London Trades Council, has said that
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-1913-dublin-lock-out-a-hum/	LFT9	The Dublin Lock-Out which started in August 1913 and ended in
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-ibjig-caucus/	LFT10	Recent material from UNITE, UNISON[1] and the TUC have de
Left Unity	TUC	Meeting minutes	http://leftunity.org/national-meeting-for-public-sec/	LFT11	3-18 October TUC demonstration: Planning.
Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-north-w/	LFT12	I am the Secretary of the Lancashire Association of Trades Uni
Left Unity	TUC	Event	http://leftunity.org/a-left-unity-film-unit/	LFT13	Our first event will be recording the demonstration organised by
Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-21-april-2014/	LFT14	I am a socialist who has been a leading activist and organiser in
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/haringey-says-united-against-t/	LFT15	Haringey TUC Secretary Keith Flett reports from the anti-cuts r
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-potential-of-november-14th/	LFT16	Whilst Britain, for a variety of reasons, has not yet achieved the
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/tributes-to-bob-crow/	LFT17	He was also a great and principled friend of the anti-nuclear m
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-elections-some-b/	LFT18	We have important plans for the next few months. In October w
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/national-demonstration-at-the-4/	LFT19	The call for the demonstration came from the 4,000 strong Peo
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/an-open-letter-to-the-uk-green-/	LFT20	An event in Manchester last month served to demonstrate to m
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/peoples-assembly-debates-how/	LFT21	Many more people could be quoted – Dave Kellaway's report g
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/trade-unionism-from-below/	LFT22	The bureaucracies have a huge material interest in preventing f
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-should-socialists-stand-f/	LFT23	The argument that the European Union represented a progress
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/motions-for-lj-founding-confere/	LFT24	The fiasco of the so-called coordinated action on public sector f
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/to-scotland-with-love-report-fro/	LFT25	Sometimes a day is a long time in politics. On the morning of S.
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/29660/	LFT26	The membership of his organisation has imploded, and there h
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/learning-not-lecturing-why-the-/	LFT27	In many areas the situation was better, with different left activis
Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-founding-conference-2/	LFT28	1. Campaign for mass strike action to bring down the Coalition.
Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-western/	LFT29	I am a co-author of 'The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/pride-the-true-story/	LFT30	But it had a much wider impact on the fight for lesbian and gay
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/whats-wrong-with-the-kevnisia/	LFT31	Indeed, this idea has now been latched onto by the Trades Unio
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/voices-against-ukip-london-left/	LFT32	A former Labour member who's been working at TUC pointed t
Left Unity	TUC	News article	http://leftunity.org/greece-solidarity-campaign-the/	LFT33	The recent solidarity delegation to Athens from the UK saw first
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/fracking-some-proposals-for-ac/	LFT34	Let's all agree to organise and work to mobilise massive public
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/how-should-left-unity-organise/	LFT35	The obvious one is that once the miners were smashed the trac
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/goves-trojan-horse-or-how-a-n/	LFT36	It is instructive to compare Gove's open Islamophobia with his e
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/peoples-assembly-delegate-co/	LFT37	Kirstine Carbutt gave a rousing report on the struggle of the Do
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-kind-of-left-do-we-need/	LFT38	One consequence of the state of the outside Left is that there is
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/new-methods-for-new-parties-4/	LFT39	Importantly too is that these messages can be improved as the
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/david-widgery-dissident-marxis/	LFT40	Yours is the generation which calls concentration camps 'strate
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/britain-deserves-better-than-lab/	LFT41	As many comrades who have been delegates to Trades Council
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/englands-case-for-voting-yes-p/	LFT42	Normally the Tories wax lyrical about competition and profit. Bu
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/nhs-sss/	LFT43	Left Unity should oppose Labour and the "waiting for Labour to
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/owen-jones-calls-on-the-left-to-/	LFT44	Weil said buddyneil. Now the People's Assembly 'Event' is fina
Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-directly/	LFT45	Since starting work in 1969 teaching in comprehensive schools
Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-founding-conferences-/	LFT46	The TUC and the unions to organise the midweek day of action
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/surveying-the-damage/	LFT47	When the Coalition programme started the TUC identified three
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/englands-case-for-voting-yes-p/	LFT48	The Crown is therefore mobilising a full range of political, social
Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-directly/	LFT49	I have been active in the Labour movement since the age of 16
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/scottish-republic-yes-tendency/	LFT50	Also the TUC organized "Britain needs a pay rise" demo is only
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-units-modest-flutter/	LFT51	"Why should Britain go without?" a blog comment on the Social
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/which-way-for-left-unity-the-cas/	LFT52	The "either/ or fundamentalism of some far left language is off f
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-a-movement-of-the-pe/	LFT53	Isn't the movement already started the People's Assembly? Wh
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-scottish-independence-deb-/	LFT54	There are considerable problems with this. There is now little ex
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/going-to-the-party/	LFT55	A lot really. For example the British trade union movement may

Left Unity	TUC	Information	http://leftunity.org/motions-for-the-founding-comit	LFT56	The reason we have not done this so far lies in the actions, or r
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/how-do-we-win-reforms/	LFT57	Beyond a few big marches, we will not get any kind of real acti
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/five-demands-for-a-better-work/	LFT58	At the TUC conference the General Secretary, Frances O'Grad
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/thick-and-fast/	LFT59	The asinine media in Britain believe Miliband has made a comp
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/in-tearful-eyes-why-the-r/	LFT60	The worse form of defeat is a defeat without a fight. However, t
Left Unity	TUC	Blog	http://leftunity.org/five-reasons-to-be-cheerful-or-	LFT61	Other developments are also encouraging for our project. The f
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/unityandsocialism/	LFT62	At the same time, and completely unofficially, in terms of party i
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/what-would-a-ukip-of-the-left-b/	LFT63	Essentially UKIP represents frustrated middle class layers in so
Left Unity	TUC	Comment	http://leftunity.org/appeal/	LFT64	Ken Loach has said in an interview that his proposed party mus
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/solidarity-with-the-lambeth-coll/	LFT65	Lambeth College UCU's indefinite strike action continues into it
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/trade-unionism-from-below/	LFT66	Dan Jeffery, Assistant Branch Secretary Lambeth UNISON (pe
Left Unity	Unison	News article	http://leftunity.org/sponsor-a-lambeth-college-stri/	LFT67	Unison union members at the college have taken two days of a
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-september-2/	LFT68	I'm asking you to vote for me to serve on the Left Unity Standi
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-lobby-caucus/	LFT69	Recent material from UNITE, UNISON[1] and the TUC have de
Left Unity	Unison	Report	http://leftunity.org/lambeth-branch-report/	LFT70	One factor that has certainly acted in our favour is the involvem
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-21-april-2014/	LFT71	I am a socialist who has been a leading activist and organiser if
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-labour-link-and-the-unions/	LFT72	In the case of my union, Unison, the question of the link is even
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/forward-to-the-peoples-assembly/	LFT73	About 40 delegates from local anti-cuts groups and campaigns
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-trade-u/	LFT74	I am a local government worker, and a Shop Steward in North S
Left Unity	Unison	Action	http://leftunity.org/event/left-unity-public-sector-tr/	LFT75	There will be time for different trade union sections to meet – pl
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-wales-2/	LFT76	I work for Public Health Wales and am a member of Unite, in a
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-rank-and-file-trad/	LFT77	The role of the bureaucracy, particularly those bureaucrats who
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/voices-against-ukip-london-left/	LFT78	Jim Delaney, one of the Unison reps at Lambeth College, stres
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/defend-mark-harding/	LFT79	Many people came from both the striking unions RMT and TSS
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/mission-impossible-fight-to-rec/	LFT80	Ford's key argument is that the 'main organisations of the work
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-some-of-our-local-org/	LFT81	I am an active Trade Unionist with UNISON, working at an Adul
Left Unity	Unison	Action	http://leftunity.org/no-more-austerity-join-the-dem/	LFT82	The battle against austerity continues after the elections. The P
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/meet-left-unitys-local-election-c/	LFT83	Hazel Duffy (Wigan West ward) is a lab technician, a Unison m
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/i-recently-quit-the-labour-party/	LFT84	I was committed to the Labour Party. I had put myself forward t
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/issues-of-ethics-in-the-voluntar/	LFT85	Sorry to all for using the word bureaucracy, but the trade union
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-eastern/	LFT86	I was a member of the Labour Party except during periods of w
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/peoples-assembly-delegate-co/	LFT87	Kirstine Carbutt gave a rousing report on the struggle of the Do
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/the-peoples-assembly-what-cmi/	LFT88	Unison, as the biggest public sector union, has big questions t
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/new-left-party-stands-first-cand/	LFT90	Hazel Duffy (Wigan West ward) is a lab technician, a Unison m
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-west-m/	LFT91	Currently I am an Equality Training Officer at the University of V
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/save-our-surgeries-on-the-66th/	LFT92	On July 5 Save Our Surgeries held a rally and leafletting at Stra
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/alan-qibbons-the-government-i/	LFT93	There has been resistance. There is a campaign. Speak up for l
Left Unity	Unison	Report	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-has-to-be-fun-if-it-is-g/	LFT94	They described a communal space in which social questions co
Left Unity	Unison	Information	http://leftunity.org/alternative-to-safe-spaces/	LFT95	Further, this approach legitimates witch-hunting by the right win
Left Unity	Unison	Comment	http://leftunity.org/united-campaign-against-the-c/	LFT96	Incidentally, in Southwark, my union, Unison has been next to
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-british-left-needs-to-start-ag/	LFT97	It needs the unions because they have resources. If Unite, Unis
Left Unity	Unison	Comment	http://leftunity.org/saving-revolutionary-less-wor/	LFT98	Sorry to all for using the word bureaucracy, but the trade union
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-kind-of-left-do-we-need/	LFT99	A movement which isn't moving up, which doesn't appear to be
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/our-day-to-day-organising-grou/	LFT100	Terry Conway: I am a socialist feminist, activist in the LGBT m
Left Unity	Unison	Comment	http://leftunity.org/a-time-to-be-bold/	LFT101	Recent attacks on Agenda for Change are a case in point. Whe
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-class-struggle-platform/	LFT102	The TUC moderates have done next to nothing to mobilise millii
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unitys-modest-flutter-2/	LFT103	That is the task that the major organisations of the class (Unite,
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-about-the-labour-party-an/	LFT104	If we were all to abandon our anti cuts work in our community a
Left Unity	Unison	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unitys-modest-flutter-a-rep/	LFT105	Many of them are trade unionists, in UNISON. Many of them ar

Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-labour-link-and-the-unions/	LFT106	The relationship between the trade unions and the Labour Party
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/meet-left-unity-local-election-c/	LFT107	Stephen Hall (Atherleigh ward) is a graphic designer and printer
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-can-build-an-alternative/	LFT108	Andrew Murray, a leading advisor to Len McCluskey (Unite gen
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-north-w/	LFT109	I'm a community member with Unite the union, an equality rep &
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/mobilising-the-public-sector-fig/	LFT110	In response the trade unions have organised some strike action
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/sparks-strike-at-three-bridges-a/	LFT111	The action involved 30 agency workers at an NG Bailey constru
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/labour-has-betrayed-his-roots/	LFT112	From an early age, my grandfather instilled in me one key value
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/new-left-party-stands-first-cand/	LFT113	Stephen Hall (Atherleigh ward) is a graphic designer and printer
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/event/whistle-on-the-c/	LFT114	UNITE the UNION West Midlands Community Membership are
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-principa/	LFT115	My skills lie around using a co-creative approach to collective s
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/european-assembly-against-au/	LFT116	As thousands of people flock from across Britain to the People'
Left Unity	Unite	Action	http://leftunity.org/greece-solidarity-campaign-ne/	LFT117	Here is the monthly round up of news from the Greece Solidarit
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-south-e/	LFT118	I'm a Software Engineer working in a non-union shop, but I am
Left Unity	Unite	Event	http://leftunity.org/event/workers-struggles-in-ban/	LFT119	Monowar Badrudduza – Unite the Union Tower Hamlets Comm
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-on-broad-fronts-and-r/	LFT120	Now, however, there is a possibility of united action against aus
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/press-response-to-len-mccclusk/	LFT121	Left Unity has welcomed comments by Unite general secretary
Left Unity	Unite	Event	http://leftunity.org/event/left-unity-public-sector-tr/	LFT122	There will be time for different trade union sections to meet – p
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/peoples-assembly-delegate-co/	LFT123	Secondly, it shows that activists at a local level can have a real
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/on-being-blacklisted/	LFT124	When I opened a recent letter from my Union, Unite, I was exp
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/mission-impossible-fight-to-rec/	LFT125	Ford's key argument is that the 'main organisations of the work
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/national-demonstration-at-the-l/	LFT126	The Tory chancellor claims that there are signs that the econo
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/issues-of-ethics-in-the-voluntar/	LFT127	UNITE and GMB are also involved. UNISON and UNITE even f
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-disput/	LFT128	I am currently a temporary member of the Disputes Committee,
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/solidarity-not-charity-the-case-4/	LFT129	Workers loan organisations could be set up funded by the union
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/trade-unionism-from-below/	LFT130	Indeed in the process of doing this UNISON put out "facts" whic
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-scottish-independence-deb/	LFT131	Therefore disunity is an existing problem, not one that will be cr
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-the-need-for-a-br/	LFT132	The Labour left were arguably the most active force in building
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/is-it-time-for-a-leftwing-versi/	LFT133	A few weeks before the GMB's move, I interviewed the general
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-west-m/	LFT134	Organisationally, I have been a member of: Labour Party, Big F
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/positive-first-meeting-between-/	LFT135	There was some discussion about the role of Unite in the labour
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/inspiring-hope-in-a-radical-alter/	LFT136	The new generation of activists abhor bureaucracy and undemc
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-modest-flutter-a-resp/	LFT137	Interesting. This argument for me encapsulates everything I've
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/why-left-unity-groups-should-h/	LFT138	There is a national programme of activity set out leading to a st
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/forward-to-the-peoples-assembly-2013/	LFT139	The Coalition of Resistance National Council met today at the U
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-directly/	LFT140	I am a 26 year old trade union activist from London (although hi
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-the-industrial-que/	LFT141	There are examples, from the 3 Cosas campaign of the Univer
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/first-meeting-between-left-unity/	LFT142	Bianca spoke about her involvement with Unite and how she is
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-elections-some-b/	LFT143	This line of argument concerns me. The SWP has attracted sup
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-wales-c/	LFT144	I work for Public Health Wales and am a member of Unite, in a
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-some-of-our-local-org/	LFT145	I am the grand-daughter of Ron Todd, former General Secretar
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/the-truth-about-ukip-and-the-lo/	LFT146	Serious opposition to Tory cuts and austerity can't be generate
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/green-party-the-green-leaf/	LFT147	As a Green I support unions but worry I might be indirectly hel
Left Unity	Unite	Comment	http://leftunity.org/what-would-a-ukip-of-the-left-/	LFT148	This year Len McCluskey, head of the huge Unite union, called
Left Unity	Unite	Information	http://leftunity.org/going-to-the-party/	LFT149	A lot really. For example the British trade union movement may
Left Unity	Unite	News article	http://leftunity.org/the-british-left-needs-to-start-ta/	LFT150	It needs the unions because they have resources. If Unite, Unis
Left Unity	Unite	Blog	http://leftunity.org/in-tearous-imes-why-the-r/	LFT151	Right now in the UK, at least four major unions are planning im
Left Unity	Unite	Comment	http://leftunity.org/what-about-the-labour-party-an/	LFT152	My fear is that supporting the labour party and supporting any li
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-can-build-an-alternat/	LFT153	Andrew Murray, a leading advisor to Len McCluskey (Unite gen
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/labour-party-resignation-leite-r/	LFT154	Len Arthur has just resigned from the Labour Party and joined L
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/another-labour-party-resignatio/	LFT155	Richard Morris writes 'officially joined Left Unity last night and

Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/the-labour-party-abandoned-so	LFT156	Colin Piper, from Brighton Left Unity, argues for the Socialist P
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/the-diminishing-influence-of-the	LFT157	But Labour supporters would rather see us pack up our things &
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/on-the-origins-of-the-labour-pa	LFT158	As Left Unity was formed to build a new party of the working cla
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/i-recently-quit-the-labour-party	LFT159	I recently quit the Labour Party. I live in Norfolk. I left shortly aft
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-labour-link-and-the-unions/	LFT160	The relationship between the trade unions and the Labour Part
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/why-wont-labour-support-10-ju	LFT161	Left wing political party Left Unity is calling on the Labour Party
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-can-build-an-alternat	LFT162	Andrew Murray, a leading advisor to Len McCluskey (Unité gen
Left Unity	Labour Party	Letter	http://leftunity.org/a-letter-to-labours-kate-howe-o	LFT163	We are writing in response to your signing of an open letter to E
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-about-the-labour-party-an	LFT164	LU has been launched, following on from Ken Loach's 16 Marc
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/one-nation-labour-is-not-for-me	LFT165	In a speech marking 20 years since he gutted the Labour party
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/just-how-left-wing-is-the-green	LFT166	The weak performance of the current Labour Leadership, your i
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-parties-over-an-open-leite	LFT168	On the other side, though, there was a collection of Green supp
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/mission-impossible-fight-to-re	LFT169	Harry Paterson responds to Owen Jones' defence of the Labou
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/press-response-to-len-mcclusk	LFT170	Ford's key argument is that the 'main organisations of the work
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/labour-does-not-deserve-our-u	LFT171	Left Unity has welcomed comments by Unite general secretary
Left Unity	Labour Party	Press release	http://leftunity.org/labour-needs-principles-not-s	LFT172	But if Left Unity passes its first hurdle, bringing together the m
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/labour-has-betrayed-its-root	LFT173	Responding to Labour's appointment of Obama campaign strat
Left Unity	Labour Party	Press release	http://leftunity.org/labours-rent-cap-plan-doesn-t	LFT174	Bianca Todd, one of Left Unity's principal speakers, has writen
Left Unity	Labour Party	Press release	http://leftunity.org/euan-blair-will-face-left-chal	LFT175	3. Ed Miliband is announcing the rent caps policy at Labour's el
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/if-you-were-in-greece-would-y	LFT176	"This is Labour taking people for granted and mark my words, if
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/can-labour-do-better-in-2014	LFT177	Last week, Labour voted for the Tory benefit cap. Bad news for
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/joyce-sheppard-who-represen	LFT178	Perhaps the correct question is not How can Labour do better?
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/benn-and-bennism/	LFT179	Alter many decades of supporting the Labour Party, my patien
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-nation	LFT180	"The Labour Party used to be there to change society, but now
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/vote-green-to-beat-racism-le	LFT181	This period has been marked by a rightward shift in the Labour
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/response-to-labour-plan-to-cu	LFT182	"Votes for Labour in this election will not help combat austeri
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/appeal/	LFT183	"Ed Miliband's plan to end unemployment benefits for 18-to-21
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/a-successful-radical-left-par	LFT184	The welfare state is being dismantled by the coalition governme
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/derbys-labour-councillors-tak	LFT185	Helen Lewis is absolutely right in her article, 'Many voters are k
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/thoughts-on-a-positive-leftlab	LFT186	Labour councillors marched alongside anti-cuts campaigners in
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/new-left-party-stands-first-cand	LFT187	Rooksby outlines three possible models for left-wing organizati
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/labour-councillors-stand-up-for	LFT188	"The Wigan candidates are a real challenge to Labour in one of
Left Unity	Labour Party	Event	http://leftunity.org/event/islington-lu-public-meet	LFT189	What role can our elected representatives have in the defence
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/three-main-parties-now-all-sup	LFT190	Despite misleading pretence, including from Labour Party TTIP
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/tony-loses-election-in-its-hea	LFT191	It comes after energy minister Michael Fallon told the UK Shale
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-east-m	LFT192	The Labour Party sensationally lost a council by-election to the
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-trade-u	LFT193	I have long and varied experience of left political work : In 1966
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/in-defence-of-the-left-unity-init	LFT194	In my opinion trade union activity should be an absolute priority
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-will-fight-for-the-0000	LFT196	In 1996 Arthur Scargill led the first attempt to create a new soci
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-21-april-2014	LFT197	There is an important debate on Left Unity taking place within t
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-west-m	LFT198	For three years, we waited for Ed Miliband to find his voice, hop
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/gmb-cuts-labour-funds-what-sh	LFT199	I am a socialist who has been a leading activist and organiser f
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/fracking-some-proposals-for-ac	LFT200	Active in the Labour Movement since 1974, I come from a famil
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/i-had-great-hopes-for-labour/	LFT202	News that the GMB union is to slash the affiliation fees it gives
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-eastern	LFT203	To many of my generation, who were born in Thatcher's Britain
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/ed-miliband-speech-on-immigr	LFT204	Let's all agree to organise and work to mobilise massive public
Left Unity	Labour Party	Press release	http://leftunity.org/a-reply-to-ed-miliband-on-gra	LFT205	I am getting involved in Left Unity because I really believed the
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog			"It wasn't been long since the end of Ed Miliband's speech, but ;
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog			6) The call for a return to US-led negotiations towards a two sta

Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/scunthorpe-left-unity-report/	LFT206	The Left Unity statement was well received, leading to a discuss
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/three-main-parties-now-all-sup/	LFT207	It comes after energy minister Michael Fallon told the UK Shale
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/why-i-am-an-unrepentant-benn/	LFT208	There's one phase of Benn's long career that liberal commenta
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/thoughts-on-elections/	LFT209	3. Left Unity should not expect a big electoral breakthrough in 2
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/labour-has-betrayed-its-support/	LFT210	The real betrayal of Britain's poorest and most vulnerable peop
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/a-party-for-the-pissed-off/	LFT211	It is important to get this the right way around: while UKIP does
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-party-platform-submission-2/	LFT212	4. We are feminist because our vision of society is one without
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/towards-a-new-left-party/	LFT213	The urgent questions that faces us are, first, how to stop this of
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/solidarity-greetings-to-awami-w/	LFT214	In November 2012, the Awami Party, Labour Party and Worker
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/why-left-unity-could-become-lal/	LFT215	Ed Milliband, by comparison, has had a relatively easy ride from
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/after-the-scottish-referendum-2/	LFT216	With the Labour Party leadership on side (I will return to this lat
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/whats-wrong-with-the-greens-2/	LFT217	It is clear that the Greens are seeking to fill the vacuum created
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/ken-loach-and-bristol-left-unity-2/	LFT218	While highlighting that the current destruction of the NHS is pri
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-directly/	LFT219	I have been active in the Labour movement since the age of 16
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unitys-modest-flutter-2-2/	LFT220	Interesting. This argument for me encapsulates everything I've
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/green-party-the-green-left/	LFT221	And is the rise in the UKIP vote due to migration, Europe or des
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/a-brief-historical-note-on-the-le/	LFT222	Writing in the Independent [25.3] Owen Jones back the People'
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/eu-elections-farage-shakes-1-2/	LFT223	One of the electronic gizmos on the BBC election coverage wat
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/anti-capitalist-or-not/	LFT224	To advocate social democracy as a goal is to be lost in history.
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/response-to-ed-miliband-speech/	LFT225	"In the last few weeks alone, the Labour Party has rejected an €
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-british-left-needs-to-start-2/	LFT226	Ken Loach's new film, Spirit of '45, is an impassioned account c
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/lets-get-the-party-started/	LFT227	"I'm working for the NHS as a trainee clinical psychologist and I
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/can-there-be-a-new-left-party-4/	LFT228	Where can we turn politically? Who is on our side, to fight for a
Left Unity	Labour Party	Press release	http://leftunity.org/call-for-ban-on-zero-hours-contract/	LFT229	"Labour says it will outlaw zero-hours contracts 'where they exp
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-north-w/	LFT230	At the time I was a reluctant member of the Labour Party, havin
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/advance-notice-left-unity-nation/	LFT231	"The weekend will see all our policy on a wide range of issues r
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/voices-against-ukip-london-left/	LFT232	But UKIP is not only racist; it's also sexist and homophobic, an
Left Unity	Labour Party	Report	http://leftunity.org/left-unitys-modest-flutter-2/	LFT233	In fact, the assumption that economic slump equals a boom for
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-some-of-the-left-groups-2/	LFT234	Both have to be taken seriously. My hunch is that the drive to r
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/our-history/	LFT235	Perhaps the most awaited moment of the day came when Labo
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/lets-get-the-party-started/	LFT236	Before the 2010 General Election I had many conversations wit
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/prospects-for-easleigh-by-elec/	LFT237	The Eastleigh by-election will give UKIP the long awaited oppor
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-london-2/	LFT238	I would describe myself broadly as of the radical feminist anti-a
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/why-left-unity/	LFT239	Meanwhile, what do we get from the Labour Party? Ed Milliband
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/left-party-platform-statement/	LFT240	People are fighting back – in the streets and squares, workplac
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/will-the-real-european-left-stan/	LFT241	Having followed with sympathy the emergence of Left Unity and
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/political-life-after-the-communis/	LFT242	The union was a matter of dignity and pride which dominated lif
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-dispute/	LFT243	I have been a "left" supporter for all my working life. For the mo
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/putting-birmingham-school-kids/	LFT244	The Putting Birmingham School Kids First campaign was launc
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-scottish-independence-deb/	LFT245	In contrast, the 'No' campaign extends from the official Tory/Lib
Left Unity	Labour Party	Letter	http://leftunity.org/scottish-republic-yes-tendency/	LFT246	b) Campaigning to support for a Yes vote in the socialist and la
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/a-united-socialist-party-this-wor/	LFT247	The Welfare State is a great legacy, a legacy of the Labour Par
Left Unity	Labour Party	Interview	http://leftunity.org/owen-jones-calls-on-the-left-to-2/	LFT248	But the People's Assembly had the misfortune of falling on the
Left Unity	Labour Party	Interview	http://leftunity.org/its-time-for-a-leftwing-revision-2/	LFT249	Ever since the general election of 2010, British politics has been
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/which-way-for-left-unity-the-cas/	LFT250	And this article shows that Labour is going to adapt further to th
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-the-industrial-que/	LFT251	The Left Party Platform stands, I believe, for the kind of project
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/for-what-its-worth-my-thoughts/	LFT252	It's 1912, and socialists in Britain are asking themselves a lot of
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-peoples-assembly-the-fight/	LFT253	I'm one of those thousands who signed up to Ken Loach's Left
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/these-are-the-people-organisation/	LFT254	Will the People's Assembly stop austerity? To do this it would n
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/these-are-the-people-organisation/	LFT255	I have been a long time supporter of CND and anti-militarist ca

Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/meet-left-unitys-local-election-c	LFT256	Karen Michael (Sewell ward) was a member of the Labour Party
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/lets-get-this-party-started/	LFT257	Building a new socialist party would in fact strengthen the whole
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-crisis/	LFT258	As Labour is in decline there is a chance for a new socialist par
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/alan-gibbons-the-government-is	LFT259	There has been resistance. There is a campaign. Speak up for l
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-and-elections-some-b	LFT260	There is no doubt that there are obstacles to building a success
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/peoples-assembly-delegate-co	LFT261	In current conditions none of the policies under these headings
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/towards-the-new-party-moving	LFT262	I would have supported a further motion from East London Left
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/inspiring-hope-in-a-radical-alter	LFT263	And here's the rub. Tories and Lib Dem cuts decimate our comi
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/further-thoughts-on-the-second	LFT264	On the 4th of Feb a 'November 14 Left Unity' group held a mee
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/eastleigh-by-election-two-takes	LFT265	The real winners were the United Kingdom Independence Party
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/telling-it-how-it-is/	LFT266	I have never been politically active with a big P but have done i
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/eds-egg/	LFT267	Over 3 years into a nasty Tory government that has quite open
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/i-didnt-choose-the-socialist-pla	LFT268	The straw that broke the Camel's back with regards to Social D
Left Unity	Labour Party	Event	http://leftunity.org/tuc-calls-for-mass-demonstrat	LFT269	Left Unity branches will be there too. It will be a huge opportuni
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/towards-a-republican-socialis	LFT270	'Neither Labourism nor Trotskyism' was the conclusion from the
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/an-open-letter-to-the-uk-green	LFT271	Socialists face a major challenge in the next decade. While diffi
Left Unity	Labour Party	Letter	http://leftunity.org/the-left-whats-the-point/	LFT272	The key point about this initiative is that it is explicitly NOT yet
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/another-day-another-squal/	LFT273	* When the world falls apart some things stay in place" is a line
Left Unity	Labour Party	Interview	http://leftunity.org/a-class-war-government/	LFT274	As the housing crisis deepens, squatting is likely to increase, o
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/no-more-austerity-join-the-dem	LFT275	Meanwhile the Labour Party pockets the subscriptions of trade
Left Unity	Labour Party	Event	http://leftunity.org/a-case-for-the-republican-social	LFT276	The message from the 21 June demonstration is for an alternat
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/as-long-as-labour-believes-it-c	LFT277	The tragedy of austerity flowed from the global financial and ec
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/building-left-unity-where-to-bee	LFT278	Salman Shaheen, a member of Left Unity's national co-ordinati
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/towards-an-alternative-platfor	LFT279	The central idea raised in Ken Loach's inspiring film 'The Spirit
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/how-should-left-unity-organise/	LFT280	Since 1996 with the launch of the Socialist Labour Party there f
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/how-do-we-win-reforms/	LFT281	Like the Trade Unions, the Labour party once also had a social
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/abolish-the-policy-commissions	LFT282	They were won through the strength and determination of the w
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/1945-a-different-age-of-austeri	LFT283	I joined Left Unity as I believe that the development of a socialis
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/broad-parties-theories-of-dece	LFT284	I had the misfortune today, since I couldn't attend the Peoples
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/left-unity-needs-to-create-an-in	LFT285	I stress chance, however, for two reasons. The first is that the u
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/mobilising-the-public-sector-fig	LFT286	The first Harold Wilson Labour government of 1964 to 1970 for
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-sort-of-party-do-we-need/	LFT287	Of course there have been previous failed attempts by the Left
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/report-from-nottingham-1st-cm	LFT288	We also have to consider what to do if Labour wins the next ele
Left Unity	Labour Party	Report	http://leftunity.org/what-kind-of-left-do-we-need/	LFT289	The Socialist Platform attempts to steer the discussion away fr
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/what-kind-of-left-do-we-need/	LFT290	Deep disappointment in the Labour Party and its absolute spine
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/a-steadier-platform-to-build-up	LFT291	It does not follow automatically that the Left should be the imm
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/all-the-recent-left-initiatives-a	LFT292	Most of us joined Left Unity on the assumption that it was what
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/wkip-results-shame-the-left/	LFT293	1) Many on left will be determined to see our organisation 'star
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/mourning-sickness/	LFT294	The worst possible response to the local council elections in wh
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/co-creation-in-action-the-peak	LFT295	And the rest, as they say is history. 1979 was a landslide victo
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/united-campaign-against-the-c	LFT296	I was not surprised to learn that what made Owen angry, was a
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/internal-elections-2014-south	LFT297	All local anti-cut organisations should be supported and helped
Left Unity	Labour Party	Interview	http://leftunity.org/national-demonstration-at-the-l	LFT298	Andrew Burgin: I am a second-hand bookseller and an active s
Left Unity	Labour Party	Information	http://leftunity.org/svrtza-looking-to-its-right/	LFT299	During the late 70s and early 80s I was a union activist in the N
Left Unity	Labour Party	Event	http://leftunity.org/svrtza-looking-to-its-right/	LFT300	Left Unity will have a strong presence on the demonstration. Th
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/svrtza-looking-to-its-right/	LFT301	Left Unity in Milton Keynes held its first ever public information
Left Unity	Labour Party	News article	http://leftunity.org/svrtza-looking-to-its-right/	LFT302	In his opening speech, however, Tsipras mostly talked over the
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-current-conjuncture-in-bri	LFT303	The second development is closely meshed with the first and is
Left Unity	Labour Party	Blog	http://leftunity.org/the-current-conjuncture-in-bri	LFT305	

**Appendix V: Crosstab analysis of words used (by
frequency)**

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
OCCUPY	480	45	2		1	22
PEOPLE	190	138	65	17	11	74
UNITE	49	16	2	1		422
LONDON	330	44	7	25	4	42
NEWS	88	12	65	1	4	239
ACTION	112	131	41	5	7	56
UNION	53	27	110	21	14	114
NHS	101	27	87	1	7	100
WORKING	170	16	55	10	16	39
WORKERS	32	19	139	12	23	66
GOVERNMENT	61	53	43	11	12	94
CUTS	26	86	67	37		54
TUC	54	14	171	5	4	8
PUBLIC	93	76	9	7	12	47
PAY	40	37	30	12	32	79
WORK	31	22	87	1	14	59
UNCUT	2	183	2		1	17
FLYERS	193	1				
POSTERS	192	1				

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
PHOTOS	187	2				
VIDEOS	188					
TRADE	35	26	35	37	4	44
HEALTH	18	11	83	7	8	53
LABOUR	21	24	21	33	1	76
CAMPAIGN	84	19	42	5	2	19
SUPPORT	54	50	19	23	1	24
DEMOCRACY	130	30	1			8
HTTP	86	17	6	32		22
TAX	10	75	22	5	5	45
BLOG	10	133	3		1	14
UNIONS	22	51	36	8	2	42
DAY	65	44	23	6		22
OCTOBER	69	44	7		2	38
LIVESTREAM	159					
MARCH	78	47	4	6		22
GROUP	118	11	7	3		17
EVENT	138	8	5			4
POSTS	103	24	19			
EMAIL	56	5	64	4	9	5
MEETING	121	4	5	6	2	4
DIGEST						140
SOCIAL	39	25	41		6	29

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
PRESS	49	58	10	13		6
JOBS	14	4	29	8	8	71
POST	60	56	4			13
YEAR	28	39	18	2	1	43
LIVE	115	4				11
PARTY	34	28	9	17	2	32
ISSUES	19	1	87	2	5	6
GENERAL	37	12	27	7	9	27
GUEST	7	110			1	
LOCAL	50	25	12	13	9	8
PAR	72	14			9	22
PLAIN	71	15			8	22
STAFF	17	3	52	2	2	39
WWW	56	25	13	4		17
SAFETY	6	2	86	7	3	9
CALL	29	56	4	1	3	19
MAKE	23	24	18	7	2	38
MEMBERS	39	17	15	6	8	26
TUSC	1			110		
PM	60	22	5	5		16
ENVIRONMENT	99	2	5			1
MOVEMENT	59	24	4	5	1	13
STRIKE	37	29	1	3		36

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
WEEK	30	31	24	4		16
FACEBOOK	28	24	26	8	7	11
TWITTER	34	9	26	8	6	21
COMMENT	59	4				40
RIGHTS	12	5	39	1	6	40
ASSEMBLY	94	4		2		1
PROTEST	47	28	4	3		18
SECTOR	11	22	13			54
MILLION	25	17	6	2		49
SECRETARY	10	7	38	8	5	31
SUBMIT	94				1	
AUSTERITY	33	27	16	5	1	12
ORGANISING	3	48	5		6	32
WEBSITE	21	5	25	2	8	33
NATIONAL	29	16	27	6		15
CONFERENCE	15	38	26	2		11
RELEASE	25	14	45			8
MAP	76	2	12			
UNISON	16	2	19	2	39	12
JOHN	70	1	2	3		13
CENT	7	1	29	3		47
ONLINE	8	9	47		1	22
TIMES	13	4	6			64

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
TTIP	74	11				
GUARDIAN		8	5	1		70
COUNTRY	13	36	5			28
ECONOMY	15	4	36		1	26
INFORMATION	19	11	28	1	15	7
REPORT	16	3	31	1		30
ECONOMIC	28	9	24		1	18
RISKS	1		75			4
WEB	1		3			76
YEARS	22	17	11	3	1	26
CHANGE	29	10	21	2	2	15
ST	63	4	1			11
COALITION	15	13	5	21	2	22
POLICE	36	16				26
RESOURCES	3	1	22	4	1	47
STATEMENT	42	12	15		2	7
PARLIAMENT	51	5	10	2	1	8
POLITICAL	20	33		7	4	11
LINKS	10	3	15			46
ACTIONS	24	42	1		1	5
PRIVATE	22	15	5	1	1	29
STREET	21	33	2	3		14
TELEGRAPH	2		1			70

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
NOVEMBER	16	11	10		1	33
SERVICE	15	6	14	6	7	23
BIG	16	25	9	5		15
CARE	28	4	12		3	23
FS	38	10			4	18
HOUSE	24	11	1	7		27
REPORTS	4		14		2	49
BRITAIN	13	7	12	3		33
PLANS	13	9	10	1		35
POWER	39	14	1			13
DATA	62					4
SATURDAY	44	17	1	1		3
SOCIETY	11	18	2	1	1	33
JOB	10	5	36			14
RELATED	18		47			
PAGE	5	11	21	4	1	22
SITE	19	1	30		4	10
ALTERNATIVE	17	32	2	5		7
CAMPAIGNS	7	4	11	1	4	36
FT	1					62
WORLD	25	9	4	1	3	21
HOURS	2	5	44	1		10
PENSIONS	3	13	3		10	33

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
BANKS	12	30	5			14
CLEGG		37	1			22
FIGHT	11	19	5	5	2	17
LONG	18	6	15	2		18
SHARE	5	13	27	4	1	9
TODAY	19	9	8		2	21
BUSINESS	15	8	11	4		20
CURRENT	4	3	27			24
DISABLED	5	3	48			2
EUROPE	11	3	18		1	25
HOUSING	18	29	2			9
MEMBER	5		5	2	3	43
MINUTES	56	1			1	
REAL	25	14	8	1		10
RESPONSE	46	5	1	1	1	4
BILL	2	5	5	1	4	40
SAVE	41	2		2		12
CRISIS	13	24	1			18
CUT	7	18	12	2		17
GOOD	14	11	5		2	24
INDIE						56
OCCUPATION	33	20				3
SUN			2			54

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
LEGAL	16	2	14			23
LIFE	6	7	16			26
LOGGED	54		1			
SHOW	27	15	2		2	9
CAMP	52					2
ELECTION	11	7	4	12	3	17
MORNING	6	1	2	1		44
SYSTEM	27	10	11			6
VOTE	6	3	7	7		31
MIRROR			1			52
EDUCATION	7	9	14	1	1	19
GA	51					
POLICY	16	3	3		8	21
SET	14	8	9	2		18
SQUARE	42	8				1
YOUNG	5	3	27	1	4	11
GEORGE	26	5	4		1	14
GLOBAL	34	1	5		4	6
GREEN	19	13	15		1	2
RISE	7	4	8	2		29
GOOGLE	38		10			1
MONEY	19	8	2	1	1	18
NUMBERS	7	5	2	1		34

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
CRASH	1	44	1	1		1
FACILITATOR	48					
TAKING	17	12	12		2	5
COMPANIES	11	13	7	1		15
HOSPITAL	26	1	18			2
MEET	25	11	4	1		6
STRESS			40		3	4
CITY	24	2	2	1		17
HIGH	4	10	12			20
PLAN	6	3	14		1	22
POLICIES	11	7	8	12	1	7
RISK	9	3	23		3	8
SOUTH	7	1	31	1	4	2
STAR			1	1		44
CLASS	17	1	2	9		16
DEAL	10	3	1			31
JUNE	16	9	6	1		13
START	12	13	5	2		13
UNIVERSITY	29	4	6	3		3
WORKPLACE	2		35		3	5
EMPLOYERS	5	3	30			6
EUROPEAN	8	3	23	1		9
EXPRESS						44

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
MASS	31	7		2	1	3
OCCUPYLSX	44					
PRIVATISATION	17	4	1	13		9
TRUST	4	1	35			4
WEST	6	4	29		1	4
ACCESS	5	4	3			31
LEFT	24	6	3	3		7
PARD	32	5			4	2
TYPE	2		1			40
BANK	15	2		5		20
DEFEND	17	7	2	3	6	7
EU	8	3	6	2		23
FULL	4	7	21	1	1	8
JULY	36	4	1	1		
PROTESTERS	2	23	1			16
SEPTEMBER	7	11	7	1		16
AGREED	35	3			1	2
CHRIS	38		1	1		1
DECEMBER	23	2	9			7
FOOD	21	12	2	1		5
LEAVE	5	5	7		18	6
MPS	4	4	5		3	25
CASE	18		10			12

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
LOGIN						40
MILIBAND		7	1	4		28
SECTORS	1					39
BIT	4	2	1	26	1	5
BUDGET	18	2	4	1		14
FIRE	32					7
HOPE	3	1	5			30
PRESSURE	4	1	13			21
TORY	2	6		1		30
OSBORNE	5	6	1		4	22
DEMANDS	20	3	8	3	1	2
ED		3	1	3		30
RICH	3	23		1		10
SOCIALIST	11	1	1	24		
RMT	12		12	10		2
APRIL	20	2	3	10		
CONTRACTS	4	2	24	1		4
DISCUSSION	32		2			1
HSE			35			
LEN	7	6				22
ROYAL		2	27			6
TORIES		12	6	1		16
CHILDREN	3	4	16	2	2	7

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
MARKET	12	3	5			13
RESEARCH	3	1	25			4
STATION	20	3	5	1		4
COMMS						32
EMPLOYMENT		1	22		6	3
HOUR	7	6	15	1		3
POVERTY	11	8	2		3	8
FOUNDATION	6		23			2
FRIDAY	27	3		1		
LY	4			26		
HUNT			1		1	27
TEAM	22		4			3
TENTS	26					3
BN	5	13	3			7
DISCRIMINATION			3		21	3
FALSE		1	26			
REPLY	26		1			
ADDED			23		1	2
BORIS	3	2				21
PAULÂ	21					5
CONFERENCES	1	23				1
OXFORD	2	21	1			1
POLLY	24					1

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
TESCO		1				23
ASBESTOS			23			
LOG	23					
TENT	23					
CONSENSUS	19	1				2
DAWG	22					
FORTNUM		19				2
GOLDMAN						21
LAMBETH	21					
OLYMPIC	1		11			9
STARBUCKS		1	18		1	1
TIKKLE	21					
PDF		11	8			
SYRIA				1		16
RUTH	14					
XSTRATA	14					

Appendix VI: Crosstab services analysis (by percentage spread)

	Occupy London	UK Uncut	TUC	TUSC	Unison	Unite
DEFENCE	1.49%	1.94%				3.98%
EDUCATION	19.80%	18.45%	15.85%	69.23%	4.76%	13.43%
HEALTH	50.50%	27.18%	53.05%	7.69%	33.33%	51.24%
HOUSING	8.91%	28.16%	1.22%			4.48%
PENSIONS	1.49%	12.62%	1.83%		47.62%	16.42%
SOCIAL_CARE	4.46%	0.97%	2.44%		14.29%	3.48%
SOCIAL_PROT	2.97%	3.88%	10.37%			1.49%
TRAINING	3.96%	2.91%	7.93%			2.49%
TRANSPORT	6.44%	3.88%	7.32%	23.08%		1.99%
TREASURY						1.00%

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