Green No More? The Coming-of-Age of UK Trade Unions' Environmental Agenda, 1970-2011

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Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Politics

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Abstract

The relationship between trade unions and the environment is widely regarded as tense and difficult, yet in recent years the environment has become an important new campaigning issue for UK trade unions. Historically, union antagonism towards the environment has been exaggerated but the relationship was not close. UK unions have supported environmental initiatives since the 1970s, although these have been inconsistently implemented. Ideological and class-based differences between the trade union and environmental movements exist, but have been overstated, while the political opportunity structure was not conducive to cooperation between unions and environmental groups until the 1990s. Union decline followed by modernisation in the 1990s altered the labour- environmentalist relationship by changing the content and conduct of trade unionism and employee relations alike; creating new spaces within which more diverse union memberships could articulate novel bargaining and organising agendas (within a revised approach to employee relations) and enhancing unions' porosity to social dialogue in order to facilitate their rehabilitation to the UK's social, political and economic policymaking arenas. Union environmental policies and activism reveal the influence of both membership interests and ideology and unions' search for practical applications for a nascent green (bargaining) agenda. Nevertheless, although the TUC has identified the environment as a strategic concern, relatively few of its members are consistently implementing a green agenda, despite evidence that it is popular with both members and activists. Unions' contemporary environmental activism appears largely unrelated to union size, membership trend or finances and relatively immune to sectoral and employee relations specificities. Union headquarters' support for the development of a unionised green function and pro-environmental attitudes are, however, important. Unions remain to be convinced of the agenda's efficacy as a vehicle for recruiting new members and activists, but more optimistic regarding its ability to enhance their influence with employers. However, case study evidence suggests that a technocentric and conservative workplace greening agenda has limited use either as a recruitment tool or as a vehicle to promote collectivism and its ability to recruit new activists merely reflects extant branch capabilities. Further, although workplace greening is associated with favourable environmental policy and policymaking outcomes and processes it does not appear to generate any pro-union shift in relative bargaining power.

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I just wish you were still here to see this.

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[1] As The TGWU's Jack Jones once remarked about one researcher: "like so many other academics he wants to be on the side of the workers, but with friends like him, workers do not need enemies – and we have enough of those too!...You do not help workers by writing off the very organisations that those workers, purposefully struggling for a more humane life, have created for this purpose".

Author's Declaration

I confirm that this thesis is an original and so far unpublished piece of work and that I am the sole author.

Introduction

We may be at an important moment in the history of British environmental politics, in that the environment is degrading at ever faster rates; public awareness of this is greater than ever; and one of the UK's most powerful social movements - trade unions – is mobilising to address the problem. The environment arguably represents unions' newest campaigning and bargaining agenda, following close behind learning and skills and equality and diversity, and unions anticipate increasing their level of engagement over the next few years. This is a dynamic and significant field of study and it is as yet unclear how the active participation of the representatives of six million employees will affect the UK's environmental policy and practices, and the fortunes, roles and responsibilities of the environment's existing *dramatis personae*. This thesis is, however, concerned with more concrete tasks. The thesis tracks the development of UK unions' environmental agenda, assesses its capacity-building potential and evaluates its behaviour as an employee relations negotiable, all of which are under-researched fields. The thesis also offers the first empirical study of unions' flagship workplace greening agenda. In seeking to understand the origins of unions' environmental agenda and to identify how unions conceptualise and operationalise the environment it is also intended to contribute to contemporary labour environmentalist relations (LER) theory.

As an object of study in itself, LER theorists typically focus on: the origins and class composition of each movement; their strategies and positioning within the political system; ideological differences; unions' policy-making mechanisms (specifically how they facilitate and constrain environmental policymaking); and sectoral specificities to explain the contingency and patterning of different unions' environmental attitudes (Siegmann,1985, Silverman, 2002). A geographically-specific LER has also been treated as a dependent variable within a case study approach investigating LER-specific and generic conditions influencing the conception and maintenance of coalitional behaviour (Miller, 1980; Hojnacki, 1997; Obach, 1999, 2002). These are all addressed in this thesis.

An additional strand of research relevant to this thesis consists of workplace and/or employer-centred studies examining the contribution of contrasting systems of employee representation and participation to the implementation of various discrete environmental initiatives and processes. Examples include Kornbluh and Crowfoot *et al* (1985), Bunge and Cohen-Rosenthal *et al* (1995), Fredrikkson and Gaston (1999) and Lund (2004). Such research typically emerges from management, organisational and HR fields, but also from within specialist environmental sub-fields. Although the thesis does not address these issues

in detail they are referred to in the context of unions' workplace greening agenda; for if unions' participation in processes of workplace greening was found to generate sub-optimal environmental outcomes it might be difficult for unions to assert a continuing role.

Overall, there is a scarcity of analyses of the relationship between systems of employee relations and environmental processes *emanating from the industrial relations discipline itself*. Analyses of the impact of unionism and specific configurations of employee voice and representation mechanisms on other variables - including pay, job security, and health and safety - are common (Batstone and Gourlay, 1986; Stuart and Martinez Lucio, 2005; Perotin and Robinson, 2000; Walters and Nichols, 2007; Hayes, 2000). The shortage of theory and empirical research regarding unions' green agenda is almost certainly attributable to a combination of its relative newness, patchy operationalisation and to inchoate systems of governance by the TUC and individual unions and is therefore unlikely to persist, especially if unions' environmental activities continue on their present trajectory.

Even so, the literature and theoretical frameworks which exist for these and other union agendas, and which might serve as inspiration for studying unions' environmental function, are often mainly concerned with assessing union engagement in a specific field *on that field* (such as measuring the union wage premium and its effect on wages generally), whereas I am more concerned with assessing unions' engagement in a specific field (the environment) *on unions*.

The thesis asks three main questions. First, how and why are UK trade unions engaging in the environmental agenda? Secondly, what factors have shaped unions' engagement and the LER? Finally, can 'the environment' function as a vehicle for trade union resurgence? Union resurgence in this thesis is understood in three main ways: more members; more activists and greater influence with employers. Since at least the late-1990s unions have become increasingly litigious and drawn into operationalising rights-based and individualistic agendas (Harrod and O'Brien, 2002; Brown and Oxenbridge, 2005). A significant amount of academic literature has also examined unions' fortunes *vis-à-vis* the partnership model of employee relations (Fernie and Metcalf, 2000; Marchington and Wilkinson *et al*, 2001; Huzzard and Gregory *et al* , 2004; Stuart and Martinez Lucio, 2005; Edwards and Wajcman, 2005). The environment's efficacy as a vehicle for promoting collectivism and its behaviour as an employee relations negotiable is therefore assessed.

The growth of unions, their decline between 1980 and the mid-1990s and their 'recovery' in the late 1990s compares interestingly with the fortunes of Environmental Movement Organisation's (EMOs). Both movements grew in the 1970s but experienced contrasting fortunes in the 1980s. Unions haemorrhaged members until the late 1990s since when membership loss slowed considerably (Blyton and Turnbull, 2004). In contrast, EMO membership grew exponentially throughout the 1980s but plateaued and in some cases fell in the 1990s[2] (Carter, 2007). Chapter 1 compares and contrasts the fortunes of both movements and their ideological and demographic differences; with particular emphasis on the UK's LER since 1970 until its reconstruction in the 1990s.

Although there is a subordinate tradition of caring for the environment within UK socialism (Weston, 1986), unions have typically been presented as the 'weak link' in the LER; to be cajoled and incentivised to participate. However, Chapter 1 argues that UK trade union members and activists were just as interested in environmental issues as everybody else and that the ideological and demographic differences between the two movements have been exaggerated. And yet there was remarkably little collaboration prior to the mid-1990s. This begs the question: how did a pro-environmental trade union movement sustain only an arm's length relationship with the environmental movement for so long?

Chapter 1 approaches this puzzle in several ways. Theories explaining the emergence of new social movements (NSMs) in the 1960s argue that NSMs emerged because their agendas were ignored by the conservatism of 'old' politics, whose actors – including trade unions – consequently appeared increasingly anachronistic (Crossley, 2002). The attractiveness of EMOs to the UK's increasingly powerful and vocal 'new middle class' is also explored and contrasted with unions' blue-collar power base. The ability of these key ideological and demographic differences to trump unions' pro-environmental orientation and circumscribe the LER is assessed.

The differential impact of the UK's shifting political opportunity structures on each movement's fortunes is also addressed and this is, in turn, considered to affect the propensity and ability of both movements to interact effectively. Coalitional theory drawing on the work of Hojnacki (1997) and Obach (2002) is utilised to develop a narrative describing how and why unions and EMOs failed to collaborate consistently during the 1980s.

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[2] This mainly applies to the newer environmental organisations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. Other bodies such as the RSPB, the National Trust and the World Wildlife Fund continued to grow (Carter, 2007).

Several unions and EMOs are now collaborating regularly and effectively and Chapter 1 traces this change back to the mid-1990s. Against the backcloth of, *inter alia*, continued environmental degradation, party greening, accessible green discourses and the environment's growing attentive public, UK unions embarked upon a series of modernisation strategies designed to increase their membership and reassert their influence within the UK's policymaking *milieu*. The chapter suggests that these endogenous reforms increased the trade union movement's porosity to novel bargaining, organising and campaigning agendas and were accompanied by a willingness to identify partnership opportunities outside the movement. For their part, EMOs' political influence (and membership) had plateaued and they felt it both 'safe' and expedient to woo a modernising - and moderate - trade union movement.

Chapter 2 – Methodology - is concerned with the *who*, *what*, *when*, *where, why* and *how* of my research (Murray and Beglar, 2009). The chapter provides details of the participants, what I did, the order in which I did it, where the study took place and the data gathering and analysis instrumentation and procedures. This is a mixed methods study, using a range of qualitative and quantitative methods to identify and evaluate the extent and key characteristics of unions' environmental activism. In what may be the first rigorous audit of UK unions' environmental policymaking document analysis is used to interrogate environmental policymaking at the TUC and by selected unions and to generate quantifiable data capable of identifying change and continuity in unions' environmental activism from 1967-2009. A survey questionnaire was also utilised to capture data regarding unions' contemporary environmental activities and key questions from the survey were used to construct three bespoke measures of unions' environmental activism and orientation. This Environmental Activity Score – an overall measure of unions' environmental activities – was then utilised as a dependent variable with which to establish the importance of a range of independent (background) variables to unions' environmental functions. In addition to numerous elite interviews three case studies were performed, focused on evaluating the efficacy of workplace greening as a recruitment tool, its behaviour as an employee relations negotiable and its compatibility with the partnership approach to employee relations.

Chapter 3 continues certain key themes identified in Chapter 1. First, the chapter uses TUC Congress data to demonstrate the extent and longevity of the UK trade union movement's pro-environmental policymaking. The chapter investigates the patterning of unions' environmental policymaking, with particular emphasis on identifying and contextualising

year-on-year fluctuations in interest; the main progenitors of policy and the types of environmental issues that unions are most interested in.

Secondly, Chapter 3 develops the argument made in the opening chapter that a majority of environmental activists consider themselves to belong to the political left by asking whether the UK trade union movement saw the environment in ideological (left-wing/right-wing) terms and whether the main progenitors of the TUC's environmental policies were left-wing or right-wing unions; or if unions conceived the environment in distinctly practical and technical terms patterned according to industry/membership interest.

Chapter 4 also flows directly from Chapter 1 by examining the contribution of union modernisation strategies to the content and conduct of both trade unionism and employee relations. The chapter contains four main arguments. First, union modernisation strategies created new institutional spaces inside unions within which more diverse memberships could articulate novel concerns. Second, unions' social partnership strategy – designed to facilitate their reinsertion into the UK's policymaking *milieu* – created greater opportunities for unions to meet EMOs halfway and develop a cogent environmental strategy. Third, that by the mid-1990s a workplace environmental agenda was coalescing, evidenced by growing numbers of firms willingly or grudgingly abandoning environmental rejectionism (Welford and Starkey, 1996) persuaded to do so by, *inter alia*, a growing body of environmental regulation; the emergence of ecological modernisation (an accessible and rapidly hegemonic discourse privileging technical fixes to environmental problems) and arguments that 'going green' was simultaneously good for the environment and profits (Welford and Gouldson, 1993). Fourth, that unions – and employers - were fashioning a new and less adversarial approach to employee relations which could be wrapped around their novel bargaining agendas.

These issues are interrelated (and investigated to varying degrees elsewhere in the thesis). For example, what types of members are most interested in supporting/initiating a unionised environmental agenda and are they the types of members in the types of industries which unions need most and where the environment has greatest traction? Unions need to make most progress in post-Thatcher small (<100 employees) private sector services single-plant undertakings (Gospel and Wood, 2003): if the environment is not an issue here, then its utility as a vehicle for resurgence may be questioned. Indeed, could a unionised green function simply end up consolidating union strength as it is currently patterned i.e. in the public sector and old, pre-Thatcher, large (>500 employees) private

sector companies? The environment's characteristics and behaviour as an employee relations negotiable may also vary from one industry and one workforce to another, further influencing the patterning of any benefits unions may receive from it. For example, employers who position the environment as a strategic issue may be less inclined to subject it to wider employee scrutiny than those who position it as an operational shopfloor matter. Employers are already generally more willing to talk about strategy with unions representing skilled and professional workers compared to low skilled workers (Poole, 1986; Steijn, 2004; Commission on Vulnerable Employment, 2007) and the agenda may once more simply consolidate existing intra-union and occupational asymmetries of relative bargaining power. Chapter 4 concludes by presenting the results of several TUC-sponsored surveys of unions' environmental work from the early-to-mid 2000s, which suggest significant interest in the agenda but low levels of take-up.

Chapter 5 draws on my 2009 survey data to describe the contemporary environmental activities of unions and shows how their environmental activism has increased only slowly and remains a minority agenda, prosecuted consistently only by a relatively small number of unions; despite concerted efforts by the TUC to position it as a strategic concern and evidence that the agenda is popular amongst local activists and members (TUSDAC, 2005). The chapter investigates the resources and institutions that unions have in place to operationalise their green agenda and looks beyond the workplace at unions' environmental summitry, community-based campaigning and relationships with EMOs. A particular division of responsibility characterised by different 'styles' of campaigning and different ways of conceptualising the environment by different parts of the labour movement are also studied.

Chapter 5 also investigates whether unions see the environment as a technical and depoliticised (workplace) matter or as a progressive campaigning opportunity. Unions' workplace greening activities are typically focused on carbon management and a limited 'reduce, reuse, recycle' agenda. This is in contrast to 'Just Transition', a high-level strategic concept towards which the TUC and some national level union activity is oriented. 'Just Transition' may not be 'deep green' – it continues to privilege technical fixes and certainly eschews the type of normative conserver economy favoured by many ecologists - but it functions as a values-based progressive 'rallying cry' because of the sheer level of economic planning it considers necessary for the switch to a low carbon economy and its rejection of the free market as the most efficient mechanism to achieve it. Tentatively, the workplace

greening agenda appears to suggest that unions see the environment as a technical matter (Chapter 7): but which conceptualisation appeals most to members and is most likely to facilitate collectivist behaviour and a redistribution of power in UK workplaces?

Chapter 6 builds on the findings reported in Chapter 5 and seeks to understand how unions' contemporary environmental activism is patterned. It investigates whether unions' contemporary environmental activism is related to union size/membership trends and finances and may therefore be understood as a membership renewal initiative and/or conditioned by affordability.

Following Chapter 4 the influence of employers' agendas and sectoral specificities on unions' environmental activism are also assessed: unions may be more environmentally active in those sectors where the environment presses hardest (e.g. manufacturing and extractive industries) and/or where employers are themselves encouraging staff to take an active interest and/or willingly subjecting the agenda to union scrutiny. The union environmental agenda shows limited sectoral patterning and appears surprisingly immune to employers' agendas: unions appear to be operationalising the type of environmental agenda that they want to and insist that it is ordinary members who are in the driving seat. Unions may, however, be enjoying free rein over their green agenda only because it remains inchoate and currently makes few demands of employers.

Union attitudes towards the environment, the expectations they attach to it (*vis-à-vis* the agenda's utility as a recruitment tool) and union headquarters' and senior officials' support for a unionised green function are also investigated. Adequate resourcing, positive attitudes towards the environment and key expectations for it are all associated with environmental activism but are considered probabilistic rather than deterministic. Interestingly, unions remain to be fully convinced of the agenda's utility to recruit new members and activists but are more optimistic regarding the agenda's efficacy as a vehicle for enhancing their relations with employers.

Three case studies focused on unions' workplace greening agenda are investigated in Chapter 7. Key features of the case studies are introduced in the first half of the chapter, including: the origins of each unions' workplace greening agenda; governance issues; the agenda itself; details of any joint institutions set up to facilitate environmental bargaining and the key actors' assessments of the success of the initiative. The second half contains the cross-case analysis, comparing and contrasting each workplace's and each union's approach

and evaluating these against the claims made for a unionised workplace greening agenda by the TUC Green Workplaces Project (see Chapter 5). The chapter uses Kelly's (2005) social movement theory to establish whether or not workplace greening is popular amongst union members and capable of recruiting new members and new activists – and the 'types' of new members and activists that are most interested. The agenda's ability to promote collectivism is also assessed. Finally, the agenda's behaviour as an employee relations negotiable is evaluated in order to establish both whether the environment negotiable is compatible with partnership (and the mutual gains ethos) and also contains features which enable it to escape the limitations of partnership; both of which are discussed substantively in Chapter 4.

The key findings, answers to the main research questions, methodological implications and suggestions for further research are discussed in Chapter 8. The chapter presents these in the form of a new narrative capable of explaining UK unions' environmental activism. In addition to answering the research questions, persistent themes of the thesis are also addressed, including: how a trade union movement associated with pro-environmental policymaking sustained only an arm's length relationship with EMOs during the 1970s and 1980s; why an implementation deficit persists; whether unions understand the environment as a technical matter or a politically-charged and progressive campaigning opportunity; and whether the environment transcends unions' left-wing/right-wing political orientations.

Unions are putting their weight behind the biggest challenge facing mankind. The question is: does this challenge offer any benefits to unions?

CHAPTER 1: THE SHAPING OF TRADE UNIONS' ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA AND THE LER SINCE 1970

Introduction

It is an interesting time to evaluate British unions' environmental activism because it is in transition. Speaking at the 2010 Trades Union Congress[3] (TUC) Green Conference Frances O'Grady, TUC Deputy General Secretary, said: "the environment is now a strategic priority for the trade union movement. Our next priority is for trade unions to be seen as strategic actors in this agenda by government and by business". Unions were never completely uninterested in environmental issues - a sub-tradition of green thought had existed within the labour movement since at least the mid-to-late 19th century (Dobson, 2000: 188). But unions were only infrequent environmental actors in the 1970s and 1980s and there is a widely-held academic and popular view that depicts the labour-environmental relationship (LER) as strained (Milani, 2000: 203; Norton, 2007: 96). This thesis offers a revised history of the LER in Britain and utilises newly quantitative evidence of longstanding pro-environmental policymaking by unions to render orthodox accounts of a strained LER predicated on ideological and class-based tensions problematical. The substantive issue thus becomes: how a pro-environmental trade union movement maintained an arm's-length only relationship with environmental movement organisations (EMOs) and the green agenda for so long. A revised narrative instead blends key events in the environmental policy domain with coalition theory, an evaluation of Britain's shifting political opportunity structure (POS) and widely accepted accounts of each movement's fortunes to trace the propensity and ability of both movements to interact effectively. In particular, I argue unions' recuperative modernisation policies and changes to both the content and conduct of employee relations in the 1990s played key roles in unions' ability to imagine and operationalise a cogent environmental agenda and the maturation of the LER. The thesis attempts to understand this change; to establish whether unions' contemporary interest in the environment represents a genuine (and sustainable) coincidence of interest or a brief 'moment' of intersection, and to evaluate the utility of the environment as a vehicle for union resurgence.

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[3] British trade unions' peak organisation.

This chapter commences with a description of the orthodox accounts of tension in the LER since 1970, which sets the scene for a revised understanding of unions' environmental activism. It then evaluates both generic ideological and demographic tensions associated with the LER and a range of UK-specific factors – related to the UK's POS - which may have functioned as obstacles to collaboration. *Despite these obstacles, and despite acknowledging qualitative improvements in the LER in the 1990s, I argue that the earlier differences have been exaggerated:* labourism and environmentalism were not antithetical and unions were genuinely pro-environmental (evidence for this is provided in Chapter 3). The chapter concludes by suggesting that unions' recuperative modernisation policies and changes to both the content and conduct of employee relations in the 1990s (examined fully in Chapter 4) played key roles in their ability to imagine and operationalise their contemporary practical environmental agenda (examined in Chapters 5 – 8) and can therefore be understood within the context of unions' renewal agenda.

The Labour Environmentalist Relationship in the UK - A Short History

During the 1960s and 1970s a qualitatively new environmental*ism* – and environmental*ist* – emerged across the developed world (Carter, 2007: 1-6; McCormick, 1995). Novel environmental ideologies advocated competing strategies to avoid the massive, newly realised problem of rapid depletion of the Earth's natural resources and ultimately the death of the planet and life as we know it - a grim future articulated by the hugely influential 'The Limits to Growth' in 1972 (Meadows' *et al*). The new EMOs operated alongside traditional and older environmental organisations to take the green message to the polity and the *demos* and to those governments and businesses whose actions and/or values were associated with environmental degradation.

In the UK, environmental concerns, institutions and legislation have a long history, and have covered, *inter alia*, animal welfare; the countryside; the preservation and romanticising of rural lifestyles; the conservation of flora and fauna, and urban pollution. In the UK the newer EMOs encountered difficulty in persuading governments, businesses and old social movements (OSMs) such as organised labour to take ecological concerns seriously. Mistrust between EMOs and trade unions developed: they did not appear to share the same agenda. Many environmentalists were opposed to economic growth, or at least to paradigmatic business and economic models and practices that ignored or masked environmental damage (Robertson, 1986). Labour representatives, however, saw economic growth as the main way

of creating and maintaining employment and protecting their members' standards of living (Milani, 2000).

Membership of the environmental movement in the 1970s appeared to be disproportionately middle class, educated and willing to prioritise environmental concern over job creation (Cotgrove and Duff, 1980; Cotgrove, 1982). Labour felt that the green movement was populated by a class acting in its own interest; greens, they argued, were members of society who had already 'made it' and who enjoyed secure employment and comfortable lifestyles (Weston, 1986; Ryle, 1988; Sarkar, 1999; Silverman, 2004) and although they would have more to lose (materially) in the transition to a conserver economy (compared to unions' traditional blue-collar supporters) they possessed resources with which to inoculate themselves against any intermediate economic and industrial dislocation.

Even unions' instinctive opposition to unfettered capitalism and wariness of 'big business' (Hughes and Pollins, 1973) was insufficient to guarantee friends in the green movement, which argued instead that a super-ideology of industrialisation was the enemy (a view reinforced by emerging evidence of environmental degradation in Europe's communist states) (Porritt 1984).

Membership of EMOs expanded rapidly during the 1970s and 1980s. Their precise influence on the polity is, however, contested. Lowe and Goyder (1983) and McCormick (1991) maintain that EMOs were at least consulted by Governments during the 1970s (and were particularly effective in local politics), but largely ignored for most of the 1980s by a Conservative Government that disliked interest groups and which, according to O'Riordan (1991: 179), considered the environment a "non-issue". Rawcliffe (1998) argues that for most of the 1980s EMOs generally exercised greater influence over public opinion than over government policy. However, a steady drip-drip of EU environmental regulations, punctuated by periodic eco- crises (such as acid rain, the hole in the ozone layer and the Chernobyl nuclear accident) helped to sustain popular interest in the environment and in 1988 Prime Minister Thatcher experienced a belated conversion to the environmental cause, symbolised by an important speech to the Royal Society in which she accepted the danger posed by ozone depletion and climate change (McCormick, 1991).

Unions – despised by the Thatcher Government and increasingly shunned by employers - were haemorrhaging members throughout the 1980s and on the defensive. However, by the early 1990s unions were increasingly keen on developing a modernising agenda and a more

moderate public image – one capable of recruiting members and 'recruiting' employers. Research was also suggesting that a green economy could be a labour intensive economy (Elkington, 1986). The Brundtland Report (1987) – which promulgated the concept of sustainable development and linked the environment and social justice – helped to de-radicalise environmentalism and mainstream green reforms, thereby maximising their appeal to industry, labour organisations and government. Influential discourses such as ecological modernisation, corporate social responsibility and ethical consumerism also emerged at this time, and the UK's main political parties, prompted by the success of the Green Party in the 1989 European elections, all sought to project a much more eco-friendly image (Carter, 2006).

By the mid-1990s public opposition towards unions had weakened and they were scouting around for new 'roles' in the workplace (and beyond). EMOs had become familiar members of the UK's lobbying *milieu* but their membership had plateaued (Rawcliffe, 1998) and despite 25 years of campaigning by EMOs, many environmental problems were becoming more serious. International co-operation had produced an ozone treaty, but atmospheric global warming had emerged as a major threat. Mankind was not simply increasing its dependency on finite resources – and extracting them at ever greater rates – but their use was heating-up the planet with potentially catastrophic implications for large parts of the world (especially developing countries). Against this backcloth, unions began to articulate a much more cogent environmental agenda and collaborate more frequently with EMOs.

This simplified history illustrates that environmentalism, the LER and the relative strengths of its main actors are vulnerable to renegotiation and have changed significantly over the last 40 years. To acknowledge that the LER improved in the 1990s but that unions had been broadly sympathetic towards green issues for a long time is to also ask how a generally pro-environmental UK trade union movement succeeded in maintaining only an 'arm's length' relationship with the environment (and EMOs) from the 1970s to the early 1990s.

Orthodox accounts of tension in the LER

Environmentalism as new politics

Various meta-theories exist seeking to explain and contextualise the emergence of new social movements (NSMs) including ecologism; with European analyses of NSMs emphasising *why* NSMs and new sets of grievances and cleavages in society evolved when they did and American analyses focusing on *how* NSMs secure influence. Habermas argues that the level

of conventional political regulation of individuals' lives had, by the 1960s, reached saturation point; which individuals reacted against by expressing new identities via new forms of collectivism (Hetherington, 1998: 33). But Inglehart (1977) is responsible for perhaps the most influential and systematic account of value change used to explain the emergence of NSMs and new political demands. Inglehart argues that by the 1960s and 1970s the essential needs of people in affluent developed countries – for food, warmth and shelter etc. - had been met, enabling them to scan wider, postmaterialist horizons for meaning, fulfilment and intervention. Inglehart's theory of value change is based on two premises (Dalton, 2002: 79). A scarcity hypothesis asserts that individuals allocate most value to those things in short supply. A socialisation hypothesis maintains that individuals' values are largely formed in and reflect the prevailing conditions of their preadult years – "value change may continue after this formative period as people move through the lifecycle or are exposed to new experiences... nevertheless ... later learning must overcome the inertia of pre-existing orientations". Inglehart constructed a hierarchy of political needs comprising two main categories: materialist needs and postmaterialist needs. The former contained sustenance (e.g. economic growth) and safety needs (e.g. law and order) whilst the latter contained the need for belonging and esteem (e.g. greater say in government decisions) and aesthetic/intellectual needs (e.g. free speech and concern for nature). Inglehart's thesis – and his methodology - has been criticised as simplistic, but time-series data (Dalton, 2006: 88) has consistently revealed a continuing gradual shift towards libertarian, postmaterial values within advanced industrial societies where they may be prioritised by up to one-third of citizens.

According to Dalton (2002: 94) environmentalism (as well as, *inter alia*, the anti-nuclear, women's rights and consumer rights movements) is closely linked to postmaterial values but their adoption may be contingent and a protracted process, sensitive to country-specific socio-economic conditions and transformations. So postmaterialism temporarily slowed in the former German Democratic Republic in the 1990s when, following the end of the Cold War, economic (material) growth was prioritised; and there is considerable variation: for example, 19% of Danes subscribed to postmaterial values in 1973, increasing to 32% in 1990; whereas the figures for Great Britain are 18% and 19% respectively (Dalton, 2006: 88). But despite economic accelerants and decelerants, postmaterial values continue to rise as the proportion of older materialists is gradually replaced by younger, better (liberal) educated postmaterialists – who can then transmit them to their children.

Such changes in value priorities will eventually penetrate the polity, partly because tomorrow's political *elites* are more likely to be drawn from well-educated affluent postmaterial cohorts (Inglehart, 1990: 289); and partly because liberal democratic governments are – in theory at least – representative of and receptive to the demands of the *demos*.

Even so, according to Byrne (1997: 59) the greens emerged when they did because mainstream political actors were failing to take their concerns seriously – exclusion was a precondition. American pluralist analyses, observing that societies had always featured innumerable grievances around which social movements had not always coalesced, are relevant here. Such analyses focus on *how* (postmaterialist) social movements operate and secure influence within the political economy and on why some appear more successful than others in realising their objectives – resource mobilisation theory (RMT) (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: 65; Doherty, 2002: 142).

Such theories, then, maintain that NSMs emerged in advanced industrial societies because their agendas were ignored by the conservatism of 'old' politics and 'old' political actors such as trade unions (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991: 154; Hetherington, 1998: 31; Grant, 2000: 148). The values and explicitly political interests of the newer EMOs, such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth (FoE), challenged conventional politics, and overlapped but clashed with unions' established social, political, economic and industrial class-based agenda. NSM, RMT and meta theories therefore point to a 'muddying' of the left-right political agenda characterised by attenuation of the centrality of orthodox industrial and economic issues in people's lives and/or the jettisoning of class-centred collective identities. These are replaced by new non-class-centred sources of collectivism and/or new expressive and individualistic modes of political behaviour[4]. These are discussed later in the chapter.

Green Thought and Socialism

Greens argued that Baconian thinking had led to a belief that humans were separate from and superior to nature, promoting unsustainable lifestyles privileging 'wants' not 'needs' (Pepper, 1991: 7). Greens maintained that current lifestyles were harming the environment, but there was significant disagreement about the extent and speed of the damage.

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[4]Grant (2002: 147) describes how demanding, single issue pressure groups are criticised because 'they do not have to balance out a range of issues and come to difficult decisions about priorities' – at its worst this represents infantilist, selfish politics. Similarly, some lifestyle politics becomes 'another form of consumption, rather than participation in a political dialogue, in which one takes part in an action simply as an experience'.

'Light green' environmentalists maintained that environmental degradation could be managed successfully with no need for fundamental changes in values or lifestyles (Dobson, 2000: 2). 'Deep greens', however, think that if there are limits to growth there must also be limits to consumption. This is a powerful message, one that technically rises above all other interests and societal cleavages: it is in everyone's interests to become green, otherwise the planet is doomed. But their prescriptions rub up against many of the everyday aspirations of the *demos*, and some green visions – of a transition to a frugal, spiritual and non-materialistic society, ordered in small semi-autonomous communities characterised by mutual interdependencies – are difficult to imagine and realise.

It is true that certain aspects of green thinking reverberate with conservatism: a reluctance to meddle with nature is an obvious example. Liberals are likely to share some of the green aversion to centralisation and 'big' government, favouring instead grass-roots democracy porous to a plurality of interests. In addition, if environmental problems are seen as collective problems requiring incentives to correct, liberals would argue that market and property rights based solutions offer a valid way forward (d'Auria, 1999: 20; Carter, 2007: 67). Communists, in contrast, might wishfully argue that if the state owned everything there would be no point permitting negative externalities to continue because the costs would still ultimately be borne by the state (Sarkar, 1999: 37).

Communism and capitalism were all the same to many greens, who instead targeted the super-ideology of industrialism (Carter, 2007: 70). Although socialists were able to latch onto the anti-capitalist strand of green thinking for most socialists the main battle was that between capital and labour, and any ideology which claimed to transcend this was considered erroneous and viewed with suspicion (Dobson, 2005: 29).

On consumption, green thought and socialism are uneasy bedfellows. Greens needed to convince people to reduce consumption and demand and purchase only things that they needed – theirs was a vision of a conserver society. This reflected the limits to growth thesis and posed a direct challenge to the valorisation of economic growth. The argument that the poor would benefit most from green policies – because they suffered most from environmental degradation – was either insufficiently appreciated by trade unionists or inadequately articulated by environmentalists. Greens' anti-growth sentiments were seen to conflict with the poor's material aspirations (Lowe and Goyder, 1983: 14).

On the basis that people might not readily accept a conserver society, some green thinking strayed into the authoritarian and regressive (Carter, 2007: 43). However, the concept of scarcity also required that those goods and services produced be distributed fairly – a socialistic idea.

Class, EMOs and Environmentalism

Unions also associated both environmental concern and activism with the country's increasingly powerful and vocal middle class which in the 1970s contrasted with unions' industrial blue-collar power base. Jenkins and Klandermans (1995: 98) and Byrne (1997: 32) argue that the post-war rise of the middle classes shifted the political centre of gravity and facilitated the emergence of a postmaterial society, less focused on material want.

Nuanced views focus precisely on the types of middle classes involved in environmentalism. Although there is some evidence that support for environmentalism is strong among the socially detached (including young people; the unmarried; the unemployed and students) and certain counter-cultural groups - none of which (then, or now) typified union memberships - the New Middle Class (NMC) thesis argues that environmentalism resonates most strongly with a certain stratum of the middle classes: those who are financially comfortable but feel 'frozen-out' (willingly or reluctantly) of the (potential) benefits of liberal capitalism (Byrne, 1997: 67; Cotgrove and Duff, 1980). The NMCs consider themselves marginal to liberal capitalism's operations and relatively immune from the social and economic sacrifices required by ecologism. These may be people who have the knowledge and the resources to operationalise their concerns and include social workers; teachers; and those employed in creative professions. Additionally, the science behind environmentalism appealed to professionals, wired-in to particular knowledge communities and with the cognitive skills required to appreciate what was happening to the ecosystem (Norton, 2004: 108).

Challenging the orthodox accounts - evidence of unions' longstanding pro-environmentalism

Evidence from the Trades Union Congress

On the greening of the British Labour Party, according to Carter (1992: 126): "trade union opposition to the environment became less of a constraint (after 1988)". Carter views this as linked to the greater decline in relative power of manufacturing and energy industry unions,

compared to the decline experienced in the white collar/(public) services sector "who generally have less to lose by stricter environmental regulation". But in fact unions were never completely uninterested in environmental issues. A sub-tradition of green thought had existed within the movement since at least the mid-to-late 19th century enabling red/green synergies, which facilitated occasional opportunities for inter-movement co-operation (Weston, 1986: 188). And environmental issues began to feature explicitly on the TUC agenda in the early 1970s, some – but not all of it - flowing from their nascent health and safety agenda. In the 1970s UK unions had toyed with 'green bans' and, famously, the unions at Lucas Aerospace – faced with redundancies – formulated a radical alternative vision for the company committed to the design and manufacture of environmentally friendly and socially useful goods (Elliott *et al*, 1978).

Trade unions' interest in the environment since the late 1960s is revealed by an analysis of TUC reports. Content (designation) analysis of TUC reports was used to quantify unions' interest in the environment. Figure 1.1 shows the number of different environmental categories[5] discussed at Congress and number of environmental resolutions carried each year between 1967 - 2011. Differences in the numbers of categories and resolutions are explained by the fact that one resolution may incorporate several categories. The reverse is also possible, although different motions on the same category are generally composited, as long as the end product continues to make sense and is not contradictory. Compositing is extremely common at Congress; therefore both resolutions and categories are required to establish a true picture of policymaking.

In response to Carter, it should be noted that the TUC has *not* made an environmental decision in only 4 out of the last 44 years (1968; 1969; 1975; 1984); on average passing 3 environmental resolutions addressing 4 categories each year. Not only can it be argued that unions have long been interested in the environment, but unions can also claim that their interest has been consistent. There is evidence of slightly more interest of late and no evidence of a Damascene conversion at any time since 1967. Crucially, the vast majority of resolutions can be considered pro-environmental. The data is analysed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

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[5] The following categories were identified: energy; manufacturing; transport; global warming; government policy instruments; union green policies; marine environment; wildlife and conservation; globalisation; water; land-use and housing; human health; farming and food; recycling and waste; emergency services; research and development; population growth.

Figure 1.1 Environmental resolutions and categories at TUC by year 1967 – 2011
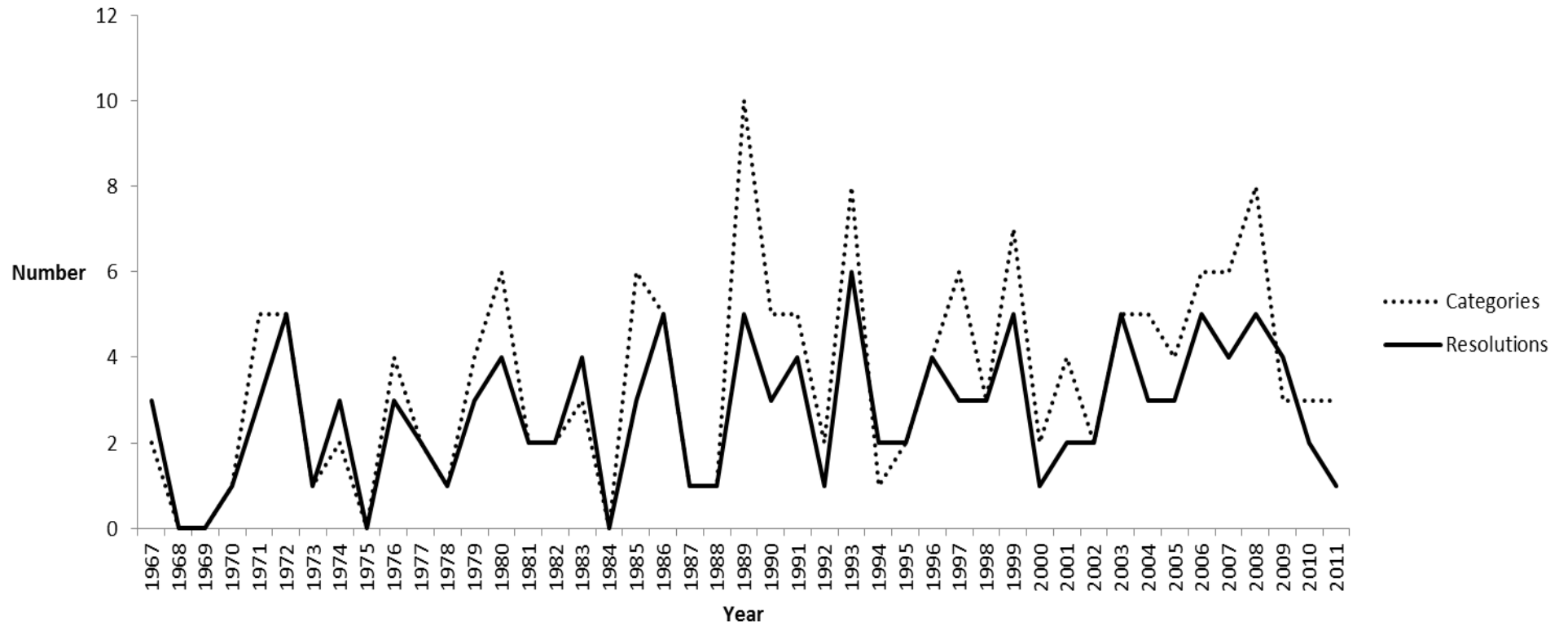
Source: Congress Reports, 1967 – 2011

Evidence from individual unions

Robinson (1992: 99) notes that several unions first developed a cogent environmental policy in the late 1980s/early 1990s, including the NUM; NUR; NUPE; TGWU and GMB. The environmental policymaking of individual unions has generally increased since the 1970s and further evidences unions' longstanding interest in green issues. That unions increased and sustained their interest throughout the 1990s is illustrated using data from the Transport and General Workers Union, the General Municipal Boilermakers Union (Table 1.1) and UNISON. Conference data for *nonpareil* 1990s union UNISON – formed from the merger of CoHSE, NALGO and NUPE – shows that it remained just as interested in environmental issues as its predecessors and became significantly more interested as the decade progressed. Prior to UNISON's formation, CoHSE, NALGO and NUPE conference agendas typically featured one or two environmental motions at their national delegate conferences. Upon formation UNISON's conference agenda featured one or two environmental motions, but by the late-1990s this had increased to between four and seven motions and, in 2001, 13 environmental motions.

Table 1.1 TGWU and GMB Environmental Policymaking.

Years	Number of Environmental Motions at National Delegate Conference	
	GMB	**TGWU** (1)
1970s	12	6
1980s	17	15
1990s	22	23
2000s	23 (2)	8 (3)

(1) Biennial Conference
(2) 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007
(3) 2003 and 2005 only

Source: GMB and TGWU National Conference Reports 1970- 2007

Evidence from union activists and ordinary union members

A majority of environmentalists consider themselves to also be 'on the left' (Byrne, 1997: 75) and may therefore be more likely to be union members/activists. Given there is also a

tradition of concern for the environment within the union movement one would therefore expect union members and activists to display greater environmental concern. Alternatively, perhaps trade union activists were more likely than ordinary members to view the green agenda with suspicion : they may subscribe to a 'purer' set of the values and objectives associated with their movement – in this case ones supposedly incompatible with ecologism - and are more likely to have encountered conflicting employment and environmental interests at work. In fact the British Household Survey (BHS) data confirms that union officials are slightly more concerned about the environment than either ordinary union members or non-members. In 1983, for example, 75% of union officials considered industrial pollution at sea to be "very serious" compared to 62% of ordinary union members (and 59% of non-members). In 1986, 56% of union officials considered acid rain to be "very serious" compared to 54% of ordinary members (and 51% of never-members). In 1989, 84% of union officials considered the loss of tropical rain forests to be "very serious" compared to 70% of ordinary members (and 63% of non-members). Similarly, by the early 1990s 5.8% of trade union members were also members of an environmental group compared to 4.7% of non-union members (BHS 1993). According to the BHS then, by at least the early 1980s both union membership and union activism associated positively with a pro-environmental outlook.

In the 1980s union activists and members were therefore generally more interested in the environment than the general population. So the key question remains: during the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s, how did a trade union movement, whose members were *at least* as interested in the environment as the general population, sustain only an 'arm's length' relationship with EMOs for so long and at a time when environmentalism's attentive public – many of them union members - was increasing exponentially?

'New' versus 'old' politics

NSM theory argues that EMOs were the product of relative economic and political satiety, new political agendas and the insularity of British politics' established *dramatis personae*. (I will leave aside the fact that 1970s Britain was characterised by a series of economic and industrial crises) EMOs were indeed growing in the 1960s and 1970s, but so too was the British trade union movement – and at its fastest rate in history (Salamon, 1992: 655). Similarly, several unions representing precisely the types of members that NSM theory suggest should have been enticed away from the trade union movement, not only grew during the 1970s, but were amongst the few unions to experience consistent membership growth during the 1980s. They included: FDA (senior civil servants); Equity (arts and

entertainment); BALPA (airline pilots); NASUWT (primary and secondary school teachers); NATFHE (college and university lecturers); NAPO (probation officers) and the Society of Radiographers.

Ideological and programmatic based divisions

To what extent is green thought incompatible with the interests of organised labour? Green thought was never simply limited to technical solutions to environmental problems, to be enacted within the existing political system – greens sought widescale and fundamental social, economic, industrial and political reform and their agenda frequently overlapped with that of organised labour.

Much employment in the utopian green sustainable economy would be in agriculture, and community-based. Various visions of the future of work and society coexisted in the 1970s, including the view that new technology would create a dystopic leisure society characterised by mass unemployment (Jenkins and Sherman, 1979). Greens did not consider a leisure society to be utopian. The greens liked work, and their future would be labour intensive (Ekins, 1986: 93) characterised by full employment and no longer differentiating between the formal (paid) and informal (unpaid) economy. Unions were, however, convinced that 'going green' cost jobs rather than created them. Unions now generally believe the opposite (CCTU, 2010; TUSDAC, 2001), but it is difficult to establish precisely when the conversion commenced. Robinson (1992: 136) believes it might have been 1986, when Dr David Clark, the Labour Party's spokesperson on environmental protection, published 'Jobs and the Environment', a "smart political serenade to the trade unions" of the impact of environmental policies on the labour market. In a follow-up report one year later Clark estimated that the environmental protection sector alone could create 200,000 new jobs. Social justice also emerged as a key concern for greens. It was not just that the impact of environmental degradation was patterned unjustly – hurting most those who had least contributed to it or who were least able to act or argue effectively against it – but that a just society would engender co-operation and generate more effective and innovative solutions to societal and environmental problems. Greens also started to advocate specific welfare policies such as a Minimum Income Scheme generous enough to abolish poverty entirely and paid for out of a progressive tax regime.

Greens were also aware that because a conserver economy was not immediately attractive it could not be easily achieved under liberal democracy which, *inter alia*, offered only blunt and periodic opportunities for the *demos* to effect political and industrial change. Nevertheless, two defining features of green thought about the state are decentralisation,

and a willingness to strengthen democracy, not weaken it – Carter (2007: 55) argues that the greens want to replace representative democracy with "participatory, democratic procedures based on a discursive or deliberative model". This would be characterised by more enhanced institutional responsiveness, increased opportunities and incentives for public participation and human-scale economic and political institutions – aspects of governance largely compatible with unions' own approaches.

Positioning ecologism on a left-right spectrum cannot be resolved here (but it is certainly worth noting that a majority of environmental activists self-identify as left-wing [Byrne, 1997: 75]). Ecologism is as different from liberalism, conservatism and socialism as they are from each other, although this has not prevented liberals, conservatives and socialists from seeking to appropriate green thought. Nevertheless, Doherty (2002: 67) argues "green ideology is a new variant within the traditions of the left rather than an alternative to the left/right divide". The point being made is that on a range of core principles green thought does not appear to be fundamentally incompatible with the priorities of organised labour, and there is considerable common ground.

Class-based explanations

Environmental concern and activism have been constructed as the preserve of societal groups of only marginal interest to trade unions: the poorly socially integrated (such as students and the unemployed) and the middle classes. Norton (2004: 109) accepts that NSMs in the 1970s and 1980s did include "decommodified and peripheral groups" but that organised labour was not overly dismissive of their interests. Kriesi (1995: 178) maintains that the agenda's appeal to countercultural groups may be predicated on its anti-state orientation rather than any inherent appeal.

Rootes (1995: 235) argues that environmentalism's appeal to the poorly socially integrated has been exaggerated. Lowe and Goyder (1983: 12) claim that environmental concern generally appears to be smoothly distributed across society. They reject the view that the middle classes were especially environmentally conscious (Lowe and Goyder 1983: 11); rather, they were simply better placed to operationalise their concern for the environment because they possessed more resources (particularly time and money), and occupied particularistic social roles within types of communities characterised by established traditions of civic engagement. Even if a disproportionately high number of environmental activists were middle class, this does not necessarily mean that they were expounding views seriously discordant with those of other socio-economic groups.

The working class - and their institutions - were understood by environmentalists as a conservative force (Wallace and Jenkins, 1995: 98). Rootes (1999: 292) - drawing on research by Witherspoon and Martin (1993) - argues that: "It is the simpler and less sophisticated forms of environmental concern which are most likely to be found among the less well educated, and that those attitudes that approximate most closely to an ecological world-view are more likely to be found among the higher educated". Burningham and Thrush (2001: 2), however, observe that the poor and disadvantaged groups construct and understand 'the environment' differently from most green activists – indeed they rarely use the word. Disadvantaged communities might experience difficulty with the science of the environment, but although they are concerned with global warming, they are just as likely to be concerned about graffiti and dog shit in the local park. Burningham and Thrush argue that EMOs have historically failed to communicate effectively to such people and that the post-materialist thesis is "true …only when adopting a limited definition of environmental concern. When issues of local pollution, dirt and decay are included, then poorer members of society are found to be especially concerned". So although differentiation exists, the argument partly rests on the extent to which this is caused by inaccessible green discourses and/or the success or failure of EMOs to reach out to certain groups.

Class' influence is difficult to interpret, Its impact may be more pronounced on individuals' capacities to be green, the extent of the 'sacrifices' they are prepared to accept to be green, and in shaping opinions regarding the nation's spending priorities (Guber, 2003; 177). The contribution of 'class' to both environmental activism and consciousness is therefore, at the very least, contested.

Developing a new narrative using the UK's political opportunity structure and coalition theory

Orthodox depictions of a fraught LER privileging class and ideological faultlines are thus contested and further challenged by evidence of unions' longstanding sympathy towards environmental issues. The following narrative blends widely accepted accounts of the fortunes of both movements with an evaluation of Britain's shifting political opportunity structure (POS) and coalition theory to identify an alternative range of constraints and opportunities influencing the propensity and capacity of both movements to interact effectively; culminating, eventually, in unions' emergence as environmental actors in their own right.

Political opportunity structure

Membership of EMOs grew exponentially throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but membership – and, arguably their influence with government – plateaued in the 1990s[6]. Unions were powerful, privileged political actors in the 1970s, but haemorrhaged power and members after 1979, a process that continued unabated until the early-to-mid 1990s. An analysis of the fortunes of particular groups needs to be understood as occurring within a political opportunity structure comprising: the degree of openness of the polity; the stability/instability of political alignments; the presence or absence of allies; divisions within the elite; elites' tolerance of protest and statecraft (Foweraker, 1995: 71).

Coalition theory

As rational actors groups will only enter into coalitions if they yield advocacy success. In the 1970s, trade unions were powerful actors in the political representation system – institutions, processes and opportunities which social movements must encounter. According to Hojnacki (1997: 64) in the 1970s alliances were relatively rare, perceived by interest groups as a dilution of organisational distinctiveness. Public policymaking was therefore dominated by a smallish number of groups seeking to preserve their 'go to' status. Since the 1970s, however, contemporary political systems have become more crowded – there is now a multiplicity of interest groups and it is inevitable that they will interact.

The interaction, however, will vary, influenced by, *inter alia*, the context of the policy issue, each actor's knowledge of one another and concern for maintaining a distinct identity. Groups that face strong, organised group opposition are likely to enter into coalition - unless the government is also firmly opposed; in which case groups are more likely to campaign discretely and unilaterally rather than incur the upfront costs of building a coalition with little chance of success. However, weak groups are more likely to seek coalitional opportunities than strong ones, and strong groups do not really need weak ones. Groups that know and have worked successfully with one another are more likely to collaborate in the future. Groups representing what Hojnacki terms "symbolic concerns" – those linked to identity and lifestyles – approach coalition-working cautiously, fearing a dilution of values and consequential loss of (core) support.

Obach (2002: 82) largely concurs and adds: "unions can be seen as situated between employers and environmentalists in regard to environmental issues" and a labour movement that is either close to the former or concentrating on its core agenda will be psychologically

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[6] Although some traditional conservation groups' memberships continued to grow.

distant from the latter because they are "less likely to join with others to achieve broader, progressive goals". For Obach, the fortunes of unions, their relationship with employers (i.e. the extent to which they share employers' environmental attitudes) and the extent to which unions are concentrating on (consolidating or defending) their core productivist agendas are the main determinants of the LER.

A new narrative for the 1970s and 1980s

The 1970s

Literature addressing the openness of the polity in the 1970s is confusing and voluminous. According to NSM theory EMOs emerged because their interests were being ignored. Nollert (1995: 143) argues that new interests are best accommodated in corporatist regimes, but believes only a limited version of corporatism was practised in Britain in the 1970s. Lowe and Goyder (1983: 67) agree, arguing that the state provided EMOs with limited 'jumping in' points.

Nollert (*ibid*) maintains that *how* governments manage societal demands is just as important as *what* and *how many* there are and according to Richardson and Jordan (1979: 137) government in the 1970s became increasingly alive to the fact that the 'trick' of successful government lies in successful policy implementation; and consequently interest groups' knowledge, resources and reputations are regularly and selectively mined for policy formulation and implementation advantages.

Byrne (1997: 18) argues that NSMs did not seek power within the political system – like OSMs - but rather campaigned for a changed political system, and their activities were therefore calibrated to avoid such incorporation. This point challenges the view that the tensions between unions and EMOs in the 1970s were caused simply by unions' (and the state's) refusal to accept them, at a time when unions' powers of brokerage were at their highest – EMOs too wanted to maintain their distance from Britain's established political actors.

Although the state was increasingly targeted by EMOs because it had grown so powerful (and because this was a decade of a relatively large number of controversial developments and infrastructure projects with major environmental implications) the cross-cutting characteristics of the environmental policy domain made campaigning and lobbying difficult; consequently much meaningful contact between EMOs and the state was *ad hoc*. However, the UK's land-use and planning regime devolved considerable responsibility to local government, which became a target for concerted EMO activity (Lowe and Goyder, 1983,

68). Indeed, the numbers and memberships of local environmental/conservation and civic amenity groups increased considerably at this time, signalling the importance of 'the local' and civil society to green thinking and struggle. Crucially, these were arenas which unions – at their zenith - were neither particularly interested nor effective in. Unions' natural habitat remained the workplace and in the 1970s these were sites of considerable industrial strife where environmental concern had yet to figure consistently or highly.

Meta theory linking the emergence of new political concerns with post-industrial economic satiety always looked questionable in the context of a decade associated with industrial and economic crises; indeed, postmaterial values seem to have been adopted relatively slowly by the UK (Dalton, 2006: 88). Coalition and RMT theory offers an alternative plausible narrative with which to describe changes to the LER. According to Obach's and Hojnacki's framework there would have been no incentive for a powerful and busy trade union movement to team-up with the inchoate green movement in the 1970s. Similarly, the newer EMOs would have been wary of incorporation and a dilution of ecologism. EMOs therefore remained on the periphery of the polity, sometimes resorting to high-visibility unorthodox and paragovernmental activities, addressing matters outside unions' core agenda and concentrated in theatres largely beyond their ambit.

The 1980s

The 1980s is associated with the Thatcherite 'rolling back of the state' – marking the end of UK corporatism and the advent of a polarising actively exclusive state orientation (Dryzek *et al*, 2003: 7). Rawcliffe (1998: 53) considered the state to be centralised, secretive and elitist. Although the government had ditched corporatism, the statecraft which replaced it was differentiated (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006: 74) and remained more than capable of privileging certain interests over others (notably those of the business community).

Understandably, the relationship between the state and EMOs could have remained largely unchanged in the 1980s despite membership of EMOs continuing to grow. Some things, however, had changed. From the mid-1980s economic growth permitted larger numbers of controversial infrastructure projects (notably roadbuilding), new environmental threats were being identified, new ways of articulating 'the environment' were coalescing (such as ethical consumerism) and new targets for EMO activity were emerging (such as Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution and the National Rivers Authority). Further, the EU's emergence as an environmental champion and the expansion of EU environmental legislation made it difficult for the UK Government – and business - to do nothing. But they tried. Under the Conservative administration the environment became a relatively dull backwater of UK

politics (O'Riordan, 1991: 179) until Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's famous speech to the Royal Society in 1988 when she accepted the danger posed by ozone depletion and climate change (McCormick, 1991: 60).

McCormick (1995: 209) argues that the absence of controversial infrastructure developments in the first half of the 1980s (attributable to economic recession) had failed to sustain the radical ecologism of the 1970s. In fact Robinson (1992: 180) argues that there was a "deintellectualisation" and "deradicalisation" of the environmental movement during the 1980s and by the late 1980s EMOs were behaving differently compared to the 1970s. 'Light green' environmentalism had become accessible and popular, and EMOs were having some success in the corridors of Whitehall and were reluctant to lose this by resurrecting confrontational direct action. Several EMOs abandoned direct action (and even 'insider politics') in favour of becoming trusted technical advisers to both government and business (McCormick, 1991: 118; Ward and Samways, 1992: 123). However, the extent of EMO's direct action at this time has been exaggerated. Even in the 1970s it was rarely an opening gambit and mainly concerned with generating media attention in order to sustain the background noise necessary to prick politicians' ears (Rootes, 1995: 80). It is also important to note that not all direct action was confrontational and/or unlawful at this time anyway. FoE in particular recognised that 'well informed opportunism with a dash of invention and daring could be just a potent a recipe for change as any overdose of violent confrontation' (Lamb, 1996:53)[7]. And although Greenpeace engaged in 'media friendly, calculated law-breaking' they were also committed to non-violence (Rootes, 2009: 209).

Meanwhile, unions found themselves unpopular and under attack. The economic prosperity following the recession of the early 1980s was linked to industrial reforms which negated most of the unions' membership gains of the 1970s, and espoused values that seemed to run counter to collectivist values which unions had historically represented and transmitted; valorising instead (marketised) lifestyle and identity-based politics (to some a selfish, consumerist society). The extent to which unions were able to solely mobilise around class had always been exaggerated (van Gyes, de Witte and Pasture, 2001). Class was simply too inclusive to generate truly concrete loyalties and identities capable of either trumping the range of alternative claims on the 'self' and/or suppressing alternative (identity-based) expressive behaviour (such as concern for the environment and ethical lifestyles). These shortcomings were severely challenged and magnified during the 1980s.

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[7] Or, as Herring (1998) observes: 'FoE new style of protest with its humour and good temper greatly appealed to those seeking an alternative to radical leftish street fighting tactics or 'tune in, turn on, drop out' escapism.

Although NSM advocates can cite a 'slow burn' effect - wherein the unravelling of 'old' politics occurs over protracted periods (with unions eventually emerging as anachronistic to an increasingly aspirational and/or postmaterial *demos*) it is possible, *lex parsimoniae*, to blame Thatcherism. Lewis (1998: 54) interprets the attack on trade unions as an attempt to ditch any vestiges of corporatism and collectivism. The Thatcher government sought to weaken the influence of professional interests – particularly in the public sector – because it felt that such interests were out-of-touch with service-users' needs; pre-occupied with consolidating their occupational status and obstacles to the radical social and economic restructuring which the New Right considered necessary. Within a relatively short time after the 1979 General Election, government-trade union contact and dialogue had almost ground to a halt; the contact that did occur was almost always at the union's behest; and Ministers rarely gave the unions either much time or what they wanted (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992: 37; Kelly, 2005). Therefore, the conditions which supposedly prompted the emergence of EMOs in the first place – a closed and unresponsive polity – persisted, revised, in the 1980s. Only this time it also happened to be explicitly anti-union.

According to Hojnacki (*ibid*) in the face of strong opposition interest groups are more likely to seek coalitions, but mainly with strong groups that will facilitate advocacy success. Unions lost power in the 1980s but did not see the green agenda or partnership with environmentalists as facilitative of an industrial *rapprochement* with the government. Parenthetically, given the weakness of the UK Green Party, Rootes (1995: 84) and McCormick (1995: 209) argue that the 'broad church' of the UK Labour Party functioned to 'hoover up' most of the UK's progressives – including greens but also environmental accommodationists and rejectionists against whose agendas the former could not compete effectively with. This slowed down the 'greening' of the Labour Party in particular and the labour movement in general, thereby further minimising opportunities for red-green synergies.

EMOs were still failing to translate their massive popularity into concrete political successes, and the Conservative Government remained largely uninterested in the environment (Lowe and Goyder describe EMO's relationship with government as "phoney insider status" [1983: 67]). Obach (*ibid*) argues that in the face of a common enemy interest groups can choose to collaborate with other broadly progressive movements or 'go it alone'. Hojnacki (*ibid*) adds that if government is the common enemy interest groups are even more likely to eschew exhausting and resource-intensive coalition-building and keep their powder dry.

An enviro-sceptic, anti-union Conservative government therefore presented EMOs with a simple choice. In the 1980s EMOs did not want to jeopardise the precarious access they had to decision-makers by aligning themselves with the government's *bête noire*. As Rootes (1995: 80) observed, the environment was being depoliticised in the 1980s – in an effort to build consensus and maintain this access – but (attitudes towards) trade unionism was still seen as political. Consequently, partnership working with a weakened trade union movement despised by the government and concentrating on defending its core agenda would not be considered strategically rewarding.

The LER in the 1990s

By the early 1990s new environmental discourses and research investigating the relationship between environmentalism and employment facilitated greater consensus between unions and EMOs (Carter, 1992; Robinson, 1992). It took 'New Realism', a slowing of union decline, an expansive union agenda, a plateauing of EMO growth and key shifts in employers' attitudes towards the environment to create better conditions for coalitional working. These are introduced below and set the scene for the substantive discussion in Chapter 4.

Understanding Union Decline

There are a number of theories competing to explain the decline of trade unions and trade unionism in the 1980s. The 'classic' theory is that the Prime Minister hated them, and deliberately set out to destroy them (McDonald, 1992; Hutton, 1996). Another is that the unions had already sowed the seeds of their own destruction due to one or more of the following: the widespread popular belief that they had become too powerful and irresponsible (Kelly, 2005; Metcalf, 2005), evidenced by the strike activity in the late 1970s (especially during the Winter of Discontent); because they failed to recognise that the power they *had* acquired was conditional and vulnerable to renegotiation (Taylor, 2005); because they failed adequately to represent the interests of those working people outside conventional union circles - especially the low paid and unskilled (Metcalf, 2005), women and black and minority ethnic (BME) workers (Livingstone, 1989); or because they did not adapt to the array of social, political, and economic forces then pressing on them (Metcalf, 2005).

Lewis (1989) sees the attack on trade unions as a government attempt to ditch any vestiges of corporatism and collectivism. The Thatcher government sought to weaken the influence of professional interests in the public sector, because it felt they were out-of-touch with service-user's needs; pre-occupied with designing and delivering policies which made their

own lives easier and consolidating their occupational status; and were obstacles to the radical social and economic restructuring which the New Right considered necessary (Lewis, 1989). Trade unions were therefore constructed as 'the enemy within'.

Between 1980 and 1995 there were seven separate rounds of anti-union legislation, hitting their legal rights; finances; administration; culture and national, regional, local and sectoral pro-union custom-and-practice. At the same time, employers were encouraged to adopt a much tougher stance when negotiating with unions and to use the new legislation to "alter the balance on the shop floor in favour of management" (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992:36). Unions found themselves increasingly frozen-out of the policy-making process and their membership of certain bodies terminated.

Rhodes and Marsh (1992: 50) argue that it is difficult to establish with accuracy whether the strongest contribution to union decline came from the anti-union legislation, the anti-union politics or anti-union employers. They point out that government intervention in industrial relations in the private sector is mainly achieved through legislation, and is therefore less direct than in the institutions of government itself (where the state is also the employer): in firms with a history of good industrial relations, therefore, unions and managers maintained a constructive relationship. Furthermore, examples of employers using the new legislation against unions were relatively rare: union de-recognition rates remained surprisingly static outside a few certain industries notorious for industrial conflict (such as dockyards and newspapers).

Nevertheless, unions were on the defensive. They scaled down their aspirations and struck a more conciliatory note to remain 'in' with employers and not ignored by government. Much contemporary trade unionism - in terms of its agenda and operationalisation - has its origins in this 'New Realism'. The modernisation took several distinct forms. Unions first sought to project a far more professional and moderate image, calculated to hold on to whatever political influence they retained under the anti-union Conservative Government. In the years running up to the 1992 and 1997 General Elections moderate, responsible unions were also seen as vital to the Labour Party's electability – part-and-parcel of the wider movement's ditching of those unpopular and unworkable policies, practices and values popularly associated with past economic and industrial failures.

Unions' Organisational Reforms

Union modernisation comprised three distinct elements: organisational reform; changes to the content and conduct of employee relations ('New Realism') and social partnership. All three impacted unions' environmental activism and the LER.

Norton (2004; 207) maintains that more diverse and 'open' unions can facilitate the emergence of new bargaining agendas, by creating new policy spaces and opportunities for hitherto passive memberships to articulate their concerns. From the late-1980s unions sought to improve union democracy and organisation (often necessitated by the extensive merger activity at this time[8]); attract new activists (especially women, young people and black and minority ethnic activists); identify and deliver new types of union benefits and services; attract new members and empower branch activists.

Unions were therefore seeking to better represent an increasingly diverse workforce. By adopting new agendas (or reconfiguring old ones) and taking seriously the concerns of hitherto non-traditional union members and activists, the hope was that members of such groups would be more likely to join; and employers would find it difficult to argue that unions were anachronistic or their demands unrealistic or unrepresentative.

The precise contribution of union's internal reforms to their environmental activism is hard to gauge and is assessed in greater detail in Chapter 4. It is certainly an over simplification to argue that unions' recruitment of hitherto underrepresented groups naturally and inevitably led to more pro-environmental voices within the union and so to greater environmental activism. There is no evidence that these new or potential members were generally more concerned about environmental issues than existing members. They did not need to be - the environment's attentive public continued to grow in in the 1990s (Worcester, 1997: 164) and employees and new entrants to the workforce were increasingly keen on acting ethically at work, not just at home (The Work Foundation, 2002: 14). This can be interpreted as a qualitative change in the content of employee relations and evidence of continuing long-term decline in importance of unions' hard productivist/distributional bargaining agendas (see below). Union structures serve to activate and deactivate members and activists and according to Norton (2004: 207) more diverse unions feature "multi-skilled and knowledgeable collectives, with the collective intelligence to organise effectively and participate effectively in their union". This stimulated the gradual identification of a cogent trade union environmental bargaining and campaigning agenda, with the TUC occupying key co-ordinating and resourcing roles. In 1990 the TUC General Council first proposed the concept of workplace greening (of union green representatives conducting environmental audits in their workplaces); in 1991 the TUC launched the 'TUC Charter for the Environment'

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[8] Between 1982 and 2001 the GMB was involved in mergers with 19 unions. Other notable mergers in the 1980s and 1990s include: NGA and SOGAT to form GPMU; ACTT and BETA to form BECTU; AEEU and MSF to form AMICUS; NUPE, NALGO and CoHSE to form UNISON and PTC and CPSA to form PCS.

and in 1992 the TUC launched a new two-day environmental training course (TUC General Council Reports, 1990; 1991; 1992).

'New Realism' and Partnership

'New Realism' attempted to replace an ostensibly adversarial system of industrial relations with a more conciliatory partnership-based approach with employers, and was most strongly advocated and encouraged by the TUC General Council and by the leadership of the GMB. Large numbers of partnership deals were signed in the late 1990s, but outside formal agreements a qualitative change in the conduct of employee relations can be discerned from at least the mid-1990s, reflecting the spread of 'New Realism'. Employers' motivation for adopting a less adversarial mode of employee relations included their anticipation of a union *renaissance* under a pro-worker's rights New Labour Government (Stuart and Martinez Lucio, 2005: 3) committed to the introduction of statutory union recognition procedures[9].

Despite unitarist tendencies, partnership was believed to lend itself well to developmental bargaining agendas requiring joint problem-solving approaches and ongoing maintenance and monitoring (Stuart and Martinez Lucio, 2005: 111). The environment – broadly conceived – can be categorised as a developmental issue and was starting to press hard on UK employers in the 1990s (Blair and Hitchcock, 2001: 80; Young, 2000: 3) - unions and employers were therefore provided with a potential new partnership negotiable. The TUC considered partnership essential to improving company performance, yielding tangible improvements in productivity and in 1997 jointly organised (with the Confederation of British Industry) a Symposium on the Environment to identify a partnership approach to the environment (TUC General Council Report, 1997). Whether partnership is also improving unions' standing with employers and yielding tangible benefits for the workforce is, however, generally contested (Stuart and Martinez Lucio, *ibid*).

Social Partnership

Crucially for the LER under the leadership of John Monks the TUC started to seek out key partners – in and outside government - with which to advance their national social, economic, industrial and political agendas, and encouraged individual unions to do the same. This was a conscious policy by unions to reintegrate themselves back into the UK's political decision-making *milieu*. The underpinning philosophy was broadly compatible with New Labour's 'Third Way', which emphasised social dialogue, partnership and pragmatic, joined-up government (Horton and Farnham, 1999; 17). Its success, in terms of the

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[9] The Employment Relations Act (1999).

environment, was most obvious in the creation of the Trades Unions Sustainable Development Advisory Committee (TUSDAC) in 1998; a joint union-government body co-chaired by a senior trade unionist and the Environment Minister[10] and increased contact with EMOs.

Coalitional Opportunities in the 1990s – a New Narrative

Unions' endogenous modernisation processes, social partnership and shifts in the content and conduct of employee relations increased unions' porosity to the green agenda. John Edmonds, former General Secretary of the GMB, remembers:

> When we started talking to green groups that was a big, big step. John Monks, to be fair to him, and perhaps Norman Willis too[11], both of them had a fairly open approach to all groups in society, we should talk to anybody. Which wasn't always the case of course, but Norman was and John was by instinct. So there was a different approach then. And, of course, once you see your membership start collapsing, unemployment rose, all the nasty things that were happening then, some of the arrogance, the "don't-fuck-us-about" arrogance of the trade union movement, "who the fuck are you?", it inevitably dissipated. We became more inclusive and more interested in other people's points of view because we bloody-well had to be (personal interview)

But this was also a two-way street – EMOs were targeting unions. By the mid-1990s John Major's Conservative administration had run out of steam, while the rate at which unions were losing members had slowed considerably and their unpopularity and ineffectiveness appeared to have peaked (Bryson, 2003). Further, a resurgence of unions' fortunes under an imminent pro-union Labour Government was considered inevitable. Membership of EMOs, however, plateaued and/or fell (Rawcliffe, 1998: 75) – despite growing awareness of anthropogenic global warming and several high-profile direct action (and sometimes unlawful and confrontational) anti-road protests organised by a next generation of environmental "disorganisations" (Rootes, 2009: 213) such as Alarm UK, Earth First! and the Donga Tribe (often acting in tandem with concerned local residents) which, for a time, certainly challenged the deradicalisation thesis. In sum, environmental policy in the UK needed boosting and EMOs felt it both 'safe' and expedient to woo a modernising - and

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[10] In 1997 this was John Edmonds (GMB General Secretary) and Michael Meacher respectively.
[11] John Monks succeeded Norman Willis as General Secretary of the TUC in 1993.

Figure 1.2: Employees' most important union functions 1989-2000
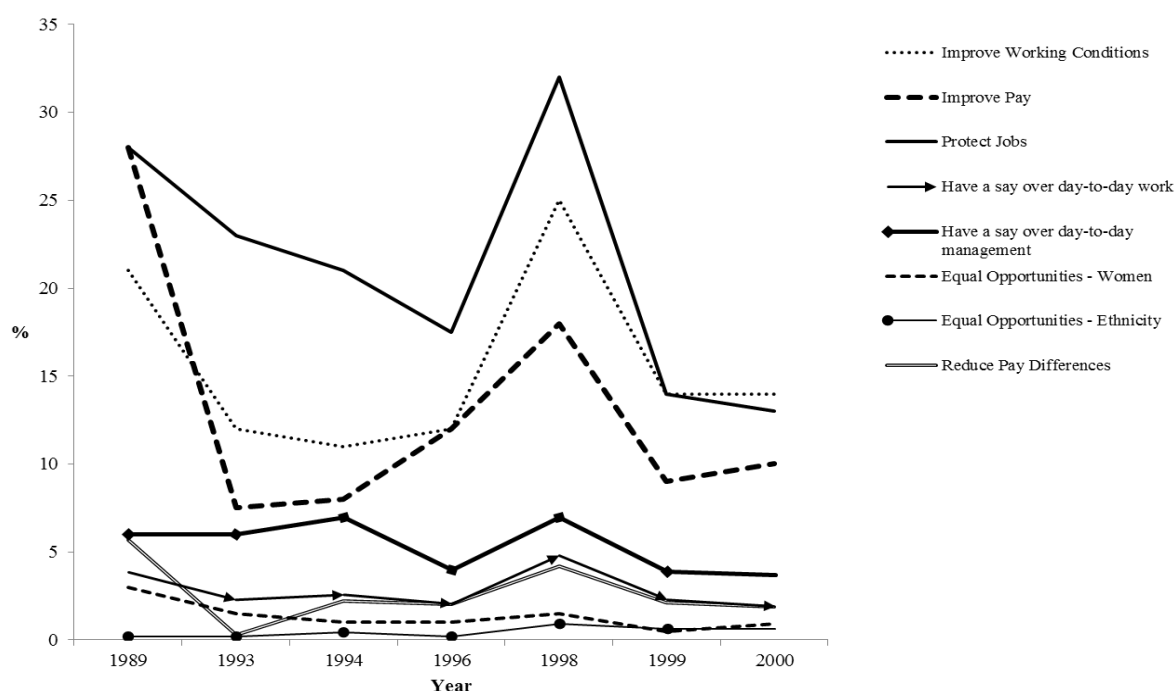
Source: British Social Attitudes Survey 1989; 1993; 1994; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000.

moderate - trade union movement; one adopting a broader agenda and actively broadcasting its willingness to collaborate. Tim Jenkins, Senior Economist at FoE, recalls the launch of one particular FoE campaign:

> *When we did "Working Future" in the nineties we set up this seminar.*
> *And we were determined to get union people there; we had to get*
> *business people there. This wasn't us playing to our usual crowd. The*
> *whole objective of what we were doing was trying to make, trying to*
> *show, that environmental issues were mainstream political issues, they*
> *were about the economy. The unions were major targets for us to involve*
> (personal interview)

This was not a cynical manoeuvre: there was a general – and genuine - broadening of EMO's agendas to include distributional and social justice issues (Porritt, 1997: 71; Rootes, 2009: 214) particularly in the aftermath of the 1992 Earth Summit.

Unions and EMOs therefore started to collaborate much more frequently in the mid-1990s and the TUC and individual unions began to develop a cogent environmental agenda committed to the transition to a low carbon economy and workplace greening. Although conditions prior to the 1997 general election facilitated collaboration, according to Obach's (*ibid*) theory a resurgent trade union movement under a pro-union Labour government might have withdrawn, to refocus on a traditional productivist agenda[12]. In fact this may almost have happened. Unions' environmental function has not been tracked by the Workplace Employment Relations Survey or the British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS) but several 'types' of union agendas have. BSAS data (Figure 1.2) for selected functions shows that throughout the 1990s employees believed the most important union functions were the 'hard' productivist and distributional issues of protecting jobs, improving pay and improving working conditions; but that their importance was in long-term decline whilst non-productivist issues (employee 'voice' and equal opportunities) remained relatively static. From the early 1990s unions were pursuing a more moderate agenda designed to avoid jeopardising the election of a Labour Government. The election of New Labour in 1997 appeared to give a temporary boost to *all* union bargaining agendas – particularly productivist/distributional ones – although the trends corrected themselves and stabilised very quickly afterwards. Non-productivist issues may not have increased in importance but neither did unions' hard agendas retain a commanding lead. By the late 1990s/early 2000s unions and employers were just as likely to be talking about non-productivist issues as they were about productivist/distributional ones (Table 1.2).

Unions' 'insider' status with government after 1997 was not at the expense of their non-traditional bargaining agendas because it was the new agendas on which unions 'insider' status with New Labour was predicated and because many unions – and certainly the TUC – considered 'New Realism' normative and quickly adjusted to Tony Blair's "fairness, not favours" approach to unions. This 'blip' in unions' priorities was, however, noted by EMOs, as FoE's Tim Jenkins recalls:

> *Things changed after 1997. I get an overall sense that basically unions*
> *sort of dropped-off in terms of enthusiasm and resource. It wasn't that*
> *they started having arguments about it,it was literally like 'ah, it's not as*
> *important'. They had a lot of stuff going on ... it was like they'd decided*

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[12] Norton's research into the Australian LER (2004) and Adkin's (1998) research into the Canadian LER suggests that union movements with a strong relationship with a social-democratic government may relegate their environmental agenda and instead focus on a productivist and/or distributional one, for which they will have high expectations.

> *'actually, we'll concentrate on our core-business now', so they withdrew,*
> *went off entirely* (personal interview)

It would be an exaggeration to argue that the British trade union movement became a green movement in the 1990s: even now a majority of TUC affiliates are failing to engage and those that are would find it difficult to argue that their environmental agenda is stable or widespread (see Chapter 5). Further, the absence of new supportive legislation and/or government funding for unions' environmental agenda in the late-1990s contrasts with that which facilitated unions' equality and diversity and learning and skills agendas. This may explain why, of unions' three newest bargaining agendas in the 1990s, the environment has developed particularly sluggishly.

Table 1.2: Percentage of joint workplace committees discussing selected issues, 1998 and 2004

Issue	1998	2004
Productivity	6.6	6.46
Employment	10.06	10.25
Finances	9.56	9.5
Future Plans	10.98	11.08
Pay	7.19	8.63
Working practices	10.95	10.18
Government Regulations	7.04	7.42
Health and Safety	9.17	10.06
Welfare	9.83	9.24
Equal Opportunities	8.38	7.62
Training	10.15	9.5

Source: WERS 1998 and WERS 2004

Introducing the research questions

What factors have shaped unions' environmental activism and the LER?

This chapter has made inroads into understanding the origins of UK unions' environmental activism and why two progressive movements – one explicitly formed around concern for the environment, the other with a sub- tradition of caring for the environment – failed to collaborate consistently until the mid-to-late 1990s. The chapter has discussed the compatibility of ecologism and socialism, key obstacles to collaboration and the impact of the UK's POS. The impact of union modernisation and changes to the content and conduct of employee relations on unions understanding and operationalisation of 'the environment' is credited with improving the LER in the 1990s and is addressed substantively in Chapter 4.

Mutual mistrust was a primary obstacle to collaboration, overshadowing substantial ideological overlap. Each movement saw the other as comprising of and representing a wholly different set of (class) interests. Evidence from the early 1980s confirms that a relatively high proportion of the new middle class were environmental activists, but class does not unambiguously determine environmentalism and there is considerable evidence to suggest that trade union members and activists were just as interested in the environment as everybody else. These supposed differences therefore appear so at odds with the reality that they may actually be deliberate or accidental caricatures or canards perpetuated during the frequent spats between each movement's elites. Ideologues and elites from both movements in the 1970s and early 1980s appeared comfortable emphasising the differences between both movements rather than the similarities. Tim Jenkins argues (emphasis added):

> *… it wasn't always standing in the way of us getting organised because people are pragmatic. Unions are political and outcome-driven organisations the same as environmental movements,* ***although those debates were felt and happened at a higher level*** (personal interview)

These tensions masked co-operation 'on the ground' in workplaces, but also in communities. Doherty's *et al* (undated) studies of city-level rainbow coalitions in the 1970s and 1980s suggest that local trades councils and union branches were able to collaborate effectively with environmentalists and civic activists on a range of issues. And Diani's (2002) histories of rainbow coalitions in Glasgow and Bristol – focused on greens; labour activists; peace

campaigners; lesbian and gay rights activists; feminists and self-help groups – suggest greens and labour representatives were particularly likely to network and collaborate in the 1980s.

The chapter has also sought to establish whether or not EMOs are in competition with trades unions; whether the expressive identity-based politics associated with NSM theory is at the expense of OSMs; and how the separate and joint fortunes of both movements have influenced unions' green agenda. There is little evidence of direct competition: the fortunes of both movements in the 1960s and 1970s suggest that NSMs and OSMs can co-exist and flourish. Analyses based on changes to the POS appear more plausible than the meta-theories in explaining the fortunes of each movement and their interrelations. I maintain that the UK's POS has shaped both the fortunes of each movement and the LER. The main obstacle to collaborative working and dialogic engagement in the 1970s was a combination of union strength and EMO weakness; formed, sustained and consolidated by the POS. In the 1980s it was union weakness coupled with EMOs' recently acquired (but still limited) influence, again sustained by a changed POS. The POS shaped and limited consistent and meaningful collaboration between both movements.

The above was, of course, occurring against a backcloth of continuing environmental degradation. Although the environment was of low salience for much of the 1980s, EU environmental legislation and certain focusing events saw its attentive public grow exponentially. The success of the Green Party in local government and European elections in the late 1980s and early 1990s also prompted processes of party greening. New environmental discourses also emerged at this time, and businesses found that they too had to respond. The corporate social responsibility agenda (CSR), ethical consumerism, sustainable development, environmental protection business opportunities and ecological modernisation created a relatively untesting green arena which business could just about accommodate. These also contributed to the creation of a new workplace agenda which unions slowly began to occupy once they were able to more easily identify an industrial imperative for doing so and practical applications. As Penny Morley, former Deputy Chair of TUSDAC recalls:

> *In the 1990s in T&G our agricultural members were real drivers on the environment, certainly in policy terms. Partly because we've got members who are working, for example, with pesticides in agriculture who early on recognised that it would be much better to move to organic farming. Healthier for the land, healthier for the people working on the land and just overall* (personal interview)

This view is echoed by John Edmonds. He argues that union participation in the green agenda reflects union's increased awareness of the risks associated with *not* participating more than any sudden conversion to the green cause:

> *When we decided that lead additives were not a good idea, in petrol, I had the interesting task of trying to explain it to the GMB members who worked for Associated Octel who made lead additives, that this was essential for the national interest and for cleaner air. But it clearly wasn't very good for the job prospects of some GMB members who were actually employing me! And that was a pretty dramatic indication that maybe trade unions should take this environmental stuff quite seriously. Because if you don't it's going to bite you in a tender place* (personal interview)

The timing of unions' acceptance that 'going green' would not necessarily risk jobs – or at least losses in one sector would be offset by job creation in another - is crucial. Robinson (*ibid*) suggests this may have been as early as 1986. This renders unions' pro-environmental policymaking prior to 1986 fairly remarkable; whilst the fact that unions' environmental activism did not increase substantially until several years later reinforces the wider argument that unions' environmental activism was being impeded.

This chapter has used broad brush strokes and it is inevitable that much detail remains relatively underexplored. For example, to what extent has unions' environmental activism been influenced by their better established health and safety agenda? Also, the UK trade union movement is diverse, so which unions – and from which industrial sectors – have shaped unions' environmental policies the most and to what extent has membership interest rather than an ecological world view determined their activism? This argument can be understood within the context of Flanders' (1970: 15) assertion that "unions have always had two faces, sword of justice and vested interest". Are unions organised in sectors featuring a less problematical relationship with the environment more likely to be environmentally active? And do different unions evidence different 'jumping-in' points (as noted above, modern farming practices constituted one for the TGWU)?

Similarly, although this chapter has sought to downplay the determinism of ideological differences between socialism and ecologism on unions' aggregate environmental orientation, the environment may be constructed differently by different unions and this may partly reflect whether or not the union is right wing or left wing. A left wing union which views environmental politics as a distraction from a class-based analysis of societal problems

may be less enthusiastic than one which views the environment as a largely technical issue and/or capable of transcending traditional left/right agendas. In addition, certain UK unions were (and remain) notoriously factional, with left and right (and in-between!) wings competing for power. How, then, have left/right unions/factions constructed the environment and to what extent has unions' environmental orientation been shaped by these debates? It may be that a largely technocentric view enables the environment to escape such politicking, maximising support. Alternatively, depoliticised technocentric constructions of the environment may not be associated with political advantages and thus fall off the agenda. The key questions are: whether the environment is viewed as an ideological or technocentric issue; whether such views can be easily superimposed onto UK unions' left/right topography; and is there evidence of shifting attitudes in this respect? UK unions' adoption of the Canadian trade union movement's concept of 'Just Transition' – explored in Chapter 5 – suggests that unions view the environment as a progressive rallying cry; but workplace greening, the cornerstone of most unions' environmental activism, is currently conservative and technocentric.

Finally, coalition theory appears to offer a plausible new narrative with which to understand the LER, but a truly full account of UK unions' environmental activism must also factor-in the influence of discourse and the environmental orientation of those other key actors in employee relations – government and business. Mol and Sonnenfeld *et al* (2010: 7) see the Brundtland Report in 1987 and the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 (and, later, former US Vice-President Al Gore's 'An Inconvenient Truth' campaign) as responsible for boosting the social justice element of the agenda, its international importance and the need for government to devise innovative, pragmatic policies in partnership with business – a ditching of both "vitriolic critiques of capitalism" and "romantic yearnings" (to revert to an agrarian idyll) and their replacement with technological optimism. Mol and Sonnenfeld *et al* refer to a paradigm shift in the late-1980s and 1990s wherein the state was no longer seen as the only actor capable of steering modern industrialised economies towards a less environmentally harmful future. The extent to which business has stepped up to the plate is contested (Huber, 2010: 51) but Dryzek and Downes *et al* (2010: 391) are adamant that ecological modernisation and sustainable development are jointly responsible for shaping the UK's environmental policy since 1990. As noted above, the former has influenced unions' workplace greening agenda whilst the latter is associated with a new generation of trade unionists more tuned in to global environmental issues (Parker, 2008: 569) and advancing policies such as the ethical sourcing of timber products (UCATT) and protective/corporate workwear (Prospect) and the availability of Fairtrade produce in staff canteens (UNISON).

Further, there is evidence that employees are increasingly demanding to work for socially and environmentally responsible employers (Connell, 2007: 5) and that growing numbers of employers are promoting environmental behaviour in the workplace (Zibarras and Ballinger, 2010). Since the 1990s, therefore, unions have increasingly encountered environmental issues in their natural terrains. This has legitimised union participation, but also suggests that unions' environmental activism is the product of external stimuli not just endogenous reform – a 'pressure-response' model (of union greening) rather than an 'intentional' one (Robinson, 1992).

As unions' environmental activism increases there is therefore a need to understand who is in the driving seat – employers; senior union officials; local activists or ordinary members?

The precise contribution of union's internal reforms to their greening is hard to gauge. Public attitudes towards the environment during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s displayed some differentiation patterned according to socio-economic status, and slight variation according to gender, age and ethnicity but this is contested; and it is therefore an over simplification to argue that the recruitment of greater numbers of women and/or the creation of dedicated youth structures etc. inevitably led to more pro-environmental voices within the union and so to the development of inchoate processes of greening. It is unlikely that these new or potential members were sufficiently more perturbed (by environmental degradation) than existing members to generate such an effect. It is their coupling with wider processes of union modernisation against the background of continued environmental degradation, regulation and concern that necessitated and permitted the gradual identification and development of practical green policies. As John Edmonds, recalling the mid-1990s, says:

> *I don't want to give the impression that the trade union movement became green in the sense that we would describe it today. It was much less negative; it saw employment opportunities; was still very worried about employment losses, and it wasn't quite sure where environmental issues would lead to as a trade union issue. An awful lot of people thought that environmental issues ought to fit into the trade union agenda, but where? And how?* (personal interview)

How are UK trade unions engaging in the environmental agenda?

How are unions operationalising their environmental concerns? A Lasswellian model of the political process would recommend focusing on participants, arenas, strategies and outcomes (Parsons, 1995: 339), hence the following are identified: unions' main

environmental policies (e.g. investment in renewable energy); implementation strategies (e.g. summitry, lobbying and awareness raising activities); the arenas within which such activities are occurring (e.g. communities; workplaces; and new or existing bilateral or multilateral fora); the main targets of any activities (e.g. government; civil society; employers; EMOs; union members) and the actors involved (e.g. the TUC; individual unions; union branches) and their interrelations. An accurate picture of unions' environmental activism must also account for both change and continuity in all of the above (the main outcomes and effects scrutinised in this thesis are those associated with union renewal and are introduced below).

Can 'the environment' function as a vehicle for trade union resurgence measured in terms of: increased membership; increased activists; influence with employers?

Danford and Richardson *et al* (2006:11) identify three options for union renewal. Unions can recruit more members, reinvigorate their existing structures and develop new bargaining agendas (internal expansion); seek to recruit new employers and members in greenfield industries and/or develop new areas of influence (external expansion); or strengthen their links with other grass-roots and progressive organisations (social movement unionism).

Patently, union engagement with the green agenda potentially embraces all three dimensions of union growth: it is an interesting new agenda which may attract new members and activists; it possesses qualities which enable it to be prosecuted using the partnership approach; and it transcends the workplace.

In the 1990s unions saw two main ways of reversing their decline: partnership and organising (Willis and Simms, 2004: 59). These remain important and have been joined more recently by social movement or community unionism (Willis and Simms, 2004; Tattersall, 2005; Parker, 2006). Many unions have adopted the organising model in order to reinvigorate their branches and to counter the erosion of collectivist values associated with the increased salience of protecting individual rights at work which, for many lay representatives, has supplanted collective representation as their main activity (Amoore, 2002; 45). According to Willis and Simms (*ibid*) neither organising nor partnership have worked entirely – partnership remains rare and the former is too piecemeal. The benefits of partnership are particularly contested (Stuart and Martinez Lucio, 2005) because it may undermine efforts to empower union branches and because union interests are submerged within those of the employer. Advocates of social movement unionism can point to its success in the USA (Yates, 2004: 347) as a means of "organising the unorganised" and,

ultimately, a means of linking unions' productivist agenda to a new transformative politics but in the UK social movement unionism remains extremely rare.

The thesis investigates the utility of unions' workplace greening agenda as a vehicle for union resurgence in all three strategies, taking in the wider agenda's prospective appeal to those employees and employers which unions need most in order to grow – those in post-Thatcher small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) (Gospel and Wood, 2003), many of which continue to struggle with and even rail against environmental regulation (Blair and Hitchcock, 2001: 87; del Brio and Junquera, 2003: 939; Chen, 2004: 32; Institute for Employment Studies, 2005: 107; Carter and Mason *et al*, 2006: 70; Vickers and Vaze *et al*, 2009: 33). A key question is whether potential members view 'the environment' as important; to the extent that union effectiveness in it affects non-members' propensity to unionise.

Conclusion

This chapter has set the scene for this evaluation of UK unions' contemporary environmental activism by examining its origins and questioning the classic obstacles to the LER based on class, programmatic and ideological differences. It is not always necessary, or even easy, for opponents of many environmentalists' demands to openly and actively express their opposition – silence and inactivity are typical behaviours. Certainly UK unions were generally inactive throughout the 1970s, 1980s and much of the 1990s and John Edmonds is correct when he cautions against labelling the UK trade union movement as 'green' until at least the mid-1990s. But, put simply, a trade union movement that understood the environment as antithetical to its own interests would be unlikely to have consistently adopted pro-environmental policies. LER theory must therefore focus on understanding why unions failed to operationalise consistently their environmental policies for so long.

The chapter has utilised coalition theory to develop a new, plausible narrative, blending widely accepted accounts of the fortunes of both movements with analyses of the UK's political opportunity structures, to identify a range of exogenous and endogenous shared and movement-specific phenomena constraining and facilitating the LER. Unions' delayed ability to readily identify practical industrial applications for a green agenda helped to sustain the arm's length relationship, overshadowing the *ad hoc* and informal environmental contributions of many trade unionists, and partly explaining the hesitancy with which a largely pro-environmental union movement asserted its greenness. Unions' failure to engage with the environmental agenda in the 1970s and 1980s cannot, therefore, simply be seen as

evidence of enviro-scepticism. There was no Damascene conversion to ecologism - unions were not participating consistently in the green agenda and were suspicious of certain of its elements but they were certainly not fundamentally opposed to it. Neither was unions' take-up of environmentalism simply a matter of them waking up to the science – TUC environmental policies demonstrate union's already sophisticated understanding of the environment in the 1970s (Chapter 3). Despite considerable interest in the environment unions' were largely inactive. And although there has been an increase in their activism they were starting from a very low level. This chapter accounts for this by arguing that a specific industrial and political agenda – co-constructed by unions in the 1970s, but forced on to them in the 1980s – co-determined the extent of their environmental activism. For unions, the green agenda was not a priority when they were strong; a distraction when they were weak and under attack; but a potentially rewarding – although as we shall see, tricky - one when rehabilitating in the 1990s.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the: *who*; *what*; *when*; *where; why* and *how* of my research (Murray and Beglar, 2009). It commences with a description of the research process and the rationale behind my research design and the methods used. I provide details of the participants, what I did, the order in which I did it, where the study took place and the data gathering and analysis instrumentation and procedures. Various limitations and ethical considerations associated with the research strategy and its implementation are also addressed.

Research Questions

1. How and why are UK trade unions engaging in the environmental agenda?
2. What factors have shaped unions' engagement and the LER
3. Can 'the environment' function as a vehicle for trade union resurgence measured in terms of: increased membership; increased activists; influence with employers?

Link between Research Questions, Design and Methods

The overall research design is largely cross-sectional, but incorporates both an historical dimension and case study approach, and comprises both quantitative and qualitative methods. Bryman (2004: 32-33) states that research questions can emerge from various sources including the researcher's own interests, from the literature (especially puzzles and 'gaps') and from new developments in society. They must be refined so that they are: clear, researchable, linked, neither too broad nor too narrow, and "connect with established theory and research". The latter enables the researcher to demonstrate how his/her research has contributed towards human knowledge. During the research process I started to develop a thesis – an informed proposition – that 'ties' my questions together:

The participation of UK trade unions in the environmental agenda has historically been conditioned by a range of political, environmental and industrial factors including endogenous reform in the 1990s which created new policy spaces favourable to the emergence of novel bargaining agendas. But the development of a union green function has been slow, remains limited and exhibits considerable variation across unions; evidencing both continuity and change. The green agenda is currently a nascent agenda; one that is operationalised differentially and has consequently yet to emerge as a core trade union issue.

Its utility as a vehicle for resurgence is therefore difficult to evaluate, and the function remains fragile.

Figure 2.1: Visual Representation of Research Process
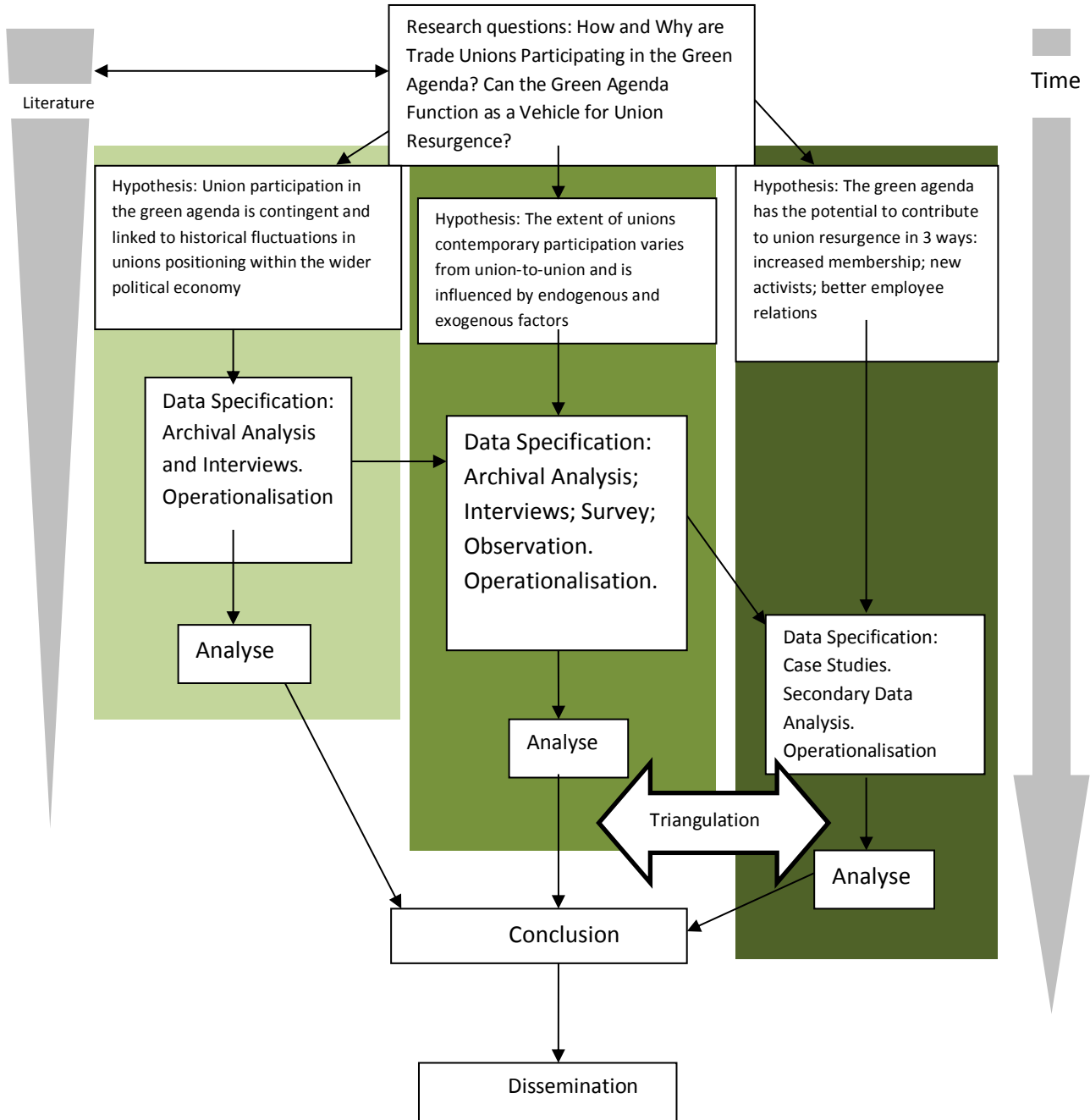
To confirm this interpretation, the research had to examine the past to identify any shifts in union attitudes; investigate how this relates to contemporary behaviour and offer an assessment of whether the green agenda can contribute to unions' future growth. Each 'phase' required particular methodological approaches.

My Research Process

A simplified visual representation of the research process (Figure 2.1) shows the main sources of data and certain key relationships between the various stages and its three core 'phases'. Because it is a simplified model it does not capture precisely the to-ing and fro-ing I engaged in or the extent of extemporisation: for example, I revisited union archives (phase 1) during phase 3, in order to test out a theory that emerged from some elite interviews organised during phase 2. The process therefore appears much tidier, linear and planned than it actually was. Much of the research process was a learning process. Even the hypotheses were relatively ill- defined notions during much of the study and the literature survey.

There are three 'phases' to my research, each contributing to addressing a particular aspect of my proposition. Phase one focused on unions' historical approaches to the environment. As this was nearing completion, in October 2008 phase two commenced, wherein a survey was used to collect data about unions' contemporary greening activities and attitudes towards the environment. The issuing of the questionnaire and analysis of the data took up most of 2009. Finally, phase three – case studies - commenced in February 2010 and was focused on evaluating the efficacy of workplace greening – the centrepiece of unions' green activism – as a vehicle for union resurgence. My timetable enabled phase one to feed-in to phase two, and phase two to feed-in to phase three. Each phase is distinct – generating 'stand-alone' results - however the overlapping permitted processes of triangulation (particularly relevant between Phases 2 and 3).

The Overall Research Design

The Research Design

According to Bryman (2004) there are five main research designs:

- Experimental: The experimental design is relatively robust in terms of internal validity, and enhances the confidence with which causal relationships can be asserted. But the manipulation of independent variables and/or use of control

groups associated with experimental design were not considered practical in my research;

- Cross-sectional/survey: My research features a survey which is typically associated with cross-sectional research. Surveys are social science's response to the difficulties associated with operationalising experimental research in the social world. Data is instead collected from as many subjects as possible (or a representative sample of the population) at one moment;

- Longitudinal: longitudinal designs incorporate a temporal dimension. I was interested in identifying how union attitudes towards the environment evolved and have used historical document analysis to construct a revised narrative. Time is also a variable within my case studies;

- Case study: My research features three workplace case studies in which I sought a detailed understanding of phenomena within real-life contexts;

- Comparative: the simultaneous execution of methodologically similar research across two or more (cross-sectional) cases. It is also, therefore, a multiple case study. Cases can be selected on a 'most different' or 'most similar' basis so that the relationships between dependent and independent variables can be isolated. Although my research uses three case studies they were selected opportunistically (see below).

Mixed Methods Research, Triangulation and Dissonant Data

I adopted a multi-strategy (qualitative and quantitative) approach. Cresswell (1994) suggests that mixed-methods research takes three forms: a two-phase design, a dominant/less dominant design and a mixed methodology design. The two-phase design has separate qualitative and quantitative phases. The dominant/less dominant design features a dominant method, which is complemented and refined by limited use of an alternative method. The final design is a 'full-on' mixed method approach where both qualitative and quantitative methods are deployed equally in order to obtain as much data as possible and to facilitate triangulation (Bryman, 2004)[13].

Of course, too much methodological eclecticism not only jeopardises parsimony and elegance (Burnham *et al*, 2008), but creates problems for plausibility too if the data is dissonant. Perlesz and Lindsay (2003:25) argue that "ontological, epistemological and

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[13] Methodological plurality is far more complex than the summaries provided here. Marsh (2002:237) refers to *within-methods* triangulation and *between-methods* triangulation. So combinations of different qualitative methods, different quantitative methods and/or a mixture of qualitative and quantitative all represent a mixed methods approach.

methodological tensions...must be negotiated when working with triangulated data", and maintain that wrestling with dissonant data can generate analysis which is "more complex and more meaningful". One way around dissonant data is to acknowledge inconsistent results but to reach a judgement about which is likely to be more accurate. Another is to delve deeper into the data – and even reflect on the conduct and ergonomics of the research process itself - in order to identify the causes of dissonance, or make sense of them. Such probing may eventually provide opportunities to reconcile contrasting data. I present in chapter 6 data from my questionnaire showing that union engagement in the green agenda does not appear to be linked to unions' membership trends. But interview data from key TUC figures suggests that unions believe the environment has significant potential as a recruitment tool. Further, this appears to contradict the testimonies from some union representatives I interviewed who maintained that unions are going green mainly because they want to do their part to save the planet. These and other dissonant findings are developed more fully in the appropriate chapters, but are raised here in order to illustrate both the problems and opportunities associated with mixed methods research. See also Box 2.1.

Box 2.1: Triangulation

Chapter 3 presents data showing the contributions of private and public sector unions to TUC environmental policy (1967 – 2008) obtained from an analysis of Congress Reports. During the 1970s and 1980s the majority of environmental policy motions originated from public sector unions, suggesting private sector unions were less interested. However, when interviewed John Edmonds argued that the process of 'who moves what' at the TUC was subject to considerable manipulation by the TUC General Council. Further, when interviewed Lord Whitty described public sector unions as relatively weak in the 1970s compared with the large manufacturing and extractive industry unions.

The figures by themselves tell a simple tale in which public sector unions appeared more interested in the environment than private sector unions. But information received from the qualitative research presents a much more nuanced account, which invokes the relations between individual unions and the TUC and suggests that an individual union's association with 'the environment' may also be shaped by its relative strength as well as its interest in environmentalism *per se*.

Returning to Cresswell's research design typology, my research conforms to the 'full-on' mixed methods design. This has created problems through amassing significant amounts of data, some of which appears dissonant. The problems this created for parsimony 'versus'

complexity and for plausibility – and the extent to which I have addressed and/or overcome them – is a matter for the reader to judge.

Reliability and Validity

There are four main sources of unreliability: varying sources; random errors; problems with research designs, and problems/mistakes in data collection (Harrison, 2001:27). Approaches to minimise these require adopting good practice for each research method used.

Bryman (2004:28-29) identifies four types of validity. *Measurement* validity applies mainly to quantitative research and is concerned with whether or not a measure accurately measures the concept it is supposed to. *Internal* validity refers to whether or not any conclusions about causal relationships between variables are plausible. *External* validity is concerned with the extent to which any findings can be generalised beyond the research environment within which they were generated. *Ecological* validity is concerned with whether or not any findings genuinely capture "people's everyday, natural social settings". The process of identifying the concepts I wanted to measure and developing valid indicators is described below, and in the relevant chapters.

Generally, my research uses a range of measures and instrumentation to gauge unions' environmental engagement:

- Historical document analysis (of TUC; TGWU/Unite; GMB and UNISON conference reports) was used to measure developments in unions' environmental attitudes and policymaking/activism between 1967 and 2011
- A questionnaire was used to amass data regarding unions' contemporary engagement. Three measures of activity were developed: **Total Number of Environmental Categories on which Unions Spend Fair or Significant Amounts of Time**; **EMotS** (Environmental Motivation Score - how motivated unions are to engage with the green agenda); **EAS** (Environmental Activity Score – unions' overall engagement in the green agenda)
- Secondary data analysis (e.g. of datasets such as Workplace Employment Relations Survey and the British Social Attitudes Survey) was used to investigate key issues and relationships e.g. the emergence of new 'types' of employee relations negotiables in the 1990s and employers' attitudes towards the environment and their likely porosity to a union-led green function
- Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were used to elicit facts and opinions regarding unions' historical and contemporary environmental activism

- Case studies were used, *inter alia*, to elicit evidence regarding workplace greening's ability to function as a vehicle for union resurgence
- Secondary data analysis: key datasets (such as Workplace Employment Relations Survey, the British Household Survey and British Social Attitudes survey) were used to obtain factual information e.g. regarding union and EMO membership, employers' attitudes towards the environment and shifts in the importance of different bargaining agendas.

Historical Document Analysis

Rationale and Objectives

The following sections explain the processes behind my construction of a new narrative following the counsel of Burnham *et al* (2008: 212):

> *Documents...do not speak for themselves but only acquire significant meaning when situated within a context set by vigorous analytical and methodological assumptions. To enable other scholars to judge the worth of research produced from documentary sources it is therefore necessary to state the working assumptions that have guided the selection of the material.*

Some ecologists have argued that unions were enviro-sceptics and needed to be dragged into the environmental fold (see Chapter 1) and I wanted to establish how true this was. In fact limited research exists on when and why UK trade unions became interested in the environment. Most historical accounts of unions and the environment take a theoretical perspective and seek to evaluate the factors facilitating or constraining red-green coalitions and/or analyse the compatibility of socialism and ecologism (see Introduction and Chapter 1). There have been no empirical studies of UK union's environmental activities and very little detailed analysis of the UK LER.

Many red-green studies have as their start point the late-1960s/early 1970s, when new environmental organisations such as Greenpeace and FoE were formed and when the public was becoming increasingly aware of the dangers associated with continued environmental degradation. This was also the time when unions were at their most influential. I wanted my research to uncover union attitudes towards the environment when unions were at the

height of their powers but also their lowest ebb, so it made sense for me to research the period from the late-1960s onwards.

Archival analysis enabled me to identify unions' attitudes towards the environment, their environmental priorities, the 'types' of unions most interested in the environment and qualitative and quantitative changes in their environmental activism - thereby establishing the validity of the accusation that unions were enviro-sceptics. The temporal dimension of this analysis also enabled me to contextualise unions' environmental activism and policies and to assess its porosity and sensitivity to a range of exogenous and endogenous phenomena including: continuing environmental degradation; the environment's growing attentive public; the influence of EMOs; employers' attitudes towards the environment; environmental discourse and changes to the content and conduct of trade unionism and employee relations.

Specifying Data Sources

There are several repositories of union archival material in the UK, notably in Belfast, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Warwick University, Keele University, Cardiff and London Metropolitan University (LMU). These hold a wide range of primary, secondary, tertiary and grey materials going back to the late 19th century. Individual unions also store historical material in their own libraries.

I decided to largely eschew grey material such as policy papers and committee reports and articles in union journals, for three reasons (although these are utilised in Chapter 5). First, looking for environmental material amidst the mass of grey material would be akin to looking for a needle in a haystack. Secondly, grey material is not necessarily reliable material. Thirdly, environmental pronouncements in grey materials would be hard to quantify. I decided to focus primarily on actual environmental policy decisions.

In the 1970s there were over 100 unions in Great Britain alone (Salamon, 1992). It was impossible to conduct a rigorous analysis of the environmental policies of all unions over a 40 year period. Neither was it easy to identify a representative sample of trade unions – unions not only vary in multiple dimensions (e.g.: size; location; public sector/private sector; left-wing/right-wing; industrial sector; single-industry or multi-industry; blue-collar/white-collar) but also change over time (e.g.: growing; shrinking; merging; expanding into new sectors etc.).

I decided to concentrate my analysis on the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Scottish TUC (STUC), Wales TUC and the Northern Ireland Committee (NIC) of the Irish Federation of

Trade Unions. My main study was on the TUC, where I conducted a rigorous analysis of Congress decisions between 1967-2011. Only the most recent STUC, Wales TUC and NIC decisions were analysed. This was primarily because of financial constraints: older material (from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s) was not available electronically and I would have to visit the repositories in person. I still encountered problems accessing records for both the Wales TUC and the NIC. The Wales TUC was only able to provide Congress reports for: 2005; 2006; 2007 and 2008 and the NIC Policy and Research Department – based in Belfast - were only able to provide data for: 2001; 2003; 2005; 2007 and 2008. Complete records from 2000 were readily available on the STUC website but resource constraints prevented accessing older materials. My research is therefore vulnerable to accusations of 'Anglo-centrism' but despite some country-specific issues the environmental concerns of the TUC, Wales TUC, STUC and NIC are remarkably similar (see Chapter 3).[14]

 The decision to focus on Congress decisions reduced the amount of material that I would have to engage with. LMU became a convenient 'one-stop-shop' which I visited frequently between 2008 and 2010 and was afforded considerable assistance in tracking down relevant sources.

Evaluating Sources

Problems associated with presenting Congress resolutions as representative of the wider labour movement are discussed in Chapter 3. This section focuses on the data gathering and analysis processes, and critical evaluation of the material itself.

Harrison (2001: 124) observes that "Any research involving historical material is likely to be overshadowed by two concerns: objectivity and lack of first-hand experience". Historical documents must still be interpreted (Rapley, 2007), and may be partial or partisan. Scott (1990: 6) recommends judging the quality of documents according to four main criteria:

- Authenticity: whether the evidence is genuine
- Credibility: errors and distortions within the evidence
- Representativeness: how typical the evidence is of its kind
- Meaning: whether the evidence is comprehensible

Congress reports meet Scott's criteria. They are primary sources, produced by the TUC as the official record of Congress. They are made available in between Congresses, each one reproducing the motions debated at the previous Congress and indicating whether the

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[14] As early as 1972 Slesser's 'The Politics of Environment: A Guide to Scottish Thought and Action' was trying to identify a distinctly Scottish path to a sustainable economy.

motion was carried, lost, remitted or withdrawn. They also show which unions moved, seconded and supported each motion.

I decided to collect data (the terms of the motion, and the unions moving and supporting) for those motions that had been passed (resolutions), and to pay less attention to motions and amendments that had been withdrawn, remitted or lost. Where motions had been composited, the composite motion was treated as the datum. The advantages of this approach were threefold. First, there was much less material to investigate. Secondly, the resolutions of each Congress are conveniently

bound in a single report. And thirdly, the analysis then constitutes a chronology of TUC policy rather than 'non-policy'[15].

Until the 1990s Congress reports also contained *verbatim* transcripts of all speeches, but I have made only limited use of them. The intentions of speakers at Congress are to convince delegates to vote for or against a particular motion. Discourse analysis could undoubtedly have been applied to the debates, to discern *inter alia* how delegates (compete to) construct the 'environment' and 'environmentalism' what they think should be done to solve environmental problems and how these constructions and perceptions alter over time. However, the purpose of researching the TUC archives was to understand when unions became interested in the environment the types of environmental agendas forming inside the labour movement and which unions were most active – and to generate quantifiable data.

Congress reports also contain the General Council's Annual Report which typically provides Congress with summaries of the work of various TUC Committees and information regarding the General Council's activities since the last Congress, including progress made on implementing previous resolutions. I have approached them with caution. Despite striving to be factual accounts they also include the TUC's own analyses of particular issues, and details of activities undertaken which they may not have been instructed on by Congress (for example, dealing with matters that emerged in-between Congresses). Annual Reports may also be compiled and written in a manner designed to make the General Council look good (in order to deflect criticism at the forthcoming Congress). The Annual Reports are therefore relatively peripheral to my analysis. However, they contained useful references to important events and milestones in unions' green agenda (such as the adoption of 'Just Transition', the

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[15] I fully accept that the decision to focus only on resolutions risks acquiring an incomplete picture of union attitudes towards the environment. See chapter 3 for additional details.

concept of workplace greening and TUC Green Conferences) and like the *verbatim* debates they occasionally contributed to the identification and categorisation of 'environmental' motions and were of some use in clarifying the key discourses and concepts therein.

Document Analysis

Interrogation of Congress documents was conducted utilising qualitative content analysis. The process comprised of trawling through each year's documents and applying a predefined baseline definition of 'environment' (and associated concepts and discourses) to identify any environmental motions. Although the process involved some initial categorisation, the categories were refined during the process and finalised on completion and prior to data analysis.

Qualitative content analysis is a useful approach to identifying and extracting themes (Bryman, 2004), and facilitates analysis of largely factual material. The type of content analysis conducted here conforms to what Krippendorff (1980: 33) calls "designation analysis", which seeks to capture the frequency with which a particular phenomenon can be identified within a text.

Defining the 'Environment' and Identifying Environmental Motions

The task of identifying and categorising environmental resolutions was 'organic'. Naturally I had preconceived ideas of what topics and arguments might be considered 'environmental'. These were largely based on contemporary union and EMO activity, with much having been acquired through conversations and semi-structured interviews with policy specialists, middle-ranking and elite trade unionists, EMO employees and from my reading. It should be noted here that I did not restrict myself to those resolutions which contained what can be loosely termed *pro*-environmental ideas. Consequently, the process of identifying environmental resolutions was predicated more on topics and concepts rather than discourse and argumentation. Care was taken to eliminate the risk of only looking for – and therefore only finding – resolutions that reflect more recent environmental concerns i.e. those that I am familiar with but which trade unionists, 40 years ago, might not be: this could result in an under-estimation of the TUC's environmental policymaking. Conversely, allowing recent environmental discourses to overly shape data collection risked defining as 'environmental' resolutions with very different intentions - Box 2.2. Neither did I limit the search to those parts of the Congress reports dealing explicitly with environmental matters. All resolutions were examined and evaluated in recognition of environmental policy's crosscutting characteristics and unions' own, shifting, conceptions of the environment.

Box 2.2: Congress 1975 - A National Network of Cycle Paths

At the 1975 Congress the Society of Post Office Executives successfully moved a motion arguing for the construction of a national network of cycle paths. This appears to be an environmental motion. It links in with a number of today's environmental concerns, including reducing car-use and dependency, and pollution. The inadequacy of the UK's network of cycle paths frequently exercises environmentalists today.

There was, however, no reference to these concerns in the text of the motion. Upon reading the *verbatim* debate, it was clear that the motion was exclusively concerned with providing children with safe alternatives to cycling on roads, and was prompted by increasing numbers of child cyclists being injured and killed by cars. It was in no way concerned with reducing car-use or dependency or pollution.

Only a very loose definition of 'environmental' would accommodate this motion. The environmental benefits associated with the terms of this motion were unarticulated by both the motion and its movers. I therefore did not categorise it as an environmental motion.

This does illustrate the danger of applying modern concepts retrospectively.

Source: TUC Congress Report, 1975

Box 2.3: The Environment and Health and Safety

In 1970, the TUC General Council was pressing for a National Environmental Control Service to "co-ordinate and direct research into environmental problems" (1970: 430). But this was very much focused on health and safety at work. As the General Council put it: "environmental hazards of the workplace where pollution is concentrated should not be neglected as a result of increasing interest in the general environment", but they were also keen to point out that reducing pollution at source does make perfect sense.

At a TUC Green Conference in 2007, Chris Baugh – Deputy General Secretary of the Public and Commercial Services Union – described unions' environmental work as "a natural extension of our health and safety agenda".

The problem is not so much distinguishing between health and safety motions and environmental motions, but rather deciding whether or not certain health and safety motions are *also* environmental motions.

A number of health and safety motions contain concerns that also feature in environmental motions. They include:

- The need for safer and better regulated production processes and materials
- The need for employers to be more responsible and accountable

As a rule-of-thumb, health and safety motions which only refer to these and other matters in terms of benefiting *employees* and minimising exposure to risk *inside the factory-gate* are not classified as environmental motions. Those that explicitly – and preferably substantially – refer to the impact of employment practices and regulation etc *on non-employees and the environment beyond the factory-gates* are classified as environmental.

Source: TUC Congress Report 1970

I started by identifying resolutions referencing any of the predefined topics and concepts (such as 'waste'; 'energy'; and 'sustainable development'). At its simplest, this involved looking out for particular words and phrases - the vast majority of environmental resolutions were readily identifiable using this minimalist approach. Where there was uncertainty, I consulted the *verbatim* debates; and when this did not help I exercised judgement. There were particular problems associated with health and safety resolutions - see Box 2.3.).

Resolutions are, of course, instructions (to the General Council), not merely statements or wish-lists. The imperatives of resolutions were therefore extremely useful when trying to establish their environmental status. A resolution may make reference to the environment somewhere, but not actually include any environmental considerations in its instructions to the General Council. This was relatively rare and resolved by consulting the *verbatim* debates and/or evaluating the extent to which the environmental component was 'framing' or influencing the motion as a whole. A two-page shopping-list economic motion which used the phrase 'sustainable' once, and then moved on to focus solely on job creation or skills or investment was unlikely to qualify.

The process of distinguishing environmental resolutions needed to be organic because the environmental policy arena has evolved. A motion from the late 1960s for example, asking the TUC to campaign for greater investment in the coal industry can be seen as an industrial motion. But a similar motion in the 2000s would clearly also be making an environmental statement as well because of the emergence of energy at the centre of so many environmental debates.

Thankfully, solving problems like this was relatively rare. Unions, early on, demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of environmental issues and resolutions normally clearly signpost how they want to be understood.

Data Analysis and Presentation

Once an exhaustive list of environmental concerns had been identified, they were grouped into a manageable number of broad categories. These categories formed the basic unit of analysis rather than the number of resolutions on a particular category. For example, a composite resolution may incorporate several topics traversing more than one category. Conversely, but more rarely, there may be more than one resolution on the same category or topic. Every category was recorded. Any deviations are clearly signposted. The data were entered into Excel spreadsheets and presented in the form of graphs and tables. The

presentation of data from the General Council is less comprehensive, although the methods used to identify the Council's environmental activities are similar to those described above.

Semi-structured Interviews

Rationale and Objectives

I conducted two 'types' of interviews:

- Elite interviews
- Case study interviews

All the elite interviews adhered to the semi-standardised approach. Posing similar questions to more than one respondent provided a range of complementary and competing perspectives on the same issue. Interviews provide opportunities for direct interaction between the researcher and participants (Matthews and Ross, 2010: 219) and probing provided me with richer data. My elite interviews featured a mixture of exploratory (*what* participants think about something), explanatory (*why* participants think what they do) and evaluative objectives. More precisely, following Bryman (2004: 328) my questions asked about participants':

- Values and Emotions: e.g. to understand how unions are constructing their environmental activism. They may, for example, see it as a progressive campaign with a strong justice component and/or as a technical exercise
- Beliefs: e.g. regarding the potential of workplace greening as a vehicle for union renewal
- Behaviour: e.g. the conduct of workplace negotiations on the environment
- Formal and informal roles: e.g. the role of unions' Environmental Policy Officers (EPO)
- Relationships: e.g. between unions and EMOs and between unions and employers
- Encounters: e.g. between union and EMOs and key negotiating fora
- Stories: e.g. why particular unions started to engage with the environmental agenda

Participants and Selection

Fifteen semi-structured elite interviews were held between 2008-2009 (see Appendix A). Elites are individuals in "exposed or important positions" (Richards, 1996: 199), who may be able to provide particularly valuable information and insights into a particular issue or event.

Elites from three main groups were interviewed:

- Trade unions
- Employers organisations
- Environmental organisations

The process of selecting interviewees was non-random and largely 'emerged' from the research process. For example, when I attended a TUC Green conference in 2008 I noted the key individuals responsible for co-ordinating the TUC's environmental policy and later approached them for an interview. Similarly, some names emerged from my review of academic literature and union grey materials. For example, John Edmonds – former General Secretary of the GMB and first co-Chair of TUSDAC – was credited with a key role in developing TUC environmental policy, and John Monks – former TUC General Secretary – was instrumental in the process of union modernisation in the 1990s which coincided with UK trade unionism's widening remit and social partnership reforms. My attendance at TUC Green Conferences and investigation of union grey materials also suggested that certain unions were particularly environmentally active (e.g. UCU; Unite and Prospect) so I specifically targeted their EPOs to learn about the origins of their activism, what they were doing and where they were doing it. Some snowballing also took place, with interviewees recommending other people to speak to. For example, John Edmonds recommended I spoke to Lord Whitty – former Head of Research at the GMB, ex-Labour Party General Secretary and Under Secretary State in DETR and DEFRA – who in turn suggested I speak to the Socialist Environmental Resource Association for a wider understanding of the UK labour movement's participation in the green agenda.

I conducted fewer interviews with representatives of green groups and the business 'community'. I conducted interviews with two FoE representatives, Tim Jenkins (Senior Economist) and Dave Timms (Economic Campaigner), and Nick Illingworth from Groundworks, a part-government funded national organisation established to help communities and businesses address environmental issues. FoE was selected because I wanted to understand how environmental groups viewed the LER and FoE had been collaborating with unions since the early 1990s. Groundwork was chosen because knowledge of their work helped me understand the types of environmental issues employers were dealing with and therefore the potential green bargaining agenda (relevant for Chapter 4). The environmental policy officers of the Institute of Directors (IoD) and the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) were interviewed because they were able to provide useful insights regarding the development of employers' attitudes and behaviour towards the environment, towards increased union engagement with the agenda and their beliefs

regarding the role of the environment in employee relations. These were both self-selecting in that they are the UK's most influential peak business organisations.

The Interview Process

I either 'buttonholed', e-mailed or telephoned prospective interviewees requesting an interview and outlining the nature of my research. Interviews were typically held at the interviewees' places of work, either in their office, staff canteen or a meeting room. The three exceptions were Tim Jenkins (interviewed *al fresco* outside Sheffield University), Graham Petersen of the UCU (in a Clapham pub) and John Monks (by telephone). Most interviews lasted between 40 – 50 minutes and all were recorded using a digital recorder. Interviewees were sent a *verbatim* interview transcript for their approval. I received minor factual amendments from three participants, and one participant requested the removal of a rather controversial comment that he had made. All participants were content to be quoted and identified in my research.

Interpreting the Data

Harrison (2001) refers to several potential problems with interviews as a data source. Because interviews are a qualitative method, it is easier for the interviewer and interviewee to establish a rapport. This is a double-edged sword: it may encourage the interviewee to be more open, but it may also result in the interviewer being less objective.

Harrison also refers to the limitations of memory: interviewees may have difficulties recalling certain events and/or their accounts may be 'tainted' with personal impressions or may have undergone a process of 'neatening up' over the years. I conducted several interviews with people whose knowledge of events 10, 20 and even 30 years ago were the main reason for seeking the interview. Indeed, Harrison suggests that elites are particularly likely to enter into interviews with their own (and their organisations') agendas and reputations to maintain. In one sense interviews can be approached as stories: they are personal accounts of events and processes which the participants have imbued with plot. But as Czarniawska (2004:49) argues, the danger may be exaggerated:

> *We live in an interview society...While each ...account will be unique in the way every interaction is, it would be both presumptuous and unrealistic to assume that a practitioner will invent a whole new story just for the sake of a particular researcher who happened to interview him or her.*

Using the data

Kvale (1996) maintains that the conversation remains a dominant mode of knowledge production and distribution in society, so as a research tool offers the researcher a degree of ecological validity. There are two main ways of using interview data: analyse the narrative(s) contained within the interviews (using, for example, discourse or conversational analysis), or extrapolate a narrative from them. This thesis attempts the latter.

As sources of data my interviews have equal weighting with the data generated from the TUC archives, my questionnaire and my case studies: critical engagement with my interview data has been ongoing, and the data is an extensive and integral part of my thesis, not adjunctive. The interviews were also processually important, suggesting new/missed lines of enquiry which, whenever possible, I followed up on.

Case study interviews

I organised regular, repeat interviews with key union branch officials and union green representatives (UGR) at each of the three case study sites. See below.

Observation

Rationale and Objectives

My limited amount of observational research doubled as general 'fact finding'. Observational research, which allows researchers to witness directly the behaviour of political actors in their 'natural' environments, took place in four main 'arenas':

- Union green conferences: three TUC Green Conferences; one PCS Union Green Conference; and three CCTU conferences (see Chapter 6)
- TUSDAC (and TUSDAC Working Group)
- TUC Green Workplaces Workshop
- Case studies

My observational research was not systematic. I attended these events as a researcher and took notes, but my attendance was aimed mainly at acquiring contacts and general information, rather than recording behaviour. Nevertheless, the CCTU conferences were interesting for observing which unions attended, and for how they contrasted with the TUC conferences (regarding guest organisations, agendas and the 'radicalism' of participants' contributions). Notes of key observations were made and where relevant they were incorporated into my research/thinking.

Questionnaire

Rationale and Objectives

The main advantage of cross-sectional survey research is that it can obtain information from a large number of people relatively quickly, yielding significant amounts of quantifiable and potentially generalizable data. See Table 2.1. The disadvantages associated with survey research including low response rates; unrepresentative responses; reactivity[16] and poorly worded questions - are addressed below and in Chapter 6. The survey was designed to capture unions' contemporary environmental activism.

Table 2.1: Purpose of the Survey Research

To Seek Information About...	Examples
Background variables	Union size; union sector; membership trends; financial health
Perceptions	What unions' Environmental Policy Officers (think they) know about their unions' extant green structures and the commitment of senior officials
Opinions	Regarding the utility of the green agenda to attract new members and activists
Attitudes	Towards environmentalism and specific environmental matters
Behaviour	The appointment of Environmental Policy Officers; developing in-house greening strategies; participation in green summitry; encouraging and resourcing workplace greening

The questions asked in the survey were designed to identify, understand and measure unions' environmental orientation and activism and emerged from both the literature and my elite interviews. Background measures - such as union size; finances and industrial sector – were considered important to see if patterns (of environmental activism) differ for various

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[16] "The reaction of human subjects to the knowledge that they are being investigated" (Wilson, 1996: 95). Questionnaires can also elicit 'response sets': respondents answering questions on autopilot and not thinking about the question or their answers. This can be minimised by varying the way in which questions are asked and laid out.

subgroups (e.g. small unions/wealthy unions/manufacturing unions). The literature and elite interviews suggested a number of independent variables including the environmental attitudes of senior officers, resourcing and conference policy. A range of dependent variables were also developed, embracing endogenous and exogenous, processual, institutional and attitudinal influences on unions' activism, including: the creation of environmental policymaking structures; participation in TUSDAC; the extent of workplace greening initiatives; relations with EMOs; the employment of staff with specific responsibilities for environmental policy and the numbers of union green representatives (UGRs). Three shorthand measures of environmental activism were also constructed (see below)[17]. The theoretical basis of each independent variable is provided in Chapter 6. The questionnaire was therefore designed to help me to understand what an environmentally active union looks like. Correlational analysis (of the independent and dependent variables) was designed to identify the importance of each independent variable to unions' environmental activism – facilitating an understanding of why and how unions become environmentally active and explaining why some unions are more active than others (addressing the first research question). The survey also contributes to answering the third research question by asking questions regarding the green agenda's utility as a recruitment tool (of members and activists) and as a vehicle for partnership with employers.

Constructing the Questionnaire

The questions were grouped and presented in a logical order. See Table 2.2.

Surveying

My population was all UK trade unions affiliated to the TUC, STUC and NIC. Some of these unions are country-specific (such as the Ulster Teachers Association or Scottish Society of Playwrights) but the majority are organised across all (or more than one) parts of the UK. Unions organised in more than one part of the UK would receive only one questionnaire equating to a population of 70 unions (England/Wales: 59; Scotland: 5; Northern Ireland: 6. See Appendix B for the complete list of unions invited to participate.

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[17] Explanatory research can reveal spurious relationships between independent and dependent variables by treating key variables as test variables with which to reveal intervening variables – underlying variables that are far more likely to explain the patterning of the dependent variable: variable X (independent) may correlate with variable Y (dependent) but it may be variable Z (intervening) which causes both. The process of detecting spurious relationships involves identifying possible intervening – or control – variables and dividing the sample up into smaller groups that are similar in terms of the control variable(s) – if the relationship between X and Y remains the same even after Z has been controlled for, X-Y is more likely to be a causal relationship (de Vaus, 1991: 203). The process of constructing smaller groups for comparison inevitably causes problems for statistical reliability – given my small sample I have generally avoided it.

Initial Design and Piloting

Questions were designed to establish unions' contemporary green agenda and were informed by my interviews and the literature. de Vaus (1992: 83) emphasises the importance of "developing clear, unambiguous and useful questions" which are capable of 'capturing' what they are intended to capture. I therefore developed a range of indicators for the attitudes and behaviour I was seeking to measure. I was particularly interested in: understanding which environmental issues unions were engaging in (and how extensive their engagement was), positive and negative attitudes towards the environment as a trade union issue, and overall union engagement with the green agenda both inside and outside the workplace. The first area could be measured relatively easily as respondents

Table 2.2. Structure of the Questionnaire

Questions	Focus	Themes
1 - 28	Background variables and headquarters' activities/resourcing	Background variables and Union Headquarters' activism
29 - 34	Sub-national green structures and activity	Branch activism
35	Main actors behind environmental policy	Policymaking
36 - 52	Unions' environmental priorities	Unions green agenda
53	Environmental attitudes	Attitudes
54 - 59	How and where using the environment for recruitment/retention purposes	Union renewal
60 - 62	Unions environmental agenda and employers	Union renewal: employee relations

were presented with a list of environmental topics and asked to denote which ones they are dealing with along with a Likert scale for them to indicate how regularly. Union motivations for wanting to engage with the green agenda are more complex, so my questions therefore identified potential benefits and expectations associated with the agenda with which respondents could agree or disagree. Overall activity in the green agenda required identifying a comprehensive range of indicators including whether the union participates in TUSDAC, links with EMOs and the provision of environmental training to activists.

My questionnaire used mainly forced-choice response formats:

- Likert rating scales
- Checklists
- Ranking
- Scoring

Both de Vaus and Bryman (2004) recommend asking different types of questions and varying how they are asked and presented, in order to minimise reactivity. I sought to make the questionnaire user-friendly by using contingency questions so that respondents did not waste time reading irrelevant questions and through good use of space and colour. Although each question was preceded by instructions an overall set of instructions formed an integral part of the questionnaire – Appendix C.

I piloted my questionnaire with a PCS full-time officer (who is also the PCS EPO), a GMB lay representative, a full-time PCS lay representative in DEFRA (who is also PCS' lead on environmental issues in DEFRA), Sarah Pearce (TUC Green Workplaces Project Leader) and the CWU's Environmental Co-ordinator.

Piloting resulted only in a few minor amendments to the wording of certain questions: for example, "Where are you operationalising a green agenda?" became "Where are you implementing a green agenda?" Three respondents felt that the questionnaire took too long to complete (approximately 10 – 15 minutes). One also reported that answering certain questions had necessitated consulting with colleagues.

The length of the questionnaire and the probable need to enlist the help of others might have depressed the response rate. Whilst very long questionnaires might scare people away, very short questionnaires may appear inconsequential and a waste of time – both risk sub-optimal response rates. Bryman (2004: 137) argues that "the effect of the length of the questionnaire on response rates cannot be separated easily from the salience of the topic of the research for respondents and from the nature of the sample". de Vaus (1991: 109)

similarly maintains that "in surveys of specialist populations with relevant topics length seems to be less important". Lunt and Livingstone (1992: 172) designed a questionnaire of twenty pages which piloting showed took over one hour to complete, but they achieved a 91% response rate (aided by a small financial incentive of £2).

I decided to retain all my questions because I was confident that I had sufficient time available to conduct follow-up work to chase-up responses.

Administering the Finished Questionnaire and 'Chasing' Responses

The questionnaire was sent by post in late February 2009 to the main headquarters building of each union, addressed to 'The Environmental Policy Officer', enclosing a stamped self-addressed envelope. A copy of the covering letter is attached at Appendix D. To maximise responses, recipients were told they would be entered into a draw to win a copy of Neil Carter's book 'The Politics of the Environment'. A copy of the questionnaire is at Appendix E.

I received 12 completed questionnaires before the deadline. On 21 March 2009 I sent out a reminder letter - see Appendix F. I also issued an email to members of the Trade Unions Against Climate Change Group[18] requesting they contact their union headquarters to check that my questionnaire had been received, completed and returned. This produced a further 6 responses.

Four other unions did not appear to have received a copy of the questionnaire and so I sent them an electronic version, which two returned very quickly and two promised to return when they had time. I contacted the stragglers via telephone and email and eventually received their completed questionnaires in late April 2009.

I therefore received 22 responses, a response rate of 31%. Although Mangione (1995) suggests that a response rate of less than 50% is unacceptable, many published studies feature response rates as low as 30% (Bryman, 2004: 136). Where the researcher has used non-probabilistic sampling and is less interested in generalisability this is less of a problem. I have, however, used a probabilistic approach and seek generalisability. I acknowledge the problem and the implications this has for my data analysis are referred to below and in Chapter 6. Despite the relatively low response rate, the responding unions include a selection of the TUC's largest and most influential affiliates representing the vast majority of TUC-affiliated union members.

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[18] I am grateful to Roy Wilkes, who manages the Group's extensive mailing list, for facilitating this.

The Respondents

See Table 2.3.

Quantitative Data Analysis

The completed questionnaires were coded and the data entered onto SPSS. Bryman (2004: 75) identifies four "preoccupations" of quantitative research:

- Measurement: my research measures unions' engagement with the green agenda, and allows me to compare levels of engagement across different unions by using nominal, ordinal and scale (interval and ratio) variables.
- Causality: I was not merely interested in describing phenomena but also explaining them, identifying independent (the input) and dependent (the output) variables and establishing any causal relationships.
- Generalisation: I used probability sampling to maximise chances of achieving a representative sample, although this may not be sufficient to generalise if the distribution of data is non-normal.
- Replication: the requirement to be clear about the methods used to analyse the data, to the extent that the research can be replicated

The precise statistical techniques used to analyse my data and generate findings are explained and justified in the relevant chapter, accompanying the analysis; so too the limitations affecting generalisability. The rest of this section provides an overview of how I approached, analysed and presented my data.

Overall Approach

The process of entering the data onto SPSS was straightforward but extremely time-consuming, affording the opportunity to become extremely familiar with the data. A high level of familiarity is necessary in order to get the data to 'speak'.

Descriptive Statistics

John (in Marsh and Stoker, 2002: 222) observes that:

> *... quantitative researchers do not use descriptive statistics enough, only reporting them as the prelude to applying sophisticated tests. But much can be gained by their careful and imaginative use.*

Table 2.3: Alphabetical List of Respondent Unions, Sector and Membership

	Full Name of Union	Major Sector(s)	Membership (2008) (iv)
1	Bakers Food and Allied Workers Union	Food Manufacturing	22,859
2	British Association of Colliery Managers	Mining	2,664
3	Communication Workers Union	Post and Parcel Services	230,968
4	Connect	Communications	18,727
5	Diageo Staff Association (i)	Diageo (drink industry)	367
6	Fire Brigades Union	Emergency Services	44,617
7	First Division Association	Civil Service	17,792
8	General Municipal and Boilermakers Union	General Union	601,131
9	Hospital Consultants Staff Association	Health	3,083 (v)
10	National Union of Teachers	Education	366,657
11	Northern Ireland Public Services Association	Public Services	45,504
12	Prospect	Public Services/General	101,979
13	Public And Commercial Services Union	Civil Service	300,224
14	Transport and Salaried Staff Association (ii)	Transport	29,079
15	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	Retail	370,763
16	UNISON	Local Government	1,344,000 (vi)
17	Unite	General Union	1,635,483
18	Unite Ireland	General Union	48,242
19	United Road Transport Union	Transport	14,607
20	University and College Union (iii)	Education	117,597
21	Writers Guild of Great Britain	Writers/Creative	1,295
22	Yorkshire Independent Staff Association	Financial Services	2,314

(i) Returned incomplete, but with a covering note regarding the union's activities.
(ii) Completed by a senior lay representative following my email on the Trade Unions Against Climate Change mailing list – see above.
(iii) Completed by a UCU lay representative (the UCU's National Environmental Co-ordinator).
(iv) Based on returns to the relevant Certification Officer
(v) Refers to 2007
(vi) Refers to 2007

I have used descriptive statistics to present a range of univariate and multivariate statistics and relationships using a variety of presentational forms including tables, bar charts and scatterplots. Certain properties of my data – notably the distributions of key variables – are also presented graphically using P-P (scatter) plots and histograms. I was selective about what to present and which tests to conduct on which variables, and remained guided by my research question(s). My engagement with my data also reflected *a priori* theoretical reasoning, although a reasonable amount of 'data mining' was undertaken.

Data mining is associated with experimental factor analysis (see Field, 2009) but is also used colloquially and pejoratively to describe a process of rummaging around within one's data in search of interesting findings. In 'perfect' research this would be unnecessary – the questionnaire would have been perfectly calibrated to yield everything we needed to know to answer the research question. However, the research process is typically imperfect and open to extemporisation and learning. Two of my three measures of union 'greenness' – their motivation for going green and their overall engagement with environmentalism – evolved from the processes of contemplating my data and imagining different ways in which I could use it to tell me something.

Inferential Statistics

There are two types of inferential statistics: descriptive and causal inference. Descriptive inference is concerned with generalisability: can the findings based on the data collected be extended to the population? This also, therefore, requires a process of moving away from mere observation and towards engaging with concepts and theory: why might findings from a sample apply generally?

Causal inference refers to efforts to understand the relationships between two or more variables. Bryman (2004) points out that researchers can indeed only make causal *inferences*. We cannot prove that variable *x* caused *y* to behave in manner *z* - because *x* is present we can't see how *y* would have behaved otherwise. Burnham *et al* (2008:178) concludes that causal inference "is an attempt to bridge the gap between what we can observe and what we cannot". Additional issues associated with causality concern whether it is deterministic or probabilistic, and directionality. The latter is particularly thorny. For example, does having a National Executive Committee that regularly discusses green issues promote the development of greening at lower levels of the union? Or is it support for green activity at lower levels of the union that prompts 'buy-in' amongst union leaderships? These problems are addressed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Measuring Union Greening

The main analysis pivots around three summated scales of union greenness:

1. Total Number of Environmental Categories that Unions Spend 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amounts of Time On
2. Environmental Motivation Score
3. Environmental Activity Score

These can be treated as separate variables: it is possible for a union to be handling many green issues (1), but reluctantly (2) (seeing it as a distraction from their traditional work); or for a union to be highly engaged overall (3) but engaging with relatively few green issues (1). A union that is very keen to engage (2), but which scores low in terms of overall activity (1 and/or 3), may be encountering obstacles or their green agenda may be inchoate.

Summated scales use multiple indicators to produce a single index of a particular concept. Using multiple indicators can capture the complexity of the concept and therefore create more precise, valid and reliable measures. Summated scales also make the process of analysing data much less time-consuming.

deVaus (1991) notes that it is common for researchers to construct scales which were not anticipated by the original questionnaire design, and this should be performed using a conceptual approach. Essentially this means examining the questions and deciding which ones ostensibly "tap the concept as we understand it". In more sophisticated surveys correlational and experimental factor analysis can be used to establish those items that appear to belong together, but I eschewed this stage on the basis that my questions were unambiguous and effectively signposted which index they could contribute to.

deVaus identifies several problems with summated scales. For a start they are summations, and so responses to individual questions are 'lost'. Respondents also do not interpret and answer questions identically: on a Likert scale where two or more people have answered "Occasionally" who is to say that they share a common definition of "Occasionally"?

A further problem concerns the equivalence of items. Where all items feature the same score range the scores can simply be added up. Likert scales typically comprise a range of 5 answers, scoring 0 (the most negative answer) to 5 (the most positive answer). Question 25 of my questionnaire asked the following question:

How committed to the development of your union's Environmental Agenda would you say your union's **most senior officials** are? Please circle your answer below:

HIGHLY COMMITTED	COMMITTED	NEITHER COMMITTED NOR UNINTERESTED	RELATIVELY UNINTERESTED	COMPLETELY UNINTERESTED

Not only might one respondent's understanding of "Committed" differ from another's, but who is to say that the impact of having a "Committed" leadership (on a union's environmental agenda) is five times that of having an NEC that is "Completely Uninterested"? The same problem is invoked when handling multiple Likert scales – even if they have used the same scoring system who is to say that in respondents' minds - and in the real world - the impact of a behaviour or attitude worth 2 points on one scale is really identical to the impact of a behaviour or attitude worth 2 points on another scale? Equivalence problems are compounded when attempting to construct an index from questions featuring different types and/or numbers of response categories.

These problems have led some researchers to weight scores and there are several ways to achieve this. I have opted for the simplest i.e. to re-score the items so that all questions' 'span' of responses – from highest to lowest – feature the same ratio (de Vaus, 1991). Appendix G contains details of my scoring regime.

Case Studies

Rationale and Objectives

The case studies were designed to investigate the utility of workplace greening as a vehicle for trade union renewal, measured in terms of: new members, new activists and increased/improved relations with employers. They constituted an opportunity to understand how unions' grassroots activists constructed and operationalised the environment with members, non-members and employers. It was anticipated that the case studies would generate considerable rich, empirical data *vis-à-vis* the practicalities associated with workplace greening which could be compared and contrasted with the interview and survey data provided by union elites. The case studies are described and analysed using relevant employee relations theories in Chapter 7.

Selection

I conducted three case studies: DEFRA, York; BT, Ipswich and Great Ormond Street Hospital, London. Workplace greening is a relatively inchoate function of the UK trade union movement and I was not spoiled for choice. All three cases were part of the TUC's 'Greening

the Workplace' Project and were brought to my attention by Sarah Pearce the Project Manager. I contacted the local representatives, explained the nature of my research and told them what I wanted to do. All three agreed to participate in my study.

Case study data cannot easily be generalised because case studies are, by nature, unique. Nevertheless, case study data can be used to generate hypotheses and test theories; and although my cases were not selected 'scientifically' they each participated in the TUC Project and therefore constitute examples of fairly mature workplace greening to investigate. Still, a confident evaluation of workplace greening based on my case studies is difficult for several reasons. First, all three workplaces contain large populations of well-educated, professional and semi-professional white collar employees who are not necessarily typical of the wider workforce. Secondly, none of the organisations is associated with activities considered particularly harmful to the environment – their workforces are therefore unlikely to view the environment as problematic in the way that it may be perceived in the construction, energy, aviation, chemicals and extractive sectors etc. However, the TUC cites evidence of similarly high levels of interest in all workplaces participating in the project and in several that were not, including United Utilities, Argos Distribution and Heathrow Airport for whom environmental issues are more central. Third, all three organisations were committed to ambitious carbon reduction targets and were in the middle of, or about to initiate, extensive infrastructure projects with a considerable emphasis on sustainability – environmental issues therefore already had a high profile. Fourth, the TUC-led awareness days were well-organised flagship events featuring a range of external guest organisations. They were marketed to all employees and senior management buy-in was obtained in order to maximise attendance. Fifth, the TUC 'screened' potential projects to assess whether or not they were suitable, and it is sensible to assume that those that were chosen (including all three case studies) were anticipated to respond positively to the agenda. Sixth, in all three organisations employee relations were widely regarded as relatively good. Finally, all three case studies featured national unions that were committed to workplace greening and an active local branch with which to operationalize it. In other words, the conditions for the emergence and development of a workplace greening bargaining agenda were almost perfect.

Methodology

According to Beynon (in Bryman, 1988: 21):

> *Research into industrial and trade union organisations can be an extremely sensitive process. Both sets of organisations are capable of*

excluding researchers and regulating the information which they provide. Equally, these organisations...have research facilities of their own geared up to the internal needs and interests of the organisations they serve.

In contrast, I received considerable co-operation from the case study unions. I visited each case study approximately five times over the course of 12 months to interview union green representatives (UGRs), other union officials and senior managers and to observe joint meetings between unions and management, UGR meetings and key events such as environment-related open days.

I wanted my research to be as unobtrusive as possible. For example, I remained silent during joint meetings and rather than recording one-to-one and group interviews I made rough contemporaneous notes, which were written-up shortly afterwards. Draft descriptions of how each union was operationalising the green agenda were sent to each case study's lead UGR for comment.

Ethical Considerations

Diener and Crandall (in Bryman, 2004) identify several ethical transgressions in social research that had relevance to my research.

1. Harm to participants: a small number of survey questions requested sensitive information from EPOs (e.g. an assessment of senior officials' commitment to the environmental agenda) which could expose union leaderships and individual EPOs to criticism. Survey participants were told that their responses would be treated 'in confidence' and any results presented in aggregate form. All interviewees were provided with draft transcripts and only material from agreed versions was used in the thesis. Interviewees who wished to comment 'off the record' were welcome to do so. Although the survey data is presented in aggregate form, the small sample size means that forensic analysis could identify the environmental scores of individual unions. To argue that a low score might risk reputational harm would be an exaggeration and represent a gross misreading of the specificities of the scoring regime;

2. Lack of informed consent and deception: all participants were made fully aware of the nature of my research and what I wanted to do with the data I collected. When attending meetings during my case studies the reason for my presence was

announced. When seeking invitations to union green conferences I always indicated the nature of my interest and capacity in which I would attend;

3. Invasion of privacy: my research does not impact participant's private lives

Secondary Data Analysis

Rationale and Objectives

Several high quality datasets – including the BSAS, BHPS and WERS – were examined. The datasets enabled me to establish relevant historical and factual data (e.g. the percentage of union members who were also members of an environmental organisation in the 1980s) and provided opportunities for longitudinal analysis (e.g. changes in British employers' attitudes towards the environment and shifts in unions' bargaining priorities during the 1990s).

Conclusion

As a former trade unionist (see Introduction) I am sympathetic to the objectives of the trade union movement. This may have implications *vis-à-vis* my objectivity as a researcher. Bryman (2004) argues that research cannot be value-free and recommends researchers exhibit reflexivity about the intrusion of values in their research. I am sure that my former occupation as a senior lay union activist may have 'opened' some doors. However, I am under no external pressure – fiduciarily, financially or politically - to produce a result favourable to unions (I do not know what such a result would be!). I have sought to provide as objective an analysis as possible and this chapter has described the processes and instrumentation that have enabled me to do so.

Chapter 3: UK Unions' Environmental Policymaking 1967-2011

Introduction

Chapter 1 made three key points. First the strained LER in the 1970s and 1980s masked considerable union interest in the environment and noted that unions have generally been pro-environmental on a range of environmental issues. Second, that a specific industrial and political agenda – co-constructed by unions in the 1970s but forced on to them in the 1980s – helps to explain their limited environmental activism and infrequent contact with EMOs. And third, that unions began to engage more actively with environmentalism in the mid-1990s. This increase was the product of further shifts in the UK's POS (affecting unions' fortunes) combined with, *inter alia*, union modernisation which permitted and necessitated the gradual construction of a unionised environmental agenda capable of being operationalised nationally, sectorally and in individual workplaces by more diverse memberships. The contribution of union modernisation to union greening is examined in Chapter 4.

This chapter examines environmental policy-making at the Trades Union Congress (TUC) between 1967 – 2011 to help answer research questions 1 and 2. Given the above, one would expect to observe a generally pro-environmental orientation and both quantitative and qualitative changes in union's environmental policymaking. For example, over time, unions might debate and carry more environmental resolutions at their conferences and expand the range and practical intent of their environmental agendas. One might also expect to observe greater numbers of unions – and more diverse unions – engaging. Environmental policies carried at the Welsh TUC, the Scottish TUC and the Irish Federation of Trade Unions' (IFTU) Northern Ireland Committee (NIC) are also examined, but in less detail. The chapter then utilises elite interviews to facilitate a deeper understanding of the TUC data, with particular emphasis on contextualising the origins, distribution and thinking behind unions' interest in the environment.

The TUC as Barometer

The TUC has been described as the "national co-ordinating centre of British Trade Unionism" (McIlroy, 1995:45). This claim is slightly misleading, as although the TUC does include Wales, the STUC is a separate organisation. IFTU is Northern Ireland's trade unions' co-ordinating centre. The TUC and the STUC each hold an annual Congress. Although the Wales TUC is part of the TUC, it holds its own Congress. McIlroy (1995:46) describes the TUC's main roles as:

- regulator and supporter of the activities of affiliates, complete with the power to adjudicate inter-union disputes and suspend and expel members
- a provider of services to unions (such as research and learning)
- acting as a spokesperson for affiliates to the state and other interest groups, nationally and internationally

The TUC is a second degree grouping, consisting of organisations not individuals. It is, therefore, somewhat distant from 'shopfloor realities'. Taylor (1978:41) describes it as "a loose confederation, not a centralised monolith", and it has no direct powers over its affiliates. Indeed, the TUC (1970:2) itself argues that its authority over members "must be defined in terms of influence, not of power".

Table 3.1: Number of TUC Affiliated Unions at Selected Intervals, 1970-2008

YEAR	No. of TUC AFFILIATED UNIONS
1970	142
1975	113
1980	106
1985	88
1990	74
1995	65
2008	60

Sources: Salamon (1992:655); McIlroy (1995:23); Blyton and Turnbull (2004:159); TUC website

Although the TUC has limited power, its 'coverage' is impressive: there are very few sizeable or influential unaffiliated unions in the UK (the Royal College of Nursing, the Police Federation and the British Medical Association are notable exceptions). The decline in the number of affiliates (Table 3.1) is due largely to the effects of union mergers and the disappearance or decline of certain industries. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s TUC affiliated unions represented approximately 90% of all trade union members (Salamon, 1992:655).

The TUC's coverage and lack of direct authority over the actions of its members is, according to Salamon, its main source of strength (1992:141):

> *The TUC is a voluntary federation…and therefore believes it has to be seen to retain a substantial degree of impartiality if it is to aid the process of reconciling the special interests of particular unions…with the general interests of the trade union movement. Thus its decisions and policies have to come from a large measure of internal consensus within its membership rather than be imposed by the TUC as one organisation on the other organisations which are its members.*

The TUC is 'run' by an elected General Council (senior figures from member unions who therefore only work part-time for the TUC), a General Secretary - who is a full-time employee of the TUC – and a range of technical and support staff based in the TUC Headquarters and the Regions. Until 1983 the General Council was elected annually by Congress, but after 1983 a system of automatic right of representation dependent on union size was introduced (Table 3.2). Union attendance at Congress – and each delegation's voting entitlements – is also related to the size of union's memberships.

It is the coverage of the TUC and its role as a *maker* and *facilitator* of union-wide policy that makes Congress representative of the evolution of UK unions' environmental policies.

The TUC agenda setting process

It is necessary to establish that interest in environmental issues exhibited at Congress is representative of that of the wider movement. The strongest indication is that there is remarkably little disagreement at Congress and only a handful of motions debated are lost, suggesting that TUC policy is widely supported. Although this consensus has institutional and strategic origins[19] they reinforce, rather than undermine, Congress' representativeness.

First, the absence of controversy appears understandable if one adopts the simplistic view that Congress is essentially a gathering of like minds, each presenting to one another up to two policy proposals which have already been debated, fine-tuned and approved by individual union conferences and/or executives.

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[19] Very little research has been conducted investigating the TUC's policymaking process. I am grateful to John Edmonds – former General Secretary of the GMB and TUC General Council member – for explaining it to me.

Table 3.2: Allocation of TUC General Council Seats (from 1983)

UNION MEMBERSHIP	No. of SEATS
1,500,000 members +	5
1,000,000 – 1,499,999	4
750,000 – 999,999	3
500,000 – 749,999	2
100,000 – 499,999	1
For ALL unions with less than 100,000	11

Source: Salamon (1992:143)

Second, the TUC does not readily possess or seek the power to impose its will on its members – affiliates know better than to try to use the floor of Congress to settle disputes or force controversial policies onto others. Instead, affiliates know that the TUC's strength is its ability to co-ordinate union policy and mobilise resources and interest from across the movement (and beyond) around particular issues. Congress is therefore an attractive strategic option for individual unions seeking to 'scale-up' individual union or sector-specific concerns. The policy proposals that are taken to Congress don't necessarily need multi-union support, but are frequently calculated to generate it.

Third, the TUC is keen to ensure that the Congress agenda addresses a wide range of societal concerns. With just two motions each, there is a danger that every union's third most important issue would not get debated. Prior to Congress the General Council and senior officials from individual unions partake in informal, personalised processes of agenda-setting during which responsibility for moving and supporting motions is allocated to particular unions. TUC delegates want to speak – and be photographed speaking - at Congress, to present themselves to their members as influential figures in the wider movement. The only way to guarantee speaking is to have submitted what becomes the lead motion on an issue, but it is highly unlikely that a small union would be chosen to lead on a key issue (such as trade union or employment rights). Unions therefore seek to identify motions to move and speak on and the General Council wants unions to submit motions which achieve a balanced agenda. Small and medium-size unions in particular may be susceptible to personal approaches by Congress House[20] to submit lead motions on modish and/or non-traditional issues, where they would be more likely to speak than if they had submitted the eighteenth

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[20] TUC headquarters.

motion on employment rights. Congress House agenda-setting and allocation interventions are long-standing, extremely informal and light touch – this is all that is required in a game in which all the players are familiar with the rules. Parenthetically, this process has created the impression that the progenitors of the TUC's environmental policies have been its least influential members.

Fourth, given the TUC's relative inability to sanction its members and/or force them to do anything against their will, it is irrational for individual unions with controversial policies to subject them to a TUC debate and vote, and risk mobilising opposition – it is much better for the union to pursue the policies unilaterally.

Policymaking at Congress

The TUC used to be a significant, televised, national event, and it is still reported on in some detail in the UK's national media. The TUC arguably has less need for the excessive stage-managing associated with political party conferences – designed to project an image of unity and discipline to the electorate – but nevertheless has seen merit in presenting itself as slick, professional and mature: qualities viewed incompatible with disagreement. Parenthetically, the Labour link may also be a factor here. During the 1990s the TUC was particularly keen under General Secretary John Monks to behave in ways that would not jeopardise New Labour's electoral chances (Morris, 1995), although this was a continuation of a strategic alliance that Monk's predecessor Norman Willis had initiated with Neil Kinnock (Taylor, 2000).

The intricacies of TUC policymaking must be accounted for (Table 3.3). Unions are entitled to submit to Congress up to two motions each (the General Council also has an entitlement to submit motions, and the cap does not include emergency motions or amendments to motions). This allows for over 130 motions on, potentially, 130 different topics, to be squeezed into around 20 available hours. In practice, not all unions submit motions to Congress, and where motions cover the same or related topics they may be composited. It is also possible for motions to be guillotined   if previous business has overrun. Congress typically debates 50-70 motions.

Voting entitlements at Congress are also determined by the size of the union. The rules regarding the number of votes individual unions are entitled to have been amended periodically. Each affiliated union, regardless of size, is, however, entitled to submit a fixed number of motions, amendments to motions and emergency motions. Table 3.3 shows the

present arrangements. Union size is, on paper, less important in shaping Congress' agenda, but remains crucial in voting (be it on a show of hands, or a card vote).

Table 3.3. Union Voting Entitlements and Entitlement to Submit Motions and Amendments, 2008.

Number of Votes at Congress	One vote for every one thousand members or part thereof	
Number of Delegates	**Unions with more than 5000 members**	**Unions with less than 5000 members** (1)
	One delegate for every 5000 members or part thereof	2 delegates each
Number of Motions (2)	**Unions up to 1 million members**	**Unions with over 1 million members**
	2 motions	One extra motion per each extra 500,000 members or part thereof
Number of Amendments (3)	**Unions up to 1 million members**	**Unions with over 1 million members**
	2 Amendments	One extra amendment per each extra 500,000 members or part thereof
Number of Emergency Motions	**1 (regardless of size)**	

1. Special provision for unions with less than 5000 members was introduced in 1997.
2. The entitlement to extra motions for unions with over 1 million members was introduced in 2007. Previously, all unions – regardless of size – were entitled to a maximum of two motions.
3. The entitlement to extra amendments for unions with over 1 million members was introduced in 2007. Previously, all unions – regardless of size – were entitled to submit a maximum of two amendments.

Source: TUC Congress Reports (various)

Horse-trading still occurs at Congress, with, stereotypically, the movers of motion X promising to 'deliver' one million votes to the movers of motion Y, if Y's delegation delivers their half-million votes to X later in the week. Congress resolutions may therefore reflect not simply the popularity of particular policies, but also formal, informal, strategic and *ad hoc* alliances, the distribution of power across the movement and the influencing skills of key actors. However, such practices almost certainly declined during the 1980s and 1990s. Additionally, if delegations have been mandated by their executives then the opportunities for horse-trading are minimised.

A fortiori, such instrumentality – if needed, given the purpose of Congress is consensus-building rather than browbeating recalcitrant unions - is now more likely to be done either

before Congress; or through the careful wording of motions so that they maximise support (Box 3.1 and Box 3.2).

Box 3.1 TUC Agenda Setting

John Edmonds was the General Secretary of the GMB and a TUC General Council Member in the 1980's and 1990's. According to Mr Edmonds the TUC message to unions was:

"…look, if you put in a motion on this it could be the mainline motion and your General Secretary can be up there with the "stars'". There was that. I think there was a great consciousness in the 'House', so to speak, that not to have some decent environmental motions was a pretty stupid way of proceeding. In the culture of the TUC unless there are any motions nobody's very interested. So there's a bit of nudging of unions to …it's difficult, because almost everybody every year has a particular hobby-horse that it has to do this year, and then the temptation is to put your other motion on a general trade union issue, rather than, say, an environmental issue. So institutionally it's not very good. And, of course, as the numbers of unions have declined, you know having lots of little unions who were quite susceptible because this was the only time they'd get to speak to the General Secretary of the TUC, who's phoning you up as if you're a long-lost friend asking "would you like to do this, can you help?" So, of course, institutionally it's very difficult to get a balanced agenda anyway, because if you're everybody's' third most important issue you might not get any show at all".

On the culture of Congress itself:

"Every General Secretary and President wants to speak. And the only way to speak is as either a mover or seconder of a motion, or of an amendment. Now moving or seconding an amendment is difficult, because unless it is absolutely outside the pale it might be encompassed in one of the TUC composites. So the only way you could be sure of speaking is if your union puts in a motion which is the lead motion on a particular issue. Now there is no way that a small union is going to be the lead motion on the economy. There's no way a small union is going to be the lead motion on employment rights. So there's a balancing effect here. If you put in the lead motion on the environment, you'll get to speak. If you put in the fourteenth motion on the economy you won't get to speak. Secondly, the House selects which will be the lead motion. Sometimes there's a lot of arguments, but the House has considerable influence. So the deal could be "you put in an environmental motion and you will be the lead speaker even if there are other environmental motions, and they will be composited". So there are difficulties and there are countervailing forces, based on vanity and egomania!"

"… this is the way that Congress House manages to ensure that the whole of the agenda isn't about employment rights and the whole of the agenda isn't about the economy. So, you know, they try to balance out, and all the unions – all the senior people in unions – know the way the system works. And it is important for a medium-sized union to make a splash at the TUC. All of their magazines have Union X,Y,Z at the TUC, and a picture of their prominent people speaking. This is how third and fourth order issues actually get played-out."

The result is a diverse, manageable agenda of carefully worded and relatively uncontroversial motions designed to maximise support and appeal to an audience by leaning towards generic, 'top-end' policy prescriptions. Congress' decisions are a distillation of wider union concerns and activities, with Congress' constitutional and institutional characteristics functioning as a 'filter'. Yet, there is evidence that the TUC's wider influence and resources means submitting motions to Congress is an attractive strategic option for individual unions seeking to 'scale-up' union or sector-specific concerns. Nevertheless, the choice of issues to be 'scaled-up' in this way – and their framing - would largely conform to the principles identified above. Although it might appear that TUC environmental policymaking has been

the preserve of its weakest members (see later) this may, in fact, be a product of the Congress agenda-setting process and cannot be cited as evidence that the trade union movement's most influential actors are less enthusiastic. Besides, if the larger and more influential unions were really opposed to the adoption of pro-environmental policies they could use their superior numbers to vote against them at Congress.

Box 3.2. Prospect and the National Union of Mineworkers

One of the most interesting and enduring apparent 'partnerships' visible at Congress recently has been that between Prospect (and its predecessor unions) and the National Union of Mineworkers. Prospect has large numbers of members employed in the nuclear industry, whilst the NUM's (dwindling) membership is concentrated in the UK coal mining industry.

Prospect and the NUM 'teamed-up' as early as 1985 to propose a motion advocating a balanced energy policy for the UK - a mixture of coal and nuclear, with increased investment in renewables.

Both unions were clearly in disagreement in 1987, with the NUM (and the FBU, NCU and NUJ) moving a motion arguing for a phasing-out of nuclear; and Prospect (and the GMB; UCATT; EETPU; TGWU and the General Council) in opposition. The motion was lost.

Since then, Prospect and the NUM have jointly been the main architects of the TUC's energy and climate change policies, co-authors of TUC energy policies in: 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006 and 2008. The resolutions resemble that of 1985, and propose a diverse energy mix comprising of nuclear, clean coal technology and greater investment in renewables, in order to create a low carbon economy.

There are several ways of interpreting this apparent partnership between two unions protective of two very different sectors which are frequently seen as antithetical (and not necessarily 'green' either!). Perhaps the most likely explanation is that a (compromise) motion arguing for a diverse energy mix enables unions to 'have their cake and eat it' and avoids conflict between the coal and nuclear sectors. Another is that each sees their own sector, plus renewables, as the best way to kill-off the other – which when combined produces an apparent consensus!

 Source: TUC Congress Documents.

Presentation of Data and Data Analysis

Table 3.4 shows the 17 main categories identified using qualitative content analysis, and summaries of all the topics, concerns and discourses associated with each category for the TUC. The topics are presented in the order in which (working chronologically) I discovered them – as each *new* one was discovered it was recorded. Subsequent mentions of the same

topic were ignored. The tables therefore are an abstraction, seeking to present diversity, 'newness' and chronological *advances* in unions' environmental thinking rather than

Table 3.4: Trades Union Congress – Environmental Concerns 1967-2008

CATEGORY	TOPICS/DISCOURSES
ENERGY	Maximum Economic use of Resources; Public Ownership of Coal/electricity/nuclear; Pro-nuclear (to end dependence on imported coal); Needs 'versus' Resources; Investment in alternatives including wave and solar; energy conservation; pro-nuclear (safe); limited global resources; Balanced energy policy: coal/nuclear/alternatives; Fuel Poverty; anti-nuclear (unsafe); Energy technology aid for developing countries; Securing the Future of UK's Offshore Oil and Gas supplies and industries; Investment in Clean Coal Technology and alternatives; Re-open closed Coal Mines; Security of Supply- limit reliance on foreign sources of energy
UNION POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES	Anti-pollution campaigning; reject anti-growth/anti-science environmentalism; link-up with EMO's; demand environmental data from employers; develop workplace environmental role; adopt multi-stakeholder approach; secure statutory rights for Environmental Reps'
ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION AND GLOBAL WARMING	Lead-free petrol; Global Warming; Ozone Layer; More monitoring; International co-operation; Emission Targets
MARINE ENVIRONMENT AND POLLUTION	Better Regulation and enforcement regarding Transportation of Hazardous Goods; Better shipping-flow and surveillance systems to minimise accidents at sea; anti-dumping of nuclear waste; cessation of importing toxic waste; marketisation of shipping and coastguard bad for the environment; environmental benefits of greater investment in Merchant Navy; environmental benefits of tackling maritime piracy
WILDLIFE AND CONSERVATION	Danger to wildlife from pesticides and fertilisers; Reforestation
GLOBALISATION	Welcome Brandt Report; Poor environmental record of globalisation
WATER	Increased accountability to communities; conservation and procurement; river and beach pollution; drinking water standards
MANUFACTURING AND ECONOMY	Opportunities for environmentally sound products/processes/jobs; Industrial and Employment impact of Environmental targets; structural/financial/technical reforms required for environmentally-friendly growth; increase in Government funding to assist businesses to comply with legislation; International growth in demand for Environmental Technology; Sustainable Economic Growth; Mitigation and

	Adaptation; Review of Skills needed in a Low Carbon Economy; Just Transition
HOUSING, LAND USE AND PLANNING	Slum Clearance; Balanced Land-use policy; Afforestation; Improve the Environmental record of the construction industry; Restoration of Local Government's environmental powers
TRANSPORT	Publicly owned/integrated public transport system; Public transport: a social need and less environmentally harmful; greater investment in rail; end car-dependency; public transport provision in rural areas; step-up electrification; more rail and waterborne freight; divert investment from road to public transport; renationalisation of railways good for the environment; environmental objectives to be built-in to transport policy; support for the aviation industry but taxes to mitigate its environmental costs; investment in road/rail/port hubs; public ownership of rail and buses good for the environment
HUMAN HEALTH	Victims of Chemical war; Concerns regarding pesticides; fertilisers; colourants; irradiation and Genetically Modified Organisms
FARMING AND FOOD	Concerns regarding pesticides; fertilisers; colourants and irradiation; Concerns regarding Genetically Modified Organisms; Support for farmer's role in protecting the countryside
RECYCLING AND WASTE	Increase recycling; recycling creates jobs and preserves the environment; decontamination and disposal policies for medical instruments
EMERGENCY SERVICES	More resources to deal with more frequent flooding
POLICY INSTRUMENTS	Increase powers of Factory Inspectorate; tougher sentences; Welcomes Corporate Manslaughter Bill; Proposes a new Food Standards Agency; increased powers for Environmental Health Officers; Auditing of NHS' environmental performance; Balance between Regulation and Fiscal Policies and Market Forces; Environmental Public Procurement regime
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT	Science should be under greater social control; science and technology's ability to generate solutions to environmental problems; greater investment in science
POPULATION GROWTH	Population growth and economic growth puts pressure on the environment

continuity and the ebbs and flows in such thinking. The data is particularly useful in challenging the myth that unions were uninterested in environmental issues in the 1970s and 1980s and that they regarded environmentalism as antithetical to the objectives of organised labour and of only marginal concern to UK politics. Equivalent data for STUC, Wales TUC and NIC is in Appendix H.

Unions' environmental policies have typically positioned environmentalism within a variegated social, political and economic *mise en scene*, reflecting its cross-cutting characteristics. So energy and economic policies, for example, have not only asserted the need to move to a low carbon economy, but also how to do this (including assessing the efficacy of market-based instruments, environmental taxes and government regulation as well as identifying skills gaps – and plugging them).Unions' energy policies have also embraced, *inter alia*, security of fuel supply; fuel poverty; and greater investment in and democratic control over science.

Unions' environmental policymaking is thus quite sophisticated and appears to take four broad forms. First, and most obviously, unions have commented on and engaged with key environmental arguments and campaigns, helping them to acquire legitimacy and traction. Examples include supporting the transition to a low carbon economy, opposing the dumping of toxic waste at sea and campaigning for lead-free petrol.

Second, unions have used environmental arguments to bolster certain traditional union demands. These social, economic and industrial concerns are amongst those traditionally associated with unions, but have been extended to incorporate environmental protection. Some such extensions must have been both obvious and easy, such as greater investment in public transport (to reduce car dependency and pollution), emergency services (to deal with flooding) and research and development (into renewable forms of energy); but some required more imagination, such as using the environmental agenda to strengthen the case against the marketisation of public services (citing the lack of effective environmental governance and accountability). Some health and safety legislation can be easily refined to extend beyond the factory gate to protect the public and as part of a general push to impose a social responsibility agenda on business. Unions therefore appear to be positioning and using the environment *instrumentally* and *imaginatively* as further justification for older, traditional demands.

Third, unions have attempted to enhance various policy domains' environmental component. Examples of this 'greening' process includes arguing for ethical public procurement policies and the insertion or strengthening of environmental objectives in the UK's transport policies and land-use and local government planning regimes

Fourth, as well as assimilating environmental arguments into their traditional agendas, unions have sought to inject their collectivist values and practices into the environmental agenda itself, by insisting on the importance of ensuring a fair distribution of the costs and

benefits of environmental policies, and devolved, transparent, democratic and accountable systems of environmental decision-making.

Generally, the rules of the game governing Congress function to prevent radical policy proposals capable of generating breaks with the past and propelling unions into novel territory. Many environmental resolutions are reaffirmations of existing TUC policy, with only minor refinements – sudden leaps forward in thinking are not common, and union's environmental policies have evolved incrementally. Occasional innovations include adopting Canadian unions' concept of Just Transition[21] and the promotion of workplace greening in the 1990s. Nevertheless, Table 3.4 confirms that unions have generally adopted a sophisticated, pro-environmental outlook.

The evidence from broad aggregate TUC archive data is reinforced by looking at specific resolutions. Motions, as instructions to the General Council, are not the best place to look for philosophical insights, but two early resolutions reveal some of unions' thinking. At the 1972 Congress Composite 11 called for "greater participation by the public in the planning of their environment". It rejects the arguments of those calling for "a slowing down of technical and scientific progress" and instead argues that progress should be subject to greater "social control". At the 1985 Congress Motion 52 expressed concern at "the adverse effect on the environment and the quality of life which results from increasing pollution and the over-exploitation of natural resources". The motion also "opposes demands for this problem to be resolved by curbed or reduced economic growth and a rejection of technical and scientific progress…detrimental to our members' interests". The moving speaker argued that the environment "is not the monopoly of the anti-economic growth doomwatch fanatics, or of the Tory Shire landlords masquerading as custodians of the rural way of life whilst simultaneously restricting its pleasures to a tiny few". The seconding speaker stated: "we are standing side-by-side with the Greenpeace organisation in our wish to have a safe planet on which to live".

Ideological and class-based differences between the labour and environmental movements are commonly cited as sources of tension. Both are evident in Motion 52 but the motion also depicts a trade union movement wrestling positively with environmental degradation and the rise of environmentalism and how to accommodate it; and Table 3.4 provides further confirmation of this.

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[21] Just Transition argues that the policies needed to achieve transition to a low carbon economy requires a fair distribution of the costs and benefits of those policies.

The 'Energy', 'Transport' and 'Economy/Manufacturing' categories are the most common across all four Congresses, but there are a large number of less frequently visited additional categories (such as 'Farming and Food', and 'Human Health'). Further, within many categories there are a range of less common and parochial/*suis generis* concerns, which individual unions may have submitted for 'scaling up' purposes. The latter include: Irish unions insistence on Northern Ireland remaining nuclear-free and their opposition to a new Shell on-shore refinery, and Scottish unions' concerns about the use of depleted uranium on Defence Evaluation Research Agency firing ranges. Figure 3.1 shows the top five environmental concerns from each of the TUC; STUC; Wales TUC and NIC since 2000 (it should be noted that Wales TUC and NIC data are incomplete). Although there are some differences in the number of times each category is raised at each Congress, there is also a remarkable degree of overlap in terms of each body's apparent main concerns, with 'Economy/Manufacturing'; 'Energy' and 'Transport' featuring in all four bodies' top five, and 'Policy Instruments' in 3 out of 4. The TUC and STUC data is more complete and so a direct comparison can be made. Here we can observe considerable similarity between the number of times the TUC and STUC formed policy on: 'Economy/Manufacturing' (5, 8 respectively); 'Energy' (5, 6); 'Policy Instruments' (6, 5) and 'Transport' (5, 5) during 2000-2008.

As well as comparing the extent to which particular environmental concerns and categories have traversed different Congresses, it is possible to discern in greater detail the extent to which, over time, interest in the environment has waxed and waned, and how particular categories have come to the fore. Figure 1.1, presented in Chapter 1, showed the number of topics and number of environmental resolutions carried at the TUC between 1967 – 2011. The TUC has *not* made an environmental decision in only 4 out of the last 41 years (1968; 1969; 1975; 1984); on average passing 3 environmental resolutions featuring 4 topics each year. Not only can it be argued that unions have long been interested in the environment, but unions can also claim that their interest has been consistent.

 The most obvious characteristics of TUC environmental policy-making are the peaks and troughs, which are most clear in terms of the numbers of categories. Figure 1.1 - presented in Chapter 1 - showed peaks occurring in: 1972; 1980; 1985; 1989; 1993; 1997; 1999; 2006 and 2008. There is some 'bunching': 7 out of the 9 peak years occurred after 1984 and 5 of them after 1992, suggesting an acceleration in union interest. One interpretation of these ebbs and flows is to understand that unions are member-driven and part of a political system which environmental politics has successfully infiltrated. Unions are not immune to what is happening around them. So, for example, the peaks in 1972, 1989 and 1993 may

reflect the interest in environmental issues caused by the Stockholm conference, the Green Party's European election successes and the 1992 Rio Earth Summit respectively.

Figure 3.1: Comparison of the Top Five Environmental Concerns of Each of: TUC; STUC; NIC of the Irish Confederation of Trades Union Congress; Wales TUC, 2000-2008 (NIC: 2001; 2003; 2005; 2008 only) (Wales TUC: 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008 only)
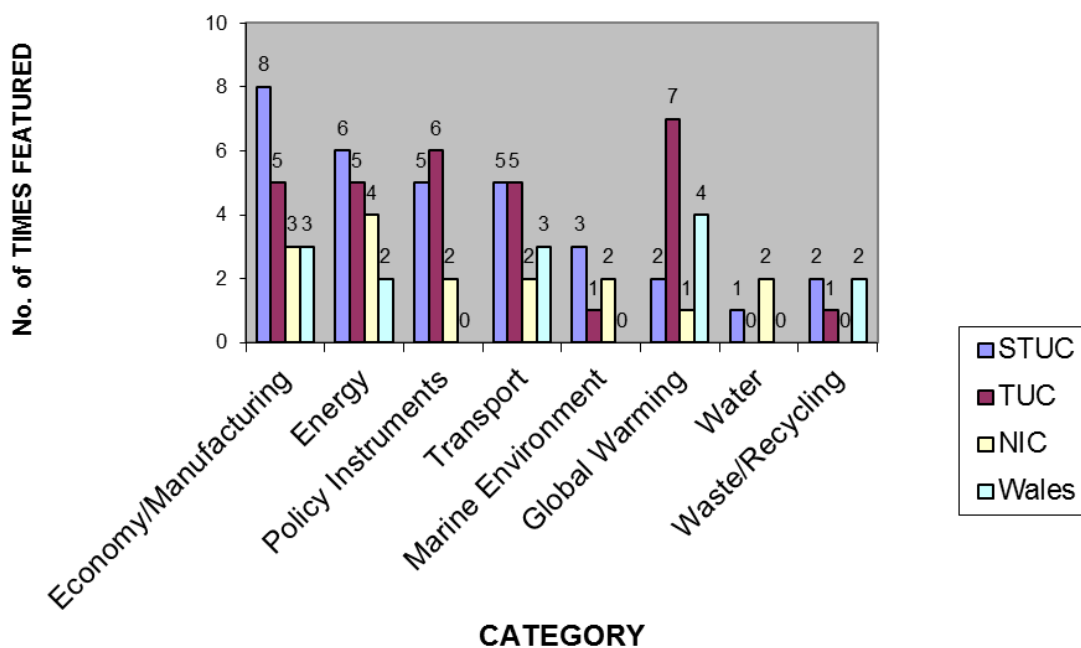
Source: TUC; STUC; Wales TUC and NIC Congress Reports 2000-2008

The fortunes of the British trade union movement have, of course, changed significantly since 1967. Unions were powerful political actors during the 1970s but their membership and influence declined sharply after 1980 - in the face of a relentless neoliberal assault - eventually stemmed in the 1990s by, *inter alia*, various union modernisation initiatives, a general perception that unions had been allowed to become too weak and, in 1997, the election of a Labour Government (Metcalf, 2005). Figure 1.1 therefore showed that unions have sustained their pro-environmentalism across their good, bad and in-between years –

Figure 3.2: Numbers of Environmental Resolutions as a percentage of all Resolutions at Congress 1967 - 2011
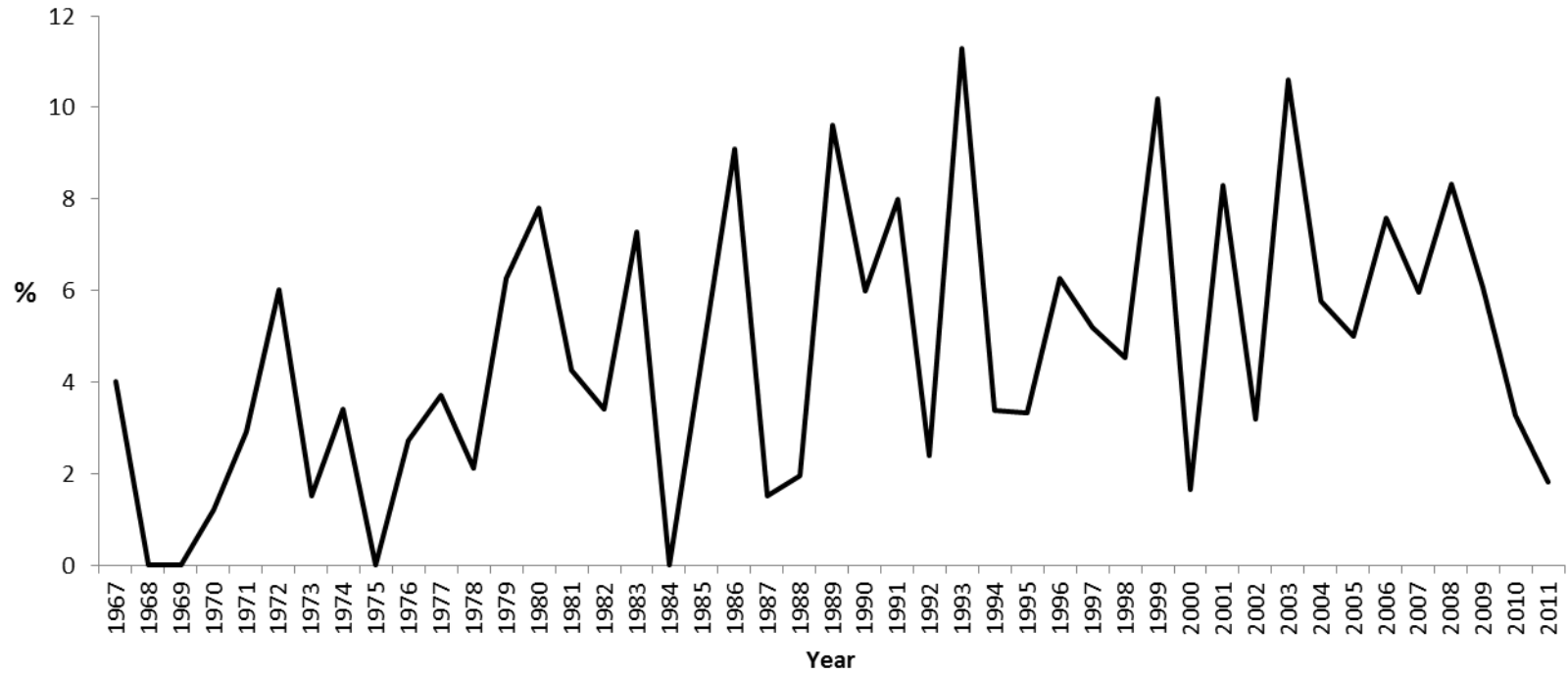
Source: Congress Reports, 1967 – 2011

whilst privileged members of UK corporatism, whilst fighting for survival and whilst rehabilitating. Figure 3.2, above, complements the above analysis and shows the number of environmental resolutions as a percentage of all resolutions, demonstrating that unions' environmental policymaking has, over time, constituted a larger share of unions' overall policymaking – in other words, unions' environmental policies have fared well against and/or encroached their other policy concerns. Like Figure 1.1, Figure 3.2 suggests an acceleration in union interest from the late 1980s which is largely sustained throughout the 1990s (with the exception of 1994-1998) and well into the 2000s. Since only very small numbers of motions submitted to Congress are lost/remitted/withdrawn[22] Figure 3.2 is also a good representation of Congress' environmental-related motions as a percentage of all motions – that is, the environmental policy domain's relative importance within the trade union movement's overall agenda.

Given that qualitative content analysis of the TUC's environmental policies demonstrates a pro-environmental stance, and given that there is virtually no evidence of unions *not* being interested in the environment at any point over the last 40 years, it is tempting to conclude that early criticisms of trade unions, by EMOs, was misplaced. But Figure 1.1. and Figure 3.2 can also be interpreted to suggest that union interest in the environment has, since 1967, remained remarkably unmoved by continued environmental degradation, summitry and awareness – there is year-on-year variation and the growth in environmental policymaking has hardly been exponential. However, this is less convincing once the delimiting effects of the TUC's constitutional and institutional characteristics are understood

Unions' Main Environmental Concerns

Figure 3.3 shows cumulative data for the TUC tracking the presence/absence and activity/inactivity of a range of topics between 1967 – 2011. It shows the extent to which a small number of environmental concerns have 'pulled ahead' to dominate the TUC, coexisting with a range of additional concerns which may 'come and go'. 'Transport' and 'Energy' pulled ahead of all other environmental concerns during the mid-to-late 1970s, and consolidated their lead throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. In the 1980s they were joined by 'Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution' and from the 1990s, but to a lesser

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[22] The numbers of motions lost/remitted/withdrawn obviously vary from year-to-year and have generally declined over time. Even combined they have, since 1986, rarely totalled more than 10. The exception was the 2001 Congress which was suspended following the Twin Tower attacks on 9/11 resulting in 47 motions being remitted.

extent, by 'Policy Instruments' and 'Manufacturing'. The leading categorical concerns for each decade are summarised in Table 3.5. A similar picture is obtained *vis-à-vis* the STUC (not presented) but an absence of longitudinal data for the Wales TUC and NIC prevented a similar analysis.

Figure 3.3 also helps an understanding of environmentalism at Congress as a response to wider events and processes. A simple example concerns the 'Emergency Services' category, which had lain dormant since 1985 but which resurfaced in 2008 in response to the widespread flooding in Yorkshire and Humberside and Gloucestershire and Worcestershire in 2007. Similarly, 'Human Health' and 'Farming and Food' show movement from the late 1980s to the mid-to-late 1990s, reflecting a series of food scares at that time (including salmonella in eggs and bovine spongiform encephalopathy) and concerns regarding the use of pesticides and colourants, irradiation processes and, from 1993, Genetically Modified Organisms.

The 'big 3' concerns – 'Transport', 'Energy' and 'Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution' - are all implicated in the need to switch to a low carbon economy. The popularity of 'Transport' is especially unsurprising given unions' longstanding demands for greater investment in public transport accords unproblematically with those of most EMOs. 'Atmospheric Pollution and Global Warming' started to peel-off from other concerns in the mid-1980s when acid rain and the depletion of the ozone layer were emerging as problems. Continued environmental degradation in the 1990s, the success of the Green Party in the 1989 European election and a steady drip-drip of European environmental legislation (McCormick, 1991: 20; Haigh and Lanigan, 1995: 35) also meant that the UK's political parties – in and out of government – could not avoid the green agenda (Rootes, 1995: 75) and this might explain the TUC's relatively recent interest in influencing the environmental policy instruments available to government[23]. The popularity of 'Manufacturing' is also associated with the transition to a low carbon economy and reflects union interest in the (employment) opportunities and skills challenges associated with climate mitigation and adaptation, and the expansion and development of the UK's nuclear and renewable energy sectors and domestic energy efficiency programmes (Friends of the Earth *et al*, 1998; Trade Union Sustainable

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[23] According to the TUC Just Transition (to a low carbon economy) requires a significant level of long-term industrial planning and cannot be left to the market and market-based instrumentation alone: "achieving Just Transition relies on a high level of commitment from all relevant stakeholders – not least the Government, trade unions and employer federations" (TUC, 2008; 5).

Figure 3.3: Cumulative representation of main categorical concerns of TUC environmental resolutions by year 1967-2011
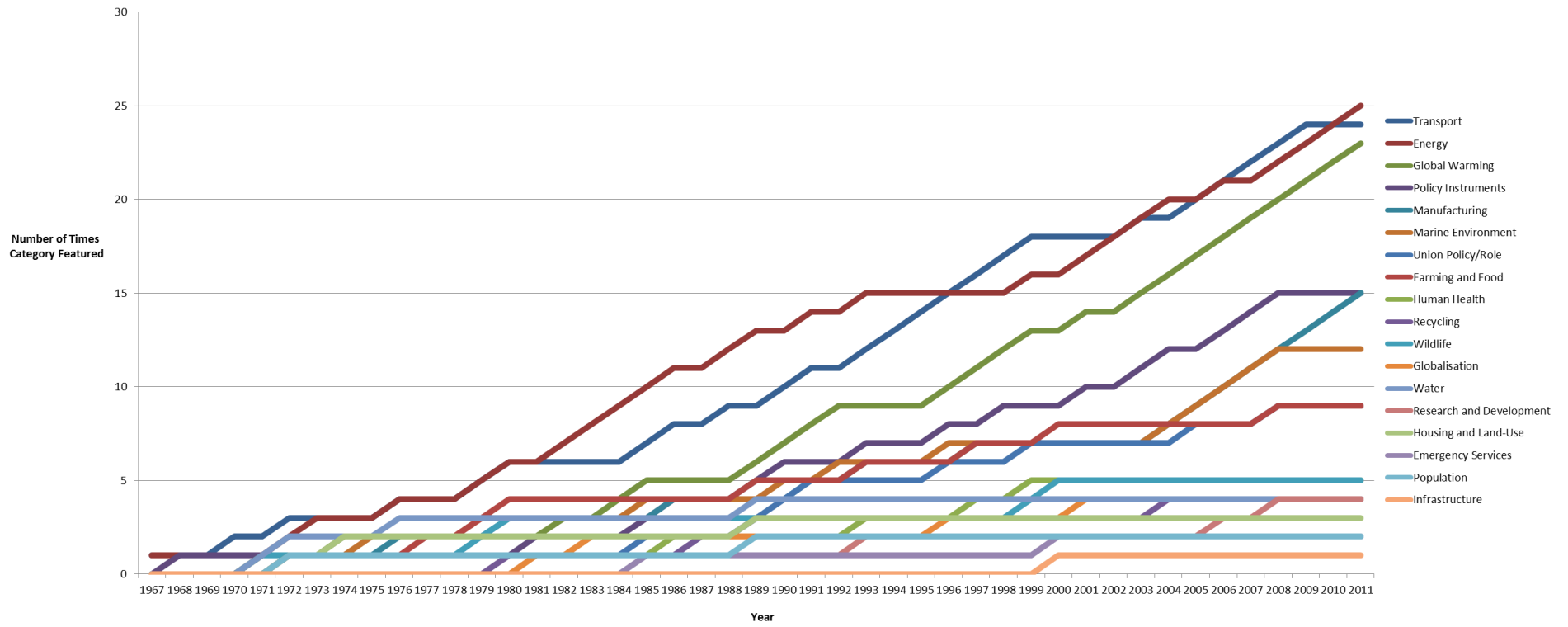
Source: TUC Congress Reports 1967-2011

Table 3.5: Leading Environmental Concerns at Congress

	1967-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2011
1	Transport	Energy	Transport	Global Warming
2	Energy	Transport	Global Warming	Manufacturing/Economy
3	Manufacturing/Economy	Government Policy Instruments	Marine Environment	Energy
4	Farming and Food	Global Warming	Government Policy Instruments	Government Policy Instruments
5	Water	Marine Environment and Recycling	Union Greening Role	Transport

Source: TUC Congress Reports 1967-2011

Development Advisory Committee, 2001; Trade Union Sustainable Development Advisory Committee, 2005: 26). As discussed earlier, unions are member-driven and part of a political system into which environmental politics has successfully encroached. Some resolutions are clearly unions reacting to things happening in the world (such as the STUC condemnation of the US' withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol). Alternatively, peaks in union interest may reflect an accretion of increases in environmental awareness (attributable to the full range of sources and processes identified in Chapter 1).

The Unions Behind the Resolutions

Unions

Further confirmation of union interest in the environmental agenda is provided when we investigate the numbers of unions making environmental contributions at Congress. The first column of Table 3.6 shows that this has remained remarkably constant, and even in the 1960s and 1970s large numbers of unions were participating, rendering as overly simplistic the view that the environmental movement emerged when it did because the UK's traditional political actors – including trade unions – were not taking the environment seriously.

Table 3.6: Number of unions contributing to TUC environmental policymaking and number of Congresses at which contributed.

Years	No. of Unions Contributing (1) to TUC Environmental Policymaking	Number of Congress Contributions (2)
1967-1979	22	35
1980-1989	26	42
1990-1999	17	47
2000-2011	23	91

Notes

(1) A 'Contribution' is defined as having moved or supported an environmental resolution. 'Supporting' may include seconding and supporting speeches by union delegates, amendments and declarations of support in the official Congress Agenda.

(2) The sum of the number of Congresses at which each union made an environmental contribution

Source: TUC Congress Reports 1967-2011.

The difference between the figures in the first and second columns confirms a small number of regular contributors were responsible for the majority of contributions– rather than making contributions at occasional Congresses, certain unions have contributed much more frequently, sometimes more-or-less each year. This data is not presented, but as an example, just three unions (NUR; NUMAST and IPMS) were responsible for almost 40% of environmental contributions at Congress between 1990-1999. This feature of environmental policymaking is particularly pronounced for 2000-2011 during which 23 unions made 91 contributions; almost three times the number of contributions made by almost exactly the same number of unions between 1967-1979.

Industrial sectors

A similar trend can be observed *vis-a-vis* the industrial sectors of contributing unions. Table 3.7 shows unions from just four sectors – transport; energy; manufacturing and local and central government – as the main architects of environmental policy (with transport sector unions setting the pace in every decade). These sectors echo unions' main environmental

concerns and are, possibly, evidence that membership interest is a key determinant of interest in the agenda. However, there is nothing remarkable about unions moving resolutions on issues that are important to them and which they know about. In addition, unions from a wide range of additional sectors have also participated, making it difficult to argue convincingly either that union interest in the environment is a minority pursuit or a polarising one.

Self Interest?

As discussed above, unions' environmental policymaking tends to focus on those issues of immediate relevance to their own sectors/members. Table 3.8 is a contingency table showing the relationship between the categories of environmental resolutions and the sectors of originating unions. Each resolution forms the datum and, consequently, 14 'shopping list' resolutions without a clear dominant concern were excluded from the analysis. Also, with regards to the unions, only the lead originating (moving) unions were included in the analysis.

There appears a clear association between a union's sector and the subject matter of the environmental motion it moved. Energy sector unions, for example, moved 13 resolutions. This represents 44.8% of all 'Energy' resolutions, and 100% of all energy sector unions' resolutions – energy unions did not move any resolutions on any other environmental category!

Transport sector unions moved 25 'transport' resolutions which equates to 92.6% of all 'Transport' resolutions. However, unlike unions in the energy sector, the transport sector unions did seek to form policy elsewhere, with these 25 constituting only 65.8% of transport sector union output.

Unions associated with the Local and Central Government sectors have an interesting output. Over a quarter (26.3%) of the resolutions they moved were concerned with the 'Energy' category, but they were also interested in 'Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution' (10.5%) and 'Policy Instruments' (21.1%). Exactly half of all 'Policy Instruments' resolutions originated from unions organised in the Local and Central Government sector(s). The 'Manufacturing/Economy' category fell foul of the decision to exclude resolutions with no central focus. The 'Manufacturing/Economy' category has been popular in more recent years, but has often been subsumed into resolutions also concerned with emissions and energy. For their part, manufacturing sector unions seemed to have spread their interest

Table 3.7: Industrial sectors of Unions Contributing (1) to TUC Environmental Policies and Number of Contributions, 1967-2011 (2)

1967-1979		1980-1989		1990-1999		2000-2011	
Sector	Number of Contributions	Sector	Number of Contributions	Sector	Number of Contributions	Sector	Number of Contributions
Transport (3)	10	Transport (3)	11	Transport (3)	24	Transport (3)	23
Manufacturing (4)	9	Manufacturing (4)	10	Government (5)	8	Energy	19
Agriculture	4	Government (5)	6	Manufacturing (4)	6	Manufacturing (4)	17
Government (5)	4	Energy	5	Energy	4	Government (5)	14
Energy	2	Construction	2	Food	3	Health	6
Film and TV	1	Print Media	2	Teaching	1	Post Office	3
Post Office	1	Post Office	1	Fire Service	1	Teaching	2
Construction	1	Teaching	1	-	-	Food	2
Food	1	Fire Service	1	-	-	Fire Service	2
Financial Services	1	Health	1	-	-	Retail	1
Print Media	1	Agriculture	1	-	-	Creative	1
-	-	Retail	1	-	-	Construction	1
11	**35**	**12**	**42**	**7**	**47**	**12**	**91**

Notes

1. A 'Contribution' is defined as having moved or supported an environmental resolution. 'Supporting' may include seconding and supporting speeches, amendments and declarations of support in the official Congress Agenda.

2. The sum of the number of Congresses at which unions from the sector have made an environmental contribution

3. Includes road; rail; maritime and aviation. Includes passengers and freight. Includes contributions from TGWU/Unite

4. Includes iron; steel; engineering; electrical and apparel manufactures

5. Includes local and central government. Includes contributions from IPCS/IPMS/Prospect

Source: TUC Congress Reports 1967-2011.

Table 3.8: Contingency table showing relationship between Environmental Resolutions and Sectors of Originating Unions at TUC 1967 – 2008

Resolution's Primary Category			Energy	Transport	Government	Manufacturing	Health	Fire Services	Post Office	Construction	Teaching	Agriculture	Print and Media	Food	Total
Energy		Count	13	2	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	29
		% within Environmental Category	44.8%	6.9%	17.2%	27.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.4%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Union's Main Sector	100.0%	5.3%	26.3%	44.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	27.6%
		% of Total	12.4%	1.9%	4.8%	7.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%	.0%	27.6%
Transport		Count	0	25	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
		% within Environmental Category	.0%	92.6%	.0%	7.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Union's Main Sector	.0%	65.8%	.0%	11.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.7%
		% of Total	.0%	23.8%	.0%	1.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.7%
Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution		Count	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	7
		% within Environmental Category	.0%	14.3%	28.6%	28.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	14.3%	.0%	.0%	14.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Union's Main Sector	.0%	2.6%	10.5%	11.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	6.7%
		% of Total	.0%	1.0%	1.9%	1.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%	.0%	6.7%
Manufacturing/Economy		Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		% within Environmental Category	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Union's Main Sector	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
Policy Instruments		Count	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	8
		% within Environmental Category	.0%	12.5%	50.0%	12.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Union's Main Sector	.0%	2.6%	21.1%	5.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	66.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	7.6%
		% of Total	.0%	1.0%	3.8%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	7.6%
Other		Count	0	9	8	4	3	1	1	0	1	3	0	3	33
		% within Environmental Category	.0%	27.3%	24.2%	12.1%	9.1%	3.0%	3.0%	.0%	3.0%	9.1%	.0%	9.1%	100.0%
		% within Union's Main Sector	.0%	23.7%	42.1%	22.2%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%	31.4%
		% of Total	.0%	8.6%	7.6%	3.8%	2.9%	1.0%	1.0%	.0%	1.0%	2.9%	.0%	2.9%	31.4%
Total		Count	13	38	19	18	3	1	1	3	1	3	2	3	105
		% within Environmental Category	12.4%	36.2%	18.1%	17.1%	2.9%	1.0%	1.0%	2.9%	1.0%	2.9%	1.9%	2.9%	100.0%
		% within Union's Main Sector	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	12.4%	36.2%	18.1%	17.1%	2.9%	1.0%	1.0%	2.9%	1.0%	2.9%	1.9%	2.9%	100.0%

Lead Union's Main Sector

Source: TUC Congress Reports 1967-2008

thinly: 44.4% of manufacturing union resolutions concerned 'Energy'; 11.1% concerned 'Transport'; 11.1% concerned 'Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution'; 5.6% concerned 'Manufacturing/Economy'; 5.6% concerned 'Policy Instruments' and the remaining 22.2% fell into the 'Other' categories.

100% of all 'Transport' resolutions originated from transport and manufacturing unions; 96.5% of all 'Energy' resolutions originated from energy, transport, Government and manufacturing unions; 75% of all 'Policy Instruments' resolutions originated from transport, Government and manufacturing unions; and 71.5% of all 'Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution' resolutions originated from transport, Government and manufacturing unions. Table 3.8 confirms the extent to which TUC environmental policy making has generally been dominated by a handful of unions from a handful of sectors – and, crucially, the propensity for unions within those sectors to pursue sector-specific issues.

Overall, a relatively small number of routinely active unions are responsible for the vast majority of environmental contributions. A more-or-less identical picture emerges *vis-a-vis* the industrial sectors of contributing unions: unions from manifold sectors have contributed but those from just four sectors – transport; energy; government and manufacturing - are especially active. These sectors correspond with unions' main environmental concerns, confirming Congress' attraction to individual unions seeking to advance union or sector-specific concerns. Different unions encountered different sector-specific direct and indirect 'routes' into environmentalism. Direct 'routes' included energy and transport, but modern farming practices formed a 'jumping-in' point for TGWU, whilst the ethical sourcing of timber did the same for UCATT. Lest one gets carried away and interprets self-interest negatively it is worth pointing out that this is a recognised function of Congress, discernible across all policy domains, which all unions avail themselves of and which can just as easily be understood as the 'mechanism' through which the TUC achieves a balanced agenda comprising of factually correct and up-to-date motions. Crucially, regardless of the identities of the originating unions, all environmental resolutions examined here, *ipso facto,* have been supported by Congress as a whole.

Public and Private Sector Unions

Figure 3.4 shows that both public and private sector unions have participated in environmental policymaking at Congress. The most obvious feature of Figure 3.4 is the extent to which, over time, public sector unions have been replaced by private sector unions as the main architects of environmental policy. This figure must be approached with some caution, however. Union mergers

and the privatisations (Horton and Farnham, 1999) of the 1979-1997 Conservative Governments created a moving target – some public sector unions in the 1970s and 1980s became private sector unions in the 1990s, so the apparent shift depicted in the figure may mask considerable continuity *vis-à-vis* the identities and industrial sectors of contributing unions. Also, although union density is higher in the public sector than in the private sector (roughly 60% compared to 20%) (Blyton and Turnbull, 2004: 142) there are more private sector unions than public sector unions, and the TUC's constitution and status as a second order institution therefore affords private sector unions a greater number of opportunities to shape policy - all unions, regardless of size, are entitled to submit up to two ordinary motions. Admittedly, size of membership is an issue during voting at Congress – and there are numerically more public sector union members than private sector members - but the difference is marginal: 53% of union members are in the public sector and 47% are in the private sector (Brook, 2002). Further, the categorising of unions as either predominantly public or private sector was based on personal best-guess assessments.

Figure 3. 4: Relative Contributions of Public and Private Sector Unions to Environmental Policymaking at the TUC
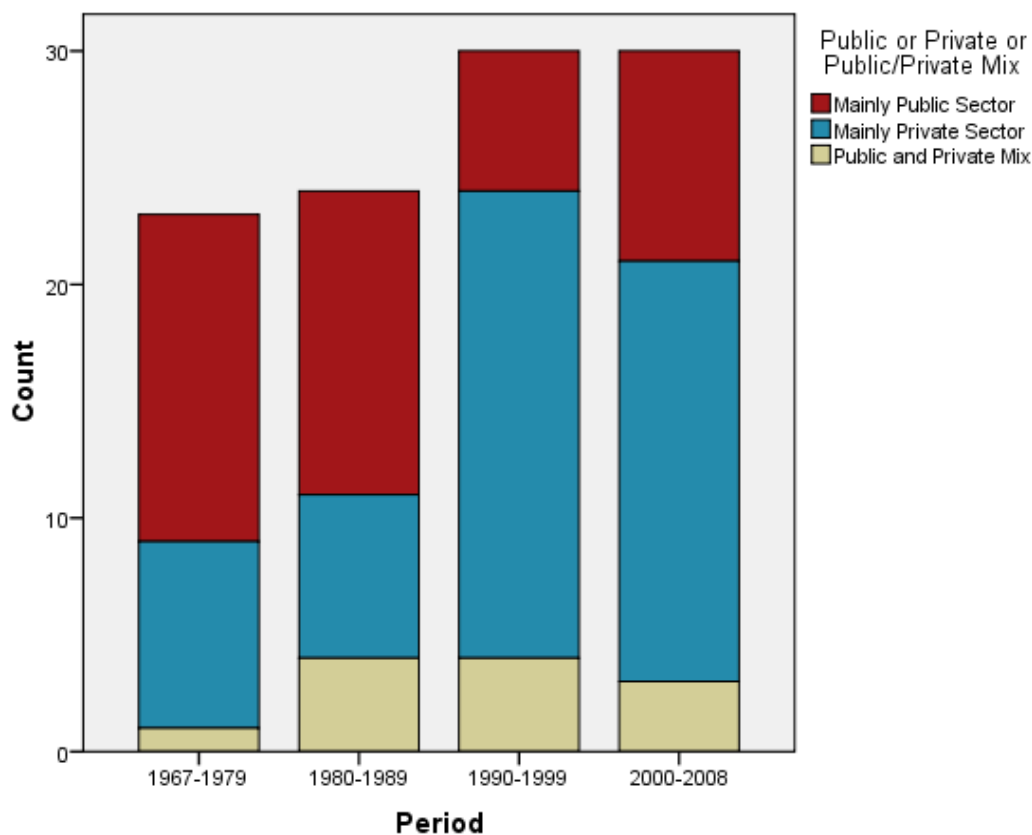
Source: TUC Congress Reports 1967-2008.

Probit analysis of this shift is beyond the remit of this analysis. Caveats aside, in the 1970s the TUC's most influential affiliates were the large manufacturing and extractive industrial unions, whereas by the mid-1990s public sector unions were dominant – the patterning of union contributions shown in Figure 3.4 may therefore simply evidence the presence of the TUC's agenda-setting processes referred to earlier *vis-à-vis* its weak and strong members.

Alternatively, apart from hoping to benefit from an expansive environmental regulatory regime, white-collar public sector trade unions' environmental input is more likely to reflect an ideological affinity with the agenda and less likely to reflect direct membership interests than that of blue-collar private sector unions. As Lord Whitty, former Head of Research at the GMB and ex-General Secretary of the Labour Party argues:

> The 'first wave' of environmentalism did affect trade unions but only really at
> the think-tank level. Most (TUC environmental motions) *came from the white-*
> *collar unions. I don't want to be an inverted snob but this meant that particular*
> *activists or research departments were pursuing it. This didn't make it any less*
> *valid, but it did mean that the heavyweight unions at that stage were not the*
> *ones* (personal interview)

Overall, during the 1970s and 1980s public sector unions were most active; but since the 1990s the majority of environmental policies have originated from private sector unions - the formation of the UK labour movement's environmental policy has, therefore, largely been left to its *weakest* members (although to be fair has also largely enjoyed the support of *all* members). In the 1970s and 1980s this meant public sector unions, where it may have been driven by research departments. From the late 1980s this meant private sector unions where it was driven more by membership interests. This complexity is acknowledged by Lord Whitty:

> Historically it's been driven by particular membership interests and the
> personal interests of some union leaders and activists. Very little of it
> came from the top leadership, with one or two exceptions. There was in
> the 1970s, with the Club of Rome and all that, an attempt by union
> researchers at the TUC to put a top-down environmental agenda into
> union thinking, to get union leaders – through the various TUC
> Committees – to take environmental issues seriously. They didn't get very
> far... big unions weren't the key players; the 'first wave' of

> *environmentalism did affect trade unions but only really at the think-*
> *tank level* (personal interview)

An alternative interpretation is to view public sector unions' interest as confirmation of the NMC thesis (Chapter 1). As public sector employees, public sector trade union members were distanced from the productive economy and did not perceive themselves as the beneficiaries of capitalist economic growth. They were therefore more interested in unionising new postmaterial agendas than their private sector counterparts. Crudely, public sector unions may have been acting ideologically whilst private sector unions were behaving according to industry-specific and/or membership interest. Tim Jenkins, Senior Economist with FoE, remembers:

> *UNISON took a more 'big picture' stand, because in the end their*
> *members are diverse about what they're involved in but they're more*
> *about public service. So they were very interested in saying "yeah we*
> *need good public services around waste management and energy*
> *efficiency and public investment". There was much less of a direct link to*
> *the protection of their members' jobs than there was for the T&G and*
> *GMB. UNISON took a more political, long term view* (personal interview)

As environmental concern increased across society and pressed harder on industry private sector unions became more interested. The rise of blue- collar interest can therefore be interpreted as a qualitative change in unions' motivations to go green and further evidence of unions' increased appreciation of the environmental agenda's practical relevance to all parts of the economy and closer alignment of environmental and trade union interests.

Nuclear – and Left Wing/Right Wing Trade Unions

The energy sector also linked directly to the environment, but here there were significant disagreements within the trade union movement, and between the unions and EMOs, over nuclear. Nuclear loomed large in terms of shaping unions' environmental policies for several reasons. Within the trade union movement the choice of investing in or protecting the nuclear sector, or investing in and protecting the coal industry was a divisive one, and attempts to develop a consensus helped to produce the TUC's mixed energy policy. John Monks describes nuclear as "the litmus test issue, particularly after Chernobyl". The NUM were, naturally, amongst those who opposed nuclear power in the 1980s, whilst EETPU and GMB – both with large memberships employed in the nuclear industry – supported expansion.

The nuclear debate actually combined health and safety, nuclear disarmament, environmental and membership interest considerations, with the latter in particular contributing to certain left wing trade unions' flirtation with environmentalism and despite Marxists in the movement continuing to consider non-class centred analyses of socio-political problems a distraction. According to John Edmonds the NUM were "captured by green arguments because they saw advantages of putting renewables as an alternative to nuclear". Despite the Miner's Strike, the NUM was still a relatively powerful union within the TUC, and one of the most radical. Its greening helped to confirm the environment's association with 'the left' whilst the GMB and EETPU - both relatively right-wing – helped to cement the green agenda's left wing status. As Lord Whitty recalls:

> It had become a sort of 'left' position to oppose nuclear power, largely on the back of nuclear disarmament rather than health and safety and environmental grounds. This was played out throughout the 1970s and 1980s and was the biggest environmental issue, but was really one of membership interest (personal interview)

In contrast, outside the energy sector and in public sector and white collar unions the environment became associated with the 'sensible left'. Again, Lord Whitty recalls:

> Public sector and white collar unions tended to be more sectarian, like NALGO, where you had huge battles between various left-wing organisations. One of the differentiations between bits of the union were whether you were green or not. Some of the left based everything on class and economic determinism. One of the ways in NALGO that the faintly potty but non-militant left differed from Militant was that Militant were utterly anti-green. They saw it as a diversion from class politics. So the environment was a way for groups to distinguish themselves: there was a sectarian stimulus (personal interview)

Even though the environment was emerging as a complex and contentious issue within and between unions, it continued to be conflated with and patterned according to membership and industrial interest. For example, according to John Edmonds Chernobyl:

> ...wasn't actually being talked about in environmental terms, it was being talked about as an unreasonable attack on the nuclear industry. The frame we put these issues in now is very different to the frame we put them in then. So Chernobyl was about whether you expand or contract your nuclear industry

and of course that puts us right up against Greenpeace and Friends of the
Earth. Most of the issues were seen very directly in employment terms
(personal interview)

According to Edmonds, "nuclear was put in a box on its own", and this paved the way for greater red-green dialogue. New research challenging paradigmatic 'jobs versus environment' labour economics also made an important contribution[24].

Nuclear – and Health and Safety

Nuclear energy also carried health and safety implications, and these boosted the eventual construction of the environment as a distinct policy domain. Lord Whitty suggests:

It became an environmental issue, but not so much about carbon as about
general pollution and the safety of the industry compared to the safety of the
coal industry and about the public health issues of both. But it became a
measure of how green the union movement was (personal interview)

This is a reminder of the key role played by unions' health and safety agenda in the evolution of their environmental agenda, and of the indirect approach that unions often took in developing their green policies. On health and safety Lord Whitty remarks:

From 1975 onwards the health and safety agenda became big and quite a lot
of that extended into the environment area. It became a concern within the
factory and then outside the factory and things like asbestos were affecting the
general public and families. So from a workers' health issue you got into a
public health issue and then you got into an environmental issue. So industrial
unions were getting into the environment from an indirect route (personal*
interview)

Trying to develop an environmental agenda based on unions health and safety function had its advantages. As John Edmonds notes:

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[24] Even in the late 1990s this debate still raged however. Fredriksson and Gaston (1999) showed that Australian unions supported tougher environmental regulations only when there was low unemployment and their rent-seeking powers were strong. Such acute instrumentality does not, however, accord with the Green Bans in Australia or the UK which occurred at a time of relatively high unemployment amongst construction workers (Elliott and Green *et al*, 1978), or with the behaviour of the GMB in the UK *vis-a-vis* the ban on leaded petrol. UK unions' interest in the environment gently if fitfully accelerated even during the recessions of the early 1980s and early 1990s and at a time of high unemployment.

There was an attempt to broaden things out, but very much from positions of strength. I think that's why when we started talking about representation of the environment the health and safety model was used because it was a safe area to move out from. Remember, our legitimacy was being questioned every week, but we had the public's legitimacy in health and safety (personal interview)

The General Council

Resolutions are instructions to the TUC General Council. The General Council Reports provide details of the TUC's progress on implementing Congress' policies, and also its responses to issues that have arisen outside Congress (but may not be entirely objective – see earlier). Various committees existed in the 1970s to advance the TUC's environmental agenda, including the Fuel and Power Industries

Table 3.9: General Council's Environmental Activities 1967 - 2009

YEAR	ACTIVITIES
1967	GC Memo acknowledges severe pressure on land, water, energy and food over next thirty years
1970	Proposes a 'National Environmental Control Service' to "co-ordinate and direct research into environmental problems". But "workplace hazards should not be neglected as a result of increasing interest in the general environment".
1971	Public and private bodies to jointly tackle pollution. Acknowledge difficulty of balancing environmental costs and economic benefits. Acknowledge poor suffer most from environmental degradation. Technology a solution. Met Chair of the new Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution (RCEP)
1972	Harmful environmental business practices should not confer commercial advantage. Stiffer fines for polluters. Met Ministry of Agriculture to discuss pesticides. Stockholm Conference Report. TUC Conference, "Workers and the Environment" report. "Workers and the Environment" was held in July 1972 and may be the first union conference dedicated to environmental issues. 105 reps from 35 unions attended. Main issues debated were: pollution; role of Government; population growth and resource depletion
1973	GC describes its "increased interest" in environment and announces draft environmental policy. Supports EEC-level environmental initiatives. Nascent TUC Environmental Policy formed.
1974	Negotiating wider access to air quality data
1976	Seeking a wider role for Health and Safety Executive (HSE), and stronger enforcement powers
1978	Now active on the European Trades Union Confederation (ETUC) Environment Working Party
1979	ETUC Reports. GC also talking to Ministers about: jobs 'versus' environment; advantages of pollution audits; lead pollutants; waste management

1982	Further lobbying regarding: jobs 'versus' environmental protection; environmental controls; reform of the HSE; dumping
1983	Lobbying on: marine pollution and lead in the environment
1984	Lobbying/Research on: at-sea dumping of radioactive waste; energy policy; Severn Barrage; causes of acid rain. ETUC reports. TUC Economic and Social Committee arguing to reduce pollution from titanium dioxide waste and improved monitoring of atmospheric pollution.
1985	Lobbying and considering: energy policy; acid rain. Responding to EC emissions and lead proposals. ETUC Report. 10th RCEP: acid rain; hazardous waste; at-sea dumping of radioactive waste; pesticides approval processes.
1986	Lobbying on: energy; water industry privatisation and transportation of hazardous waste; pesticides; irradiation; asbestos; air pollution and nuclear safety. Supporting 'European Year of the Environment'. Expansive agenda announced "extending TUC work on environmental issues and new initiatives to extend the TUC's role in environmental protection"
1987	Met with Confederation of British Industry to develop joint environmental policies. Lobbying for an improved pollution control regime. Other concerns: pesticides; hazardous wastes; nuclear safety, industrial air pollution. Environmental partnership with CBI announced.
1988	TUC working on: pesticides; North Sea pollution; toxic wastes
1989	Researching relationship between UK energy policy and greenhouse effect. Considering EC internal energy market proposals
1990	Opposition to electricity industry privatisation; in favour of the phasing-out of nuclear; reviewed future of coal and renewables. International environmental issues/dimension. Criticism of the Environmental Protection Bill. Environmental 'Regime' – standards, taxation, enforcement. Unions to develop frontline environmental responsibility. Establishes an 'Environment Action Group'. First explicit reference to a workplace greening role. Members to receive environmental education and to have environmental rights at work. Unions to have environmental audit functions.
1991	Emissions (transport); jobs and the environment; transportation of radioactive materials at sea; carbon taxes; climate change. Integrating environmental and health and safety agendas; workplace action. Launch of the TUC Environment Charter.
1992	Considered the new Environment Agency. Considered: GMO's; eco-labelling in the EC; Environmental Management Schemes; the Rio Summit. Announced the launch of a new 2-day training course: 'Health, Safety and Environmental Issues at Work'
1993	Energy Committee considering energy efficiency and job creation. SHEP focused on workplace greening initiatives and special conference to discuss Rio outcomes.
1994	Further negotiations on the new Environment Agency. Considering: environmental audits; impact of the environment on UK industry; environmental regulation 'versus' fiscal policy and market forces.
1995	Discussed EU energy policy.
1997	Report on the TUC Symposium on Environment. Also looked at: sustainable economy and progress on

	cutting carbon emissions. The symposium addressed whether environmental issues at work are best dealt with using a partnership approach.
1998	TUSDAC. Multi-stakeholder approach to environmental problems. Greening the Workplace. Kyoto. The environment is afforded a separate chapter in the GC Report – "The Environment and Sustainable Development".
1999	Report on special TUC Environment Conference and workshops. TUSDAC considered: new assessments of jobs 'versus' environment; Marshall Report; Climate Change Levy consultation; workplace greening. TUC Environment Conference.
2000	TUSDAC reports; climate change levy; GMO's. Debate whether the environment is a new role or if it should be 'absorbed' into unions Health and Safety functions. Environmental issues placed within the "Protecting People at Work" chapter – suggesting TUC was positioning it as a health and safety sub-field.
2001	Climate change and employment; climate change levy; work of the Carbon Trust; sustainable development education; job creation in the recycling industries; sustainability and regional development
2002	Aviation; Kyoto; fuel diversity; socio-economic implications of a low carbon economy; recycling and waste management
2004	CO2 emissions. Consideration of EU Emissions Trading Scheme. Workplace greening.
2005	The environment and the railways. Aviation Unions contact group established. TUC campaigning to ensure aviation emissions are included in ETS by 2008. TUSDAC: balanced energy supply; workplace greening; environmental training for union representatives.
2007	Established a Clean Coal Technology Task Group. Science important. Global warming is a market failure. Just Transition. Rights for environmental representatives. Green Workplace Projects and the Carbon Partnership Project are announced. Canadian unions concept of 'Just Transition' adopted. TUC seeking rights for union's environmental reps. 'Green Workplaces' launched.
2008	Greening the Workplace and environmental representatives; Just Transition and 'adaptation' CCT; skills (needed for/by a low carbon economy); review of EU ETS
2009	TUC adopts 'Jobs, Justice, Climate' theme for 2009 campaigns etc..

Source: TUC General Council Reports 1967 - 2009

Committee and the Economic and Social Committee. In 1991 the TUC created the Social, Health and Environmental Protection Committee (SHEP), but in 1997 TUSDAC[25] became the TUC's main environmental driver. Key developments reported by the General Council are provided in Table 3.9.

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[25] The Trades Union Sustainable Development Advisory Committee. TUSDAC is jointly chaired by a senior trade unionist and the Secretary of State for the Environment. The TUSDAC Working Group deals with issues on a more day-to-day basis.

Critical evaluation of the GC's environmental activities and success in implementing Congress policies is beyond the remit of this chapter – trade unions' environmental activism is addressed in Chapter 1 and more fully in Chapter 4. The evolution of union's workplace greening role is evident in the 1990s but it would appear that the TUC leadership took environmental issues just as seriously as the delegates responsible for the motions. The development and implementation of environmental policy involved several TUC committees engaged in a range of national and international activities including: lobbying; campaigning; secondary and primary research; participating in formal consultations; summitry; reviews of the TUC's own structures and identifying resources and initiatives for capacity building.

Conclusion: Understanding Unions' Environmental Policymaking

Congress' *de jure* and *de facto* agenda-setting and policymaking practices and processes both promote and constrain environmental policymaking, but not to the extent that the end products should be considered aberrant. Consequently, orthodox accounts of the LER suggesting that unions were hostile or at least apathetic towards environmentalism in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s are questionable. In fact unions have been interested in environmental issues since at least the early 1970s, and have consistently adopted pro-environmental policies. The numbers of environmental resolutions and categories debated at Congress have remained relatively static in each decade and it might therefore be tempting to conclude that the TUC has remained largely unmoved by continued environmental degradation and its growing attentive public. However, the TUC's constitution and institutional characteristics have an important delimiting effect.

There is year-on-year variation both in the number of environmental resolutions and their focus, demonstrating that Congress remains sensitive to the interests of individual unions and wider environmental policy developments and discourse. Regarding unions' environmental concerns, a smallish number of core concerns evolved early on, which persist and dominate, but outside this stable core there is a more dynamic range of modish and *suis generis* environmental concerns. Unions appear to be using environmental arguments to boost certain traditional demands, but also seek to increase the green agenda's penetration of other policy domains and their institutions. The reverse is also true: unions are attempting to project trade union values – of social justice and democratic and accountable decision-making - onto the environmental agenda.

Overall, the data from Congress confirms the absence of a 'Damascene moment', and reveals a largely pro-environmental trade union movement wrestling positively throughout the 1970s, 1980s

and 1990s with a complex of green issues - encountering and seeking to identify practical applications for a unionised green function and simultaneously expanding UK trade unionism's discursive terrain. Nevertheless, John Edmonds is keen not to exaggerate either the speed or the extent of change. As noted, membership interest was an important driver – most unions appear to have been pro-environmental, but membership interests probably shaped the extent of individual union's interest and is certainly responsible for determining some unions' environmental priorities and their jumping-in points. Even after the good news about green jobs Edmonds sounds a note of caution:

> *It was not a positive it was the removal of a negative. In relation to environmental issues and to the greens the TUC and the trade union movement in general moved into a position of neutrality. We were in no sense a 'green movement' but there were a lot of people who were suddenly thinking 'perhaps there's something in this' ...it was much less negative, it saw employment opportunities, was still very worried about employment losses, but it wasn't quite sure where environmental issues would lead to as a trade union issue. An awful lot of people thought that environmental issues ought to fit into our agenda, but where, and how?* (personal interview)

According to John Edmonds the tensions eased in the late-1980s and early 1990s because a new generation of union leaders were emerging who were more interested in the environment, a view echoed by John Monks: "There were, I would say, rather far-sighted people, intelligent, aware, who were trying to find ways of reconciling the different pressures (personal interview)". This is explored in Chapter 4 as part of an investigation into the impact of union modernisation on their environmental activism.

Unions were never against the environment (in the same way that we might describe some businesses), but many were too uninterested in it in the 1970s, and it was not a priority in the 1980s. This chapter shows that unions have a long history of pro-environmental policymaking but outside the TUC General Council and off the floor of Congress the movement's operationalisation of policy was patchy: the good intentions expressed in the conference hall stumbled in the real world, strongly mediated through an array of factors; not least of which was membership interest, with sometimes odd and inconsistent results – as Tim Jenkins recalls:

> (GMB)...*was very instrumental in thinking about lead-free petrol. There might have been uncertainties in it for the BP workers in Wales, but they*

went for it because it was the right thing to do. However, that union, and certainly the union leaders, one of the things we were going on about was company car allowances and how what an appalling subsidy they were for people to drive more and drive bigger cars. And they were very much against giving us any support on that. So it was horses for courses and you dealt with it pragmatically (personal interview)

Data presented in this chapter suggests that UK trade unions' environmental concerns in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s reflected those present in society generally and that it was a tricky policy domain. The data also reinforces the argument developed in Chapter 1 that for much of this period a gap between thought and action persisted. Unions' workplace greening agenda helped to narrow this. This emerged in the 1990s, and slowly coalesced into a new and expansive union specialism, one capable of being operationalised 'on the ground' by lay representatives in their branches and no longer confined to union elites, national lobbying or even the LER. The next chapter therefore examines how unions' strategy to stem their decline in the 1990s *inter alia* acted as an accelerant to the construction of a unionised green organising and bargaining function; and eventually, in the 2000s, the desire - by the TUC and some unions at least – to become environmental actors in their own right.

Chapter 4: Union Modernisation, Partnership and the Development of Unions' Workplace Environmental Agenda since the 1990s

Introduction

This chapter is focused on answering research questions 1 and 2. I argue that unions' modernisation strategies in the 1990s – designed to limit further membership losses – affected both the content and conduct of trade unionism and stimulated unions' green agenda; that by the early-to-mid 2000s both unions' interest in the environment and their environmental activism had increased but that the latter remained relatively undeveloped; and that this was a largely unsustainable condition which eventually led to *inter alia* more concerted efforts at workplace greening and enhanced intra-union environmental summitry and capacity-building. I argue that the period roughly between 1990-2005 should therefore be understood as a transitional period in which the environment became both a considerably less tricky policy domain and a more important one for unions.

The evidence from the TUC archives presented in chapters 1 and 3 indicated the TUC sustained its interest in environmental matters throughout the 1970s and 1980s and that it increased – albeit modestly – during the 1990s. Further, data from the TUC General Council presented in Chapter 3 suggests that the TUC diverted greater resources to a practical and member-facing environmental agenda in the 1990s: the TUC created an 'Environment Action Group in 1990; launched the TUC Environment Charter in 1991; created a new two-day training course in 1992[26]; organised a TUC Symposium on the Environment in 1996; created TUSDAC in 1997 and initiated annual environment conferences and workshops from 1999. Unions' workplace greening agenda emerged at this time (although remained largely aspirational) and unions also began to demand environmental rights at work (particularly time-off rights to conduct green audits). Individual unions' environmental policymaking and activism increased too – according to Larry Whitty the ASTMS, EMA and UCATT became interested and Robinson (1992: 99) notes that the NUM; NUR; NUPE; TGWU and GMB were amongst those which developed bespoke environmental strategies in the early 1990s. Conference data for *nonpareil* 1990s public sector union UNISON – formed from the merger of CoHSE, NALGO and NUPE – shows that it remained just as interested in environmental issues as its predecessors but became significantly more interested as the 1990s progressed (Chapter 1), engaging with a variety of

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[26] 'Health, Safety and the Environment in the Workplace'.

environmental (bargaining and campaigning) topics extending well beyond immediate membership interests[27].

The focus on endogenous union reform is not intended to deny the continued salience of environmental degradation and focusing events (such as Chernobyl and food safety concerns) or indeed emergent green discourses such as ecological modernisation, corporate social responsibility, ethical consumerism or sustainability; some or all of which fuelled and overlapped with unions' environmental interests (the sustainability agenda's emphasis on international social justice resonated particularly strongly with unions' own well established international solidarity agendas). Neither is it intended to downplay the significance of emerging research challenging the 'jobs versus environment' orthodoxy. Also, in shifting focus onto endogenous trade union factors and employee relations I am not suggesting that the UK's politics and POS became less influential. On the contrary,

Table 4.1: Trade Union Membership, 1980 – 2000

Year	Membership (000's)	Density %
1980	12 947	53
1985	10 821	43
1990	9 947	38.1
1992	9 048	35.8
1994	8 278	33.6
1996	7 938	31.3
1998	7 852	29.6
2000	7 779	29.4

Source: Salamon (1992: 653) and Blyton and Turnbull (2004: 143)

union decline and modernisation was a reaction to wider political phenomena; the electoral success of the Green Party in the late 1980s/early 1990s was one factor stimulating the greening of the UK's main political actors (including the Labour Party); and, as the 1990s progressed, the prospect (and in 1997 the reality) of a (relatively) pro-union Labour Government circumscribed union agendas and behaviours. These matters are addressed substantively in Chapter 1 and should be understood as operating alongside the endogenous factors examined here. However, unions' social partnership

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[27] Including: ethical trading; GM crops; nuclear reprocessing; fuel poverty and the environmental impact of the Ilisu Dam in Turkey.

agenda did facilitate greater contact with EMOs (Chapter 1) and important discourses such as ecological modernisation undoubtedly impacted employers' environmental attitudes and practices and both are explored below.

Union modernisation ('New Unionism') in the 1990s had three main emphases: organisational renewal; social partnership and a less adversarial partnership approach to employee relations. I seek to show that these responses created new spaces and opportunities in which more diverse memberships could more easily articulate and prosecute novel agendas, directed towards both the union and employers. The chapter first assesses the contributions of social partnership and unions' endogenous modernisation strategies to the development of their environmental agenda. I then describe changes in employers' attitudes towards the environment and argue that UK workplaces started to take environmental factors more seriously in the 1990s, becoming more porous to a variety of stakeholders' (including employees) environmental demands. This is followed by an examination of the behaviour of the environment negotiable and I argue that unions' workplace environmental agenda was further boosted by their adoption of the partnership approach to employee relations. Finally, a series of surveys commissioned by the TUC in the mid-to-late 2000s are presented to illustrate the extent of unions' environmental activism in the period immediately prior to this research.

'New Realism' and Options for Union Growth

An overview of union decline is provided in Chapter 1. Union membership had declined rapidly during the 1980s and continued to fall – albeit relatively slowly - during the 1990s (Table 4.1). Haemorrhaging members, undermined politically and legally, and encountering a hostile media which accused them of possessing too much power, by the 1990s unions' traditional source of strength - their potential to disrupt the production process (Hickson, 1971) - had also waned. Although Marsh and Rhodes (1992) note that it was 'business as usual' for union representatives in many firms, there is little doubt that in many workplaces the going got tougher. Danford and Richardson *et al* (2006: 11) identify three options for union renewal. Unions can recruit more members and dynamise their existing structures; seek to recruit new employers and members in greenfield industries and/or develop new bargaining agendas; and/or strengthen their links with other grass-roots and progressive organisations (social unionism). Union modernisation in the 1990s demonstrates actions in all three dimensions and Figure 1, below – and this chapter - suggests how unions' green agenda can theoretically thread through them.

Figure 4.1: Methods of Union Expansion and the Environment

| Internal Expansion | External Expansion | Social Movement |

↓   ↓   ↓

Recruitment
Mapping

Widening
participation

Increasing
participation

New Bargaining
Agendas

Increased member
services

Greenfield
recruitment

New areas of
influence

Anti-corporate
campaigns

Environmental
issues

Community links

Inter-union
solidarity
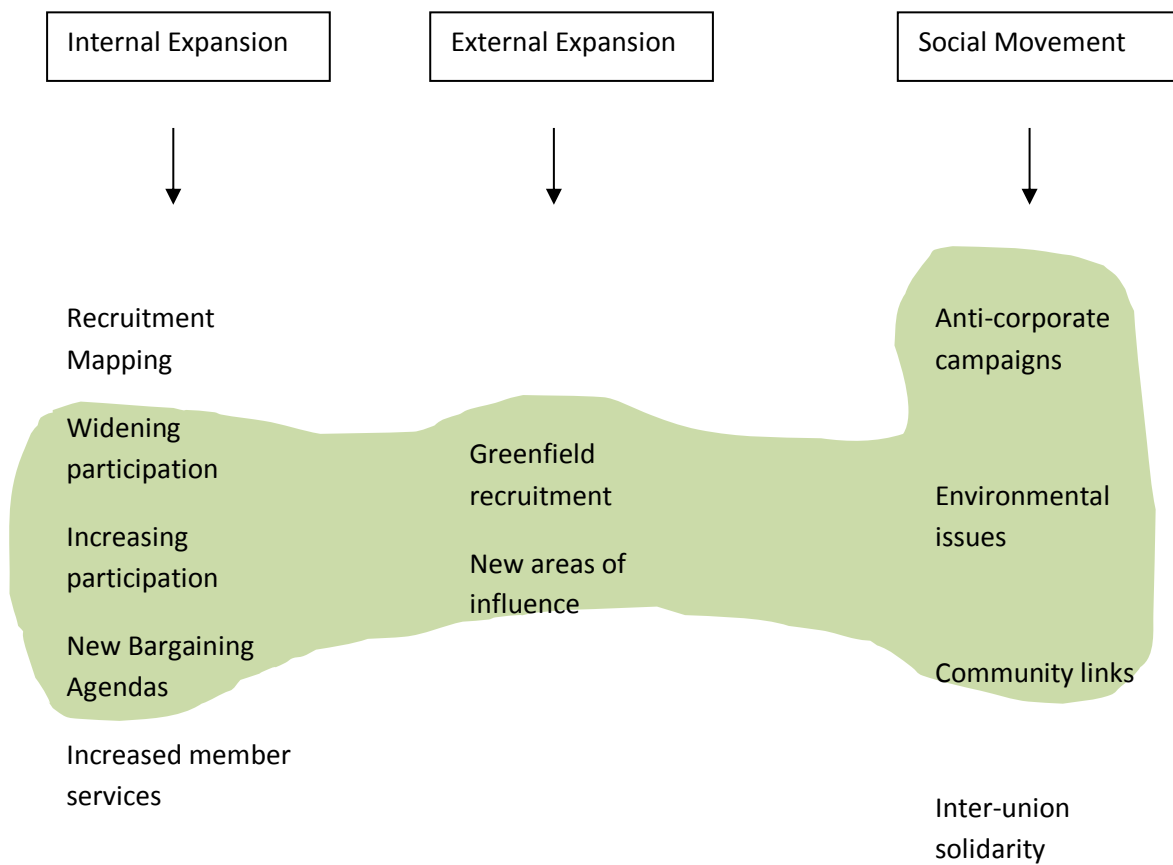
Source: Adapted from A. Danford, M. Richardson and M. Upchurch (2006:11)

Social Partnership

Greater red-green coalitional working became possible in the 1990s because union decline appeared to plateau and because EMOs were themselves experiencing fresh difficulties in influencing the Government and were deliberately courting unions[28]. As Jakopovich (2009) argues:

> *Groups are likely to be more capable of expanding their agendas and inter-*
> *movement ties when they are not on the defensive. Conversely, it is harder*
> *to focus on secondary goals when the central issues of the organisation are*
> *under attack*

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[28] The FoE wrote several papers in the 1990s on the environment and employment, including 'Working Future' (1994) and 'Less Traffic More Jobs' (1995)

During the 1990s many unions sought to project a more professional and moderate image to the public, politicians and pressure groups, calculated to hold on to whatever political influence they retained. Indeed, responsible unions were also seen as vital to the Labour Party's electability in the 1992 and 1997 elections. At a macro-level of analysis, multi-agency partnerships were seen as potential means of addressing cross-national/regional and cross-sectoral industrial transformations. As the 1990s progressed the switch to a low carbon economy was viewed by the TUC as requiring major economic and industrial transformations requiring significant levels of cooperation and co-ordination across the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. Under the leadership of John Monks the TUC sought out key partners with which to advance their national social, economic, industrial and political agendas, and encouraged individual unions to do the same (Heery and Simms, 2003). Similar processes were taking place in Northern Ireland too (D'Art and Turner, 1999; Roche, 2001; Teague and Donaghey, 2009). Social partnership was therefore a conscious union policy to reintegrate unions back into the UK's political decision-making *milieu*.

When John Monks became TUC General Secretary he was adamant that unions needed to be more outward focused. As John Monks observes:

> *On modernisation, the environment was clearly one of the issues to be addressed. But there was a lineage on the environment. I wasn't aware, upon becoming General Secretary in the 1990s, of the environment being a brand new shiny subject. But what we did try to reinforce was a process of engagement with people, not just talking to ourselves* (personal interview)

The environment was an early beneficiary of the new approach. FoE's Dave Timms notes that from the 1990s "there was keen interest from the trade union movement to do work on the integration of the environment and social justice objectives". At the same time, EMOs were beginning to address matters related to employment. According to FoE's Tim Jenkins:

> *Following the Earth Summit, in 1993 Friends of the Earth needed a bit more blue-sky thinking and big picture work as well as our direct campaigns and one area we decided to look at was jobs. The main debates that we had, about where we would actually find common ground, were things like expanding public transport, and also moving back to having conductors, so getting larger numbers of people being employed. We looked at how deregulation and privatisation in the bus sector had changed. And we looked at the agricultural sector with the TGWU at that time, about sustainable*

farming and moving to organic farming. We worked with the GMB in the gas sector and the idea of energy efficiency and renewable energy and engineering jobs and people putting in the pipes and the wires, that sort of stuff. And UNISON, who were very interested in good public services around waste and energy efficiency and public investment. We did publications with them and wrote some joint letters. So we were engaging with them saying "there is an agenda here about the environment and about the economy that we have a cross-over with" (personal interview)

Nevertheless, in the early-to-mid 1990s according to Tim Jenkins unions still "didn't have a particularly sophisticated understanding" of certain environmental issues. The GMB had embraced the campaign against leaded petrol but remained opposed to company car allowances. Further:

We had a line of work where we picked-up on the issue of tax shifting, being the 'double dividend' of greater environmental protection and more employment, the concept of moving taxation off good things, such as employing people, and taxing bad things, such as carbon emissions, waste and inefficiency. And this brought about a double dividend. But this was obviously something that unions didn't really engage with then, they weren't looking at it and weren't on top of it ... so it was horses for courses and you dealt with it pragmatically (personal interview)

Some unions remained uninterested in joint campaigns even when the focus was on jobs. Tim Jenkins recalls:

On the work on jobs it wasn't so much a case of picking up the phone and saying "hey we're going to do this", it was more going to them and saying "we're doing this work, it'll last 3, 4, 5 years, about employment and about how there's a double-dividend here. Good environmental regulations are good for employment and we want to work with you on that, what do you think?" And some would immediately back off, some wouldn't. I had a discussion with a guy from the TUC and I basically said "there's new jobs there" and he said "Oh I'm not interested in new jobs. I don't give a monkeys about new jobs. I'm interested in my members' jobs, and keeping my members' jobs" (personal interview)

The 'jobs versus the environment' argument (see Chapter 1) was still to be fully resolved and this may explain some unions' negativity. According to John Edmonds:

> *Friends of the Earth in particular was rather seen as an organisation that stopped things; tried to stop employment. From time-to-time it campaigned locally on pollution issues. Now it's pretty obvious that pollution doesn't do anybody much good. But those anti-pollution activities were seen as being anti-worker in the sense of being anti-employment.*

This view is echoed by John Monks:

> *There was a tendency of environmental groups to be rather single-issue without thinking about what it means for South Yorkshire or Ferrybridge[29] or some nuclear power station in Anglesey. And their lack of comprehension about what happens to the workers did worry us* (personal interview)

John Monks is convinced that certain shifts in the balance-of-power inside the trade union movement partly explains unions' increased interest in the environment at this time:

> *There was historically a strong suspicion in significant parts of the trade union world, particularly the industrial and extractive industry side, coal miners, chemical workers, steel workers, energy workers, nuclear, that the green campaigners were anti-job. Then there are a lot of unions not in the industrial front-line who are very concerned about it, in the public and service sector, who don't just take a "we've got to protect our jobs" line. Manufacturing is now only 14% of the working population and it's not as vocal or powerful in the pre-Thatcher years. In particular coal mining unions, shipbuilding and chemicals as well* (personal interview)

Private sector industrial and extractive industries unions arguably lost most power than public sector unions during the 1980s but Chapter 3 showed that during the 1990s private sector unions overtook public sector unions as the main progenitors of unions' environmental policies. It is therefore simplistic to construct private sector unions as enviro-sceptics and to attribute the wider movement's growing engagement with the green agenda to a simple shift in the balance-of-power inside

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[29] The South Yorkshire economy was heavily dependent upon coalmining. Ferrybridge is one of the UK's largest powerstations.

the UK trade union movement towards (pro-environmental) public sector unions and away from (enviro-sceptical) private sector unions. Because newly-weakened private sector unions went on to become the main architects of unions' environmental policies it is probably more accurate to understand this shift as evidence of the environmental agenda extending further into all sectors of the UK economy and of private sector unions learning from and adapting to this. These differences nevertheless fuelled important debates (see Chapter 3). John Monks recalls:

> *We became very keen to understand the environmental movement, to build bridges with it and to understand the science better. The Engineers and Managers Association was one, certainly not the only one. They were power station engineers and managers and were aware of the threats to nuclear power, and took an intelligent interest in other forms of energy. Some very well-informed people started to emerge in the movement* (personal interview)

Unions were thus refining their environmental agenda at this time – the nuclear issue was put aside and unions were identifying and encountering increasing numbers of environment-related issues in their industries. But according to Edmonds:

> *There wasn't a moment when the tensions were overcome; I think they were reduced over a long period. First of all, nuclear power had to be put in a box on its own. And until that was taken out of the argument, and until we could talk to green groups on a basis other than what your impression is of nuclear power, there was really no way forward. And really, by developing other initiatives, and UNISON, NALGO, was quite important in establishing a kind of public service approach to local environmental issues* (personal interview)

Edmonds is also keen to point out the contribution of key individuals to this chequered picture: of both a new generation of union leaders more sympathetic to environmental issues and the continuing – but increasingly anachronistic - influence of older union elites:

> *I saw a greater openness in the trade union movement. I think mainly because some of us grew up a bit, which was a good idea. But I could still fill a page with the names of union leaders who weren't interested in talking to green groups. But they were of a particular generation, of the heydays in the*

70's, which had gone. All of those rather silly remarks that were being made at one time, against the green NGO's and environmental movement in general, that they were trying to kick the ladder down behind them, all that started to seem so irrelevant (personal interview)

In the 1990s unions and EMOs therefore found both their agendas converging and the conditions for coalitional working improving (see Chapter 1). In this chapter and elsewhere I argue that unions began to debate the environment more frequently and positively from the late-1980s and to develop an inchoate environmental strategy. Social partnership constituted unions' outward-facing modernisation strategy, designed to reintegrate unions into the UK's policy-making landscape. Although by the early-to-mid 1990s unions' environmental policies remained underdeveloped social partnership became an important mechanism with which to refine them and generated and/or strengthened a number of durable partnerships between unions and key EMOs including Transport 2000[30], Greenpeace, FoE and People and Planet.

Endogenous Reform

Union Mergers

If social partnership can be crudely understood as the union movement's attempt to remain an influential political actor, its internal reforms are best understood as an effort to stem the decline in membership and to provide members with effective services and representation. Union mergers were not new (Table 4.2), but there was considerable merger activity during the 1980s and 1990s[31] creating fewer, larger and more diverse unions – by 2000 the 8 largest trade unions represented 72% of all trade union members (Blyton and Turnbull, 2004: 166). Many unions moved away from

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[30] Itself co-founded by several transport sector unions and EMOs in the 1970s.

[31] Advocates of union mergers argue that they minimise inter-union competition, enhance unions' influence with employers and the state and facilitate improved membership services by permitting economies of scale (Waddington and Kahmann *et al*, 2003). But mergers can also be interpreted as defensive, prompted by declining membership revenue and reduced influence and the touted economies of scale may not be easily realised. Blyton and Turnbull (2004) argue that in the 1970s most mergers were defensive, featuring small unions seeking survival by joining larger unions. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, much merger activity comprised fairly stable and/or often quite large unions seeking amalgamation with other fairly stable and/or large unions in order to consolidate income and influence (e.g. the mergers of NGA and SOGAT to form GPMU; ACTT and BETA to form BECTU; AEEU and MSF to form AMICUS and NUPE, NALGO and CoHSE to form UNISON).

simply representing members belonging to one or a small number of occupational groups, to representing members in many different types of jobs across several firms and industries[32].

Obach (2000) and Norton (2004) provide a theoretical underpinning for why more diverse unions might boost an environmental function within trade unions. Obach's research on red-green coalitions showed that organisations with a wide issue focus were more porous to the concerns of exogenous organisations, whilst Norton's (2004: 207) study of the LER in Australia found that amalgamations help to create the conditions in which novel bargaining agendas can more easily develop: "grouping workers in different crafts and occupations together on an industry basis creates multi-skilled and knowledgeable collectives ... with the collective intelligence to organise effectively and participate effectively in their union". Certainly evidence from UNISON (presented earlier and in Chapter 1) shows that the new merged union's environmental policymaking increased post-merger.

Union Democracy and Representativeness and the Organising Approach

Merged unions typically require new systems of government. Unions are complex organisations featuring several systems and sub-systems relating to their representation, voting, information,

Table 4.2: Number of British Unions (1) **selected years**

Year	No. of Unions	% change over previous period
1900	1323	-
1910	1269	-4.1
1920	1384	+9.1
1930	1133	-18.1
1940	1004	-11.4
1950	732	-27.1
1960	664	-9.3
1970	543	-18.2
1980	438	-19.3
1990	287	-34.5
2000	218	-24.0

(1) Includes non-TUC affiliates

Source: Blyton and Turnbull (2004: 167)

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[32] This shift was also associated with the preference of many employers to deal with a single union.

participation and decision-making processes (Salamon, 1992). Union government has normally been based around vertical structures enabling the participation of interests within different industrial sections. Mergers, however, prompted unions to investigate and create horizontal structures "intended to facilitate the participation and representation of ... women, workers of different sexual orientation and ethnic origin, young workers and part-time workers" (Waddington and Kahmann *et al*, 2003: iv). Siegmann's (1985) study of the LER in West Germany and the United States concluded that more democratic unions enabled alternative views among the membership to be articulated and to inform union policy. Institutional reforms intended to improve representativeness and member participation were, of course, not limited to merger activity. According to Salamon (1992: 172) trade union 'government' and 'organisation' refers to "the institutions and processes whereby trade unions arrange their internal administrative, representative and authority systems". For Salamon, trade unions must combine efficiency (in countervailing the power of management) with democracy (representing members, and being accountable to them). Both Salamon and McIlroy (1995) identify the balance of power between FTOs and ordinary members as a key element of this balancing act, but tensions between officials and members had been addressed much earlier by the Webbs (1911), Michels (1958), Martin (1968) (who saw the power of union executives to constrain internal opposition as *the* measure of union democracy) and Edelstein and Warner (1975). Michel's 'iron law of oligarchy' asserts that it is union bureaucracies that accumulate and wield most power, and that union leaders are drawn towards conservative policies designed to meet organisational goals rather than ordinary members' needs.

But Blyton and Turnbull (2004: 258) maintain that employees are increasingly demanding "more extensive engagement with the institution in which they spend a large proportion of their working hours". This engagement with employers could be direct or indirect (via their union), but the argument equally applies to union members and their unions. In which case, as McIlroy (1995: 173) notes: "unions decision-making mechanisms play a role in activating or de-activating the membership". Not all union members are fascinated by the whole A-Z of trade unionism, and the environment's 'newness', coupled with open structures, provides these members with opportunities to become active. The UCU's Graham Petersen outlines union thinking thus:

> *There was an organising potential there. We saw this as a way of trying to increase the activist base that we've got. Because it was clear from the work we've done that there are people who were not active in their branch in any other capacity but who were willing to take up the green issue. The hope was*

> *that this would draw them in to other union activities and campaigns in their*
>
> *branch too* (personal interview)

UK unions display significant diversity in the distribution of power between ordinary members/branches and FTO's/headquarters[33]. There was certainly a perception in the 1970s that FTOs had become too powerful, and 'shopfloor' unionism was seen as a superior democracy because it was closer to the membership (Terry, 1996). The counter view was that union decentralisation promoted parochialism and short-termism, and – in the 1980s - was no antidote to Thatcherism – and neither had it addressed the problem of underrepresentation. In the absence of consensus, by the early 1990s McIlroy (1995: 146) still saw "little evidence that shop stewards have more influence over their members, or enjoy greater tenure, than they did in the past", and centralisation and decentralisation co-existed.

Infact union modernisation did not begin in earnest until the early 1990s. In the mid-1980s only 23 TUC unions had recruitment officers, and only 39% had a recruitment strategy. Even by the late 1980s over 20% of unions did not have a recruitment strategy (McIlroy, 1995). Eventually, during the 1990s, the 'Organising Union' approach was developed to increase the capacity of branches to organise, recruit campaign and negotiate locally. The approach was "centred on de-centralised, self-determined and self-activity practice" (Gall, 2009: 7) and "sophisticated structures prioritising recruitment" (Charlwood, 2004: 71). According to Martinez Lucio and Stewart (2009: 31) the approach:

> *Represents a break ... with the difficulties of the Thatcherite epoch*
> *in terms of union decline and political intervention from the state.*
> *Its development marks an important moment of reclaiming the*
> *initiative and creating a common purpose for proactive union*
> *approaches and agency*

To ensure that the needs of ordinary members were being met this approach also focused on increasing the range of opportunities available to underrepresented groups to influence and enact policy. Indeed, Heery (1998: 56) argues:

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[33] For example, in the 1970s and 1980s the TGWU was highly centralised. The AEU, in contrast, delegated significant autonomy to sub-national structures and even elected its FTOs.

Engagement with the interests of minorities has long been a feature of the TUC's role, but there has been a broadening of the interests considered and a deliberate attempt to reclassify this as part of the core work of the TUC

The TUC's 'Charter for Equality for Women', published in 1979, acknowledged the increasing importance of gender issues in the workplace (Bradley, 1999). In 1987 the TUC published its 'Charter for Equality' and its 1989 policy document 'Organising for the 1990s' emphasised the importance of extending opportunities for participation to hitherto marginalised and underrepresented members. The TUC itself had earlier revised its constitution and structures to improve the representation of women, BMEs, young workers, disabled workers and gays and lesbians (Terry, 1991;Heery, 1998). Some unions had already addressed the issue of the underrepresentation of women in the 1980s by creating reserved seats on their executives (NUPE, GMBATU) or establishing Women's Advisory Committees (TGWU). In the mid-1990s the TUC committed itself to training 500 equal pay representatives by 2002 (Gospel and Wood, 2003). Table 4.3 shows the dramatic improvements in the position of women FTOs in the 1990s. Similarly, in terms of lay officials, the percentage of female shop stewards in non-manual workplaces increased from 27.85% in 1984 to 41.8% in 1990 (British Social Attitudes Surveys, 1984 and 1990).

Table 4.3: Proportion of Women Members and Full-Time Officers in Ten Largest Unions 1993/94 and 1995/6

		UNISON	TGWU	AEEU	GMB	MSF	USDAW	CWU	GPMU	NUT	NASUWT
Total membership		1,368,796	902,260	835,019	750,000	482,000	283,255	266,486	216,991	175,323	157,146
Women membership		966,370	173,052	83,000	270,000	130,270	165,507	51,659	36,313	131,878	89,600
Women as % of total membership	1995/96	71	19	10	36	27	58	19	17	75	57
	1993/94	68	18	8	38	27	60	24	17	74	56
Women as % of FTO's	1995/96	22	4	7	33	22	15	0	9	na*	35
	1993/94	20	4	0	13	0	na*	na*	0	30	21

*na – not available

Source: Labour Research Department 'Getting Women in Proportion' (1996)

In the 1980s black trade unionists were also agitating for more involvement in their unions. The Black Trade Unionists Solidarity Movement was formed in 1981, and some black trade unionists were so angry at their continued exclusion from unions' policy-making processes and key structures that they considered establishing a black trade union (Lee, in Lee and Loveridge, 1987; Wrench, in Jenkins and Solomos, 1989). NALGO introduced training on race for its stewards in 1984, and in 1986 became the first union to organise a black conference[34], whilst in 1987 NUPE established a Race Relations Advisory Committee.

There is little time-series data regarding developments in union democracy. Some of the Conservative Government's anti-union legislation forced unions to be more accountable to their memberships in the hope that moderate memberships would reject left-wing leaderships and policies (Morris and Fosh, 2000: 98). Table 4.4 shows that democratic reform at local levels was in progress at the start of the 1990s and Table 4.5 – whilst certainly not providing unions with a clean bill of health – at least suggest a plateauing of dissatisfaction with their effectiveness during the 1990s. In terms of whether unions were considered to be "well run" by the mid-1990s public opinion was evenly split, with 48% of UK adults believing unions to be "well run" – up from just 29% in 1987 – and 49% believing unions to be "not well run" – down from 69% in 1987 (BSAS 1987 and 1994)[35].

Table 4.4: Methods of Appointment of Shop Stewards, 1984 and 1990

Method	1984	1990
General Feeling of the Meeting	11.9%	10.3%
Show of Hands	57.8%	56.8%
Voting Slips	26.7%	27.0%
Postal Ballot	2.9%	4.2%
Appointed	3.2%	2.0%

Source: British Social Attitudes Surveys 1984 and 1990

Moreover, their members were responding positively. By the end of the 1990s approximately 70% of employees felt that unions genuinely took notice of members concerns and 62% of union members (53% of all employees) felt that union "openness" and "accountability" was "excellent" or "good" (Bryson, 2003: 10). Some unions undoubtedly 'do' democracy better than others, but compared to many other organisations in the 1990s – including EMOs - unions' commitment to democracy was

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[34] 56% of BME workers are trade union members, compared to 47% of white workers. But even in the early 1990s there were less than 20 black FTOs in the entire UK trade union movement (McIlroy, 1995)
[35] 'Very Well Run" and "Well Run" from BSAS87and BSAS94 were collapsed into the variable "Well Run"; and "Not Very Well Run" and "Not at all Well Run" were collapsed into the variable "Not Well Run".

(and remains) impressive. Unions were therefore encouraging hitherto underrepresented members to become involved in their unions and creating institutional opportunities for them to do so; and there is evidence of unions' memberships responding positively to these initiatives.

How might these developments be important? There is little doubt that as more women join and participate in unions the more trade unions take up women's issues and the same principle applies to BMEs (and gays and lesbians and disabled employees) – these issues are then further consolidated (Gospel and Wood, 2003). Norton (2004) refers to the Canadian Auto Workers Union (CAW) which in the 1990s created new structures to progress its nascent environmental agenda and which were largely populated by first-time women activists. Norton discounts essentialist and ecofeminist interpretations suggesting the environment is a women's issue. He instead argues that the CAW's new environmental structures were much more open and existed outside the union's traditional policy-making and negotiating fora: male members and activists preferred to remain active in the CAW's *established* leadership structures, but the newer structures provided convenient

Table 4.5: British and Northern Irish Union Members Beliefs Whether or Not their Union Does "Well" in their Workplace, selected years

Britain						
	1986	**1989**	**1993**	**1996**	**1999**	**2000**
% believing unions DO WELL	37.3	32.8	31.7	29.6	28.6	28.6
% believing unions DO NOT DO WELL	22.3	21.4	21.5	15.8	15.5	15.3
Northern Ireland						
	1989	**1991**	**1993**	**1996**		
% believing unions DO WELL	31	32.7	34.8	34.7	na	na
% believing unions DO NOT DO WELL	28.6	28.6	26.8	21.9	na	na

Source: Source: British Social Attitudes Survey (selected years); Northern Ireland Social Attitudes Survey (selected years)

jumping-in points for hitherto inactive union members, a high proportion of whom happened to be women. Union structures therefore function to activate and deactivate memberships. This result is confirmed by the case studies in Chapter 7.

The collective discipline that many unions impose on their members – centred on key productivist issues such as pay – therefore unravelled (albeit slowly) during the 1990s as more diverse memberships articulated new demands and as trade unions themselves introduced new decentralised forms of governance and bespoke structures with which to prosecute them. The TGWU, for example, established an environmental action group – ENACT – in 1991 which organised seminars on the environment; initiated relationships with EMOs and provided training to lay activists on how to make environmental complaints (Mason, 1999: 159). According to Penny Morley, Chair of TUSDAC Working Group and a TGWU/Unite FTO, The TGWU's Rural, Agriculture and Allied Trades Group also began to experiment with roving environmental representatives conducting workplace environmental audits (modelled on the union's approach to health and safety). Mason believes the success of the ENACT initiative was largely attributable to the union's decentralised decision-making processes coupled with genuine interest amongst the union's national leadership.

TUC Reform

The TUC was also conducting internal reforms. When John Monks became General Secretary he was adamant that it needed to be more outward focused. With unions under attack it might have been tempting for the movement's umbrella body to seek to exert more control over its members in order to co-ordinate the movement's responses. But although the TUC was advocating a new non-confrontational and partnership-based approach to trade unionism, it encouraged rather than forced its members to adopt it, choosing instead to act like a pressure group on behalf of the rank and file (Morris, 1995). The TUC was formally relaunched in 1994, and its managerialist decision-making machinery – comprising rigid committees mirroring government departments – was replaced with flexible project-based Task Groups better suited to handling thematic, cross-cutting issues and to promote joined-up policy-making (Heery, 1996). In terms of social partnership, in addition to more collaborative working with EMOs, the TUC developed working relations with various employer organisations, including collaborating with the Advisory Committee on Business and the Environment (ACBE) to produce a website promoting sustainability in the workplace and signing an environmental partnership agreement with the Confederation of British Industry (CBI). Official endorsement of unions' environmental role within the UK's environmental policy-making and delivery landscape was demonstrated by the creation of TUSDAC in 1997, which the TUC had been lobbying for. TUSDAC is a joint Government-union body, co-chaired by a senior trade unionist and

the Environment Minister. In 1997 this was John Edmonds and Michael Meacher respectively. As John Edmonds recalls:

> *We had no way of interacting with the Labour Government on environmental issues. There were no structures in place at all. And some of us made the argument that since we found out that employers had an advisory committee to government, that we ought to have an advisory committee to government. Sounds fair. I'm not sure how deeply this was thought out. So one day Prescott[36] comes on the phone and says that he's inclined to agree with the TUC that after months of argument going nowhere that we were going to have a trade union advisory committee, and that I was going to be the trade union chair of it. So that was it! There were months of low-level argument and then **(clicks his fingers)** (personal interview)*

Lord Whitty – Parliamentary Undersecretary of State at DEFRA (with responsibility for farming, food and sustainable energy) also recognises TUSDAC as an attempt not just to influence government but to help environmental issues achieve traction inside affiliates: "It was an important development in that the TUC were recognising, in their structures, a need to influence environmental policy, both upwards and downwards, with government, big business *and their members*" (emphasis added).

Widening the Remit of Trade Unionism

The focus so far has been on demonstrating that unions commenced extensive root and branch reorganisation throughout the 1990s. They sought to widen their appeal to hitherto underrepresented groups and improve their representation and participation processes and structures. I argue that the content and conduct of trade unionism are concatenated. For example, Stuart and Martinez Lucio (2005) attribute unions' burgeoning equality and diversity agenda in the 1990s to the progress made by unions *vis-a-vis* improvements in their representation structures. Perotin and Robinson (2000) not only identified a union-related equalities premium, but also linked improvements in productivity. Similarly, Walters and Nichols (2007) maintain that workers' interests in occupational health and safety cannot be effectively asserted in the absence of local trade union structures and identify a health and safety premium. Finally, Hayes (in Rainbird, 2000: 151) cites data from the 1991 Employers Manpower and Skills Practices Survey, the 1993 Labour Force Survey and

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[36] John Prescott, then Deputy Prime Minister, with a portfolio of responsibilities including: environment, transport and the regions.

the 1998 Workplace Employee Relations Survey showing a union learning premium: 62% of employees in unionised firms received training whilst only 54% of employees in non-unionised firms did so. Unions seem able to help certain agendas gain traction in the workplace.

Since Chapter 1 demonstrated that trade union members and activists were just as interested in environmental issues as everybody else (slightly more so, in fact) unions' endogenous reforms should be understood as creating spaces within which increasingly environmentally aware members and activists could develop an environmental bargaining/campaigning/organising agenda.

Unions' green bargaining agenda in the 1990s was inchoate, and there is, however, little official data charting its emergence in the workplace. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify the emergence of several new workplace agendas in the 1990s and link their development to union activity. The Work Foundation (2002:6) asks:

> *Are extrinsic factors like pay or working hours the only ones of real importance? Alternatively, are lifestyle and lifestage issues, such as flexible hours and work-life concerns, of growing relevance? Or are 'softer', values-based elements focusing on what the employer does or stand for gaining ground?*

It is useful to classify negotiables as falling into three main types: production issues; distributional issues and developmental issues. Production issues are those primarily concerned with how a job is done. Distributional issues are those concerned with the allocation of scarce resources (such as pay and knowledge/influence). Developmental issues are, in contrast, predicated on a wider set of concrete and abstract needs, values and expectations, the maintenance of which required and encouraged ongoing dialogue between unions and employers.

The boundaries between production, distributional and developmental issues may be blurred. For example, the introduction of new equipment in a workplace may affect how a job is done (production), privilege and reward those who possess certain skills over others (distributional) and provide incentives for staff to acquire new skills and opportunities to reduce mundane tasks (developmental). HR policies designed to empower BME employees will reflect the extent to which the employer values BME staff (and/or their ability to assert their concerns) (distributional), may provide the business with sources for new ideas for products, marketing, advertising and services with which to increase the customer base (production) and create a more supportive atmosphere in which BME staff can report discrimination (developmental). Similarly, a green travel plan may change the way a job is performed by minimising face-to-face meetings and encouraging remote and

home working to reduce work-related carbon emissions (production), may favour those staff whose jobs and domestic circumstances enable them to work from home (distribution) and enable staff who are concerned about their carbon footprint to behave more ethically (developmental). As Chapter 3 has demonstrated, unions' green agenda had been heavily influenced by membership interest and it was not a policy priority. But as this chapter has shown, unions in the 1990s started learning how to accommodate and manage the green agenda and to identify its progressive elements. Unions' environmental agenda – broadly conceived – can thus be classed as developmental (see later) but Mason (1999: 173) rightly acknowledges complexity:

> *Environmental... issues offer a renewed source of interest for unions in attracting a diverse membership, encompassing both workplace-related environmental concerns and wider quality-of-life anxieties*

The developmental agendas associated with the 1990s – including the environment, equality and diversity and learning and skills - have complex origins. The Work Foundation (2002: 14) identified the emergence of new 'types' of employees with new concerns, attributable to growing affluence, declining deference and globalisation and argues that during the 1990s increasing numbers of employees prioritised the values and ethical behaviour of employers as a key influence when deciding who to work for. 16% of employees rated prospective employers' environmental record as the first or second most important factor influencing their choice of job, and approximately 10% of all employees rated "altruistic, ethical concerns" as "extremely important" at work. A survey of 300 UK small business leaders in 1995 cited employee pressure as the third most common source of pressure to go green, behind 'Regulation' (37%) and 'Customers' (24%); level with 'Shareholders/Investors' (18%) and ahead of: 'Local Community' (16%); 'Environmental Groups' (12%); 'Media' (12%); 'Banks/Insurance' (11%) and the 'Public' (11%) (ENDS Report, November 1995).

Alternatively, some elements of the weakened UK trade union movement viewed developmental issues pragmatically, as qualitatively different issues that they could still campaign around and win on – this was particularly true after 1997 for those agendas underpinned by supportive legislation introduced by the New Labour Government, particularly equality and diversity. The counter view is that developmental issues have undermined collectivism by privileging personalised and time-consuming relationships between members and representatives, with the former cast as recipients of expert union advice and advocacy (Amoore, 2002; 45), often focused on upholding statutory rights. It is also possible that the agendas are more facilitative of personal, rather than collective,

values (Mason, 1999; 153); leading some to ask whether adherents represent a new breed of trade union activist (Moore, 2011; 75).

BSAS and NISAS[37] data presented in Chapter 1 shows that throughout the 1990s employees believed the most important union functions were the 'hard' non-developmental issues of protecting jobs, improving pay and improving working conditions - but that their importance was already in sharp decline - whilst 'soft' issues such as equal opportunities and equal pay remained relatively static. The election of New Labour in 1997 appeared to give a temporary boost to *all* union bargaining agendas – particularly non-developmental ones – but the trends 'corrected' themselves very quickly afterwards leaving the gap between unions' 'soft' and 'hard' issues significantly reduced. As Chapter 1 shows, by the late 1990s/early 2000s unions and employers were just as likely to be dealing with developmental agendas as with productivist and distributional ones.

The Environment and Employee Relations

This section seeks to show that since the 1990s employers have also been under increasing pressure to 'go green' and a substantive, differentiated and complex environmental bargaining agenda was therefore coalescing in UK workplaces. Partnership – whilst falling short of becoming paradigmatic – was heavily promoted by the TUC at this time, which saw it as a less adversarial model of employee relations capable of contributing to union resurgence. I therefore also seek to show that unions' developmental agendas were boosted by partnership because it was deemed a suitable vehicle for advancing them.

Business and the Environment since the 1990s

Welford and Gouldson (1993) argue that companies that embrace high standards of environmental performance achieve *inter alia* improved: materials efficiency; product quality; staff commitment; community and pressure group relations and lower insurance premiums. Business and the environment, profit and ethics, are actually concatenated, in quite complex ways. For Spence and Rutherford *et al* (2004:43) there is a tension between firms' ethical practices and economic perspectives and many businesses remain ethically inactive and focused on profits. Writing in 1998 Doyle and McEachern (1998:136) argued that three main types of attitudes towards the environment could be identified among UK businesses – rejectionists, accommodationists and environmental businesses:

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[37] WIRS/WERS has largely ignored unions' green agenda. According to WIRS/WERS in 1984 0% of employees thought environmental issues were "the most important matters discussed with employers" and this increased to 0.2% in 1990.

> *The accommodationist position has become the mainstream position for business as the levels of environmental concern have increased and consumers have registered some level of environmental commitment in the marketplace*

Doyle and McEachern also argued that businesses continued to practice rejectionism if they could get away with it. However, Blair and Hitchcock (2001:80) and Mol and Sonnenfeld *et al* (2010: 34) believe rejectionism is no longer business' default orientation and changes to the UK's POS and statecraft in the 1980s and 1990s are implicated. According to the former:

> *... we are struck by the rapidity of change in attitudes by business towards the environment ... business is becoming much more pro-active and has engaged in more constructive dialogue and partnerships with environmentalists. Government now see themselves as facilitators and enablers more than playing a direct role as they might have done in the 1970s. Privatisation and semi-privatisation of government agencies have done much to encourage this process.*

During the 1990s the ecological modernisation discourse emerged (Carter, 2007) privileging technical fixes to environmental problems and acknowledging businesses' contribution to the contemporary ecological crisis and their status as a repository of the resources and expertise to ameliorate it; and it quickly became the preferred *modus operandi* (Shrivastava, 1993; Blair and Hitchcock, 2001). Since the 1990s there has also been a rapid increase in the numbers and success of environmental damage limitation and repair businesses and of environmental business services. According to Welford and Starkey (1996:74), however, the shift towards greener business practices was not an overnight one:

> *... for most companies, environmental issues are the province of outsiders and specialists. That is not surprising. Any new management issue tends to go through a particular lifecycle. When it first arises, companies hire outside experts to help them navigate. When practices become more developed, internal specialists take over. Only after a field becomes mature do companies integrate it into the ongoing role of line management*

Infact there was – and remains - significant variation in engagement, patterned at least sectorally, geographically and on a firm-by-firm basis. For example, small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) are particularly likely to either practice rejectionism and/or struggle with environmental regulation

(Spence and Rutherford, 2004)[38]. Within the SME sector, larger and older (>31 years) SMEs are especially resistant and/or inactive (Carter and Mason *et al*, 2004:84; Carter and Mason *et al*, 2006: 70). This may be because older SMEs are more likely to be in sub-sectors where environmental concern is most salient which newer firms are reluctant to enter (Carter and Mason *et al*, 2004: 89). Parenthetically, there are 4.3 million SMEs in the UK, employing 13 million people – 60% of all employees (UK Small Business Consortium, 2006 1). However, SMEs are notoriously anti-union and unions need to penetrate these most in order to grow. SMEs are also responsible for 43% of industrial pollution in England and Wales and generate 60% of all commercial waste (Vickers and Vaze *et al*, 2009: 15). Given all of the above it is reasonable to posit that environmental interventions aimed at SMEs are essential to the transition to a low carbon economy; but unfortunately for unions they may not be the most effective agents of change. This issue is addressed substantively in Chapter 5.

There are various indicators of the environment's increasing importance in the workplace during the 1990s and of employers' changing attitudes. The Federation of Small Businesses' annual small business survey reports declining (but nonetheless still substantial) levels of dissatisfaction with environmental regulation between 1995-2004 (Carter and Mason *et al*, 2004: 83); the number of UK firms adopting environmental management schemes increased steadily throughout the 1990s[39] (Chen, 2004; Kolman and Prakash, 2002) and firms' environmental reporting and corporate governance increased sharply (Gray and Kouhy *et al*, 1995: 57; Solomon, 2004: 52), reflecting the firm's desire to "strategically manage a new and emerging issue with its stakeholders whilst attempting to assess the extent of the power of those stakeholders" (Gray and Kouhy *et al*, 1995: 66). Contact between businesses and EMOs also became more regular (Janicke and Jorgens, 2010: 159).

By the early-to-mid 2000s a complex of state regulation, co-operative intervention and self-regulation had coalesced making it increasingly difficult for businesses to practice rejectionism with impunity. At any rate, growing numbers of businesses were starting to equate good environmental practice with business growth. According to Matthew Farrow, Head of Energy, Transport and Planning at the CBI:

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[38] This is potentially disastrous for them. In 2005 43% of SME's had a large corporate customer ask them to satisfy them on an environmental matter (Small Business Survey, 2005:27).
[39] The number of UK firms with ISO14001 accreditation rose from 61 in 1995 to 2,534 in 2000 and at the time of writing stands at 14,346 (Institute of Environmental Management Journal Survey 1998).

2005 was the tipping-point year for business where you had the G8 and the EU presidency at the same time, Blair was pushing climate change, the science – or the dissemination of the science – was gathering pace, the media suddenly became very interested in it and it went to the top of the business agenda. By the end of that year there was a sense that business wanted to be part of the solution, as opposed to being perceived to be part of the problem. Richard Lambert[40] arrived in 2006, and we set up a task force, bringing together Chief Executives of some of the key companies, deliberately picked to be not just those that had a commercial interest in tackling climate change but also those for whom it wasn't a huge bottom-line issue but a good brand issue, so BSkyB pushed it hard, but also Corus, chemical companies, Shell, BP, British Telecom. They gave it an edge, in that they were very clear in wanting businesses to be positioned as part of the solution. So they had a policy agenda and there was an ethos that the government must be held to account to deliver on that agenda, and at the same time there were things that business and individual companies should be doing (personal interview)

Employee Relations

Having briefly established the salience of the green agenda to UK employers, the remainder of this chapter focuses on the behaviour of the environment negotiable and its compatibility with the partnership model of employee relations. What follows is not intended to function as an exhaustive evaluation of unions' fortunes under the partnership approach to employee relations[41]. Partnership is not paradigmatic. It remains relatively rare and collective bargaining – although in decline – may still claim to be the dominant form of employee relations wherever employee relations are mediated through workers' representatives. Nevertheless, I intend to demonstrate that the partnership approach took off during the 1990s and represented a new way of 'doing' employee relations which lent itself well to and boosted unions' developmental agendas.

Edwards and Wacjman (2005: 115) argue that employee participation is inherently unstable – something that can only exist at the periphery of a default employee relations system predicated on managerial and proprietorial prerogative:

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[40] Director-General of the CBI 2006-2011.
[41] For further detailed evaluations of the advantages and disadvantages of partnership see Fernie and Metcalf (2000); Marchington and Wilkinson *et al* (2001); Huzzard and Gregory *et al* (2004); Stuart and Martinez Lucio (2005) and Edwards and Wajcman (2005).

> *Organisations are structures of power. People at the top rarely give up power voluntarily. Collaboration between different groups is never easy, collaboration readily breaks down with a reversion to (command-and-control based) type and the idea of managerial prerogative is deeply embedded in law ... and concrete practice*

Even though collaboration is prone to dissolution, its realisation – in one form or another – is a constant, even if employers and employees representatives sometimes advocate it for competing reasons. Employers may see it as a way of tapping into their employees' business-enhancing knowledge and/or a way of exerting control; whilst unions may see it as a way of empowering their members – of giving them 'voice'.

Partnership

Marsh and Rhodes (1992) argue that 'New Realism' was nothing new - that unions have historically scaled-down their aspirations during difficult times. 'New Realism' attempted to replace an ostensibly adversarial system of industrial relations with a more conciliatory partnership-based approach with employers, and was most strongly advocated and encouraged by the TUC General Council and by the leadership of the GMB.

Purcell and Sissons (1983) identify four models of industrial relations. The 'traditionalist model' encourages an explicitly anti-union macho management. The 'sophisticated paternalist' model refers to savvy union-sceptic HR practitioners who avoid overt conflict with unions but discourage union membership by offering staff a range of services and policies designed to present union membership as unnecessary. The 'standard modern' model sees unions and management as occupying completely separate roles in the workplace - coexisting, but only meeting during crises. Finally, the 'sophisticated modern' model sees unions and management co-operating, although this may be limited to key areas (such as health and safety and pay) and may only involve consultation not negotiation. The TUC sought to persuade industry *and its own members and activists* to adopt the best 'sophisticated modern' model possible. In so doing, a Marxist prescription for industrial relations - to counter the massive asymmetries of power rooted in the ownership of the means of production - was abandoned. The pluralist model of industrial relations - predicated on the belief that the workplace contains a plurality of competing interests - was also being challenged (Beer, 1982; Salamon, 1992). Instead, the TUC was advocating a unitary team-based model of industrial relations in which union representatives, workers, managers, and employers all share the same agenda - normally that of the employer (Blyton and Turnbull, 2004). It is hard to judge the extent to which the

TUC saw the unitary and 'sophisticated modern' models as a new end-point for industrial relations or a temporary fix. Taylor (2000: 263) believes that the union's modernising and partnership agendas at this time were designed to "save business from itself" (an allusion to the continued poor performance of the UK economy attributable to too much short-termism and ill-defined objectives).

Table 4.6: Dimensions of and Variations in Partnership

Dimension	Variations
Intensity	Provision of information/privileged communication/consultation/negotiation/co-determination ▼
Depth	From the shopfloor to the boardroom
Width	From basic health, safety, welfare and accommodation issues to commercial business and investment decisions
Form	- Indirect - Direct *De jure* or *de facto*

Partnership, even now, is not paradigmatic, and collective bargaining remains common: it is quite possible for a firm evidencing a partnership approach to employee relations in certain agendas to exhibit a more adversarial approach in other agendas. Under certain conditions and on certain issues unions, too, may prefer 'arm's length' relations to jumping into bed with employers – they may, for example, enjoy the ability to berate management from the side-lines or challenge decisions after they have been taken (being associated with the clean-up, not the spillage)[42]. Additionally, if a union has had reasonable success practising an adversarial model of employee relations it is likely to stick with it unless forced to move. Partnership remains, therefore, relatively rare and also exists in varying degrees of 'purity': see Table 4.6. Kelly (2005) argues that partnership *evolved*. A 'first generation' of partnerships emerged in the mid-to-late 1980s which represented some unions' perceptions of, and response to, their new weakened state. It is during this period that employer-friendly single-union and no-strike deals were struck in the multi-union manufacturing sector, and unions were sucked into competing against each other in 'beauty contests' organised by employers who only wanted to recognise one union. The most moderate and inoffensive union would retain or win recognition. Certain unions' eagerness to participate in such contests attracted considerable criticism from the TUC and wider movement (although those unions that did participate justified their 'beggar thy neighbour' tactics as a pragmatic response and essential for their long term viability).

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[42] A union is unlikely to want to be cast as an equal partner in a decision to make people redundant. But once a decision to cut the numbers of employees has been made by management unions will almost certainly want to negotiate the precise numbers and grades and locations of surplus staff as well as the value of any redundancy packages. In parallel, they may also wish to campaign against the decision – not easy if the union was co-architect of it.

A 'second generation' of partnership quickly followed, however, in which the partnership agenda widened and deepened, intersecting with a burgeoning HRM agenda and a fetishising of 'management' (see Burns, 2001, for an overview of how managers, the art of management and entrepreneurs have been celebrated, dissected and analysed). Some HRM practices pursued at this time can be seen as motivated by a genuine desire to empower employees and improve the quality of jobs. But many are also capable of being interpreted as evidence of managers developing new tools with which to regularise employees' behaviours – increased autonomy at the desk or lathe also entails increased scrutiny and a greater emphasis on personal performance. Some HR policies were both. Many employers, for example, introduced teamworking in order to generate collaborative working amongst small groups of newly-empowered employees, who could then exercise greater ownership and control over their work. But the resultant *esprit de corps* also put individual team members under extreme pressure 'not to let the side down', to the extent that employees would even attend work when ill to avoid increasing their colleagues' workloads. The team thus becomes a self-regulating and self-policing entity, and even allows senior management to reduce staffing at junior and middle-management levels. The HR agenda was certainly fashionable and its practitioners fond of experimentation and many aspects of it prompted new interesting exchanges between management and unions[43]. The best aspects of it - such as those concerned with respecting the individual, identifying learning needs and enhancing job satisfaction – may well have constituted a shared agenda.

Kelly's 'third generation' of partnership emerged following the election of the Labour government in 1997. Since the mid-1990s the TUC had endorsed partnership as the way forward for employee relations and, indeed, the UK economy. The Marxist view within the movement – that partnership equated to collusion with the enemy – was, if not replaced, at least accompanied by one which saw partnership as a new strategy through which unions could demonstrate their continuing legitimacy. The 'third generation' differed from its predecessors in that partnership was extended to include a wider range of matters and expanded further into the non-manufacturing and services sectors. The TUC identified six partnership principles (Stuart and Martinez Lucio, 2005):

- Shared commitment to the success of the organisation
- Recognition of legitimate interests
- Commitment to employment security
- Focus on the quality of working life
- Openness

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[43] For a more detailed exposition see Bacon *et al* (1998). For an overview of HR in the public sector and its contribution to New Public Management in the 1980s and 1990s see Horton and Farnham (1999).

- Adding value

Much of the literature on partnership presents it as part of a wider debate concerning trade union fortunes. Typically, the literature asks whether partnership can be used by unions to increase their influence with employers, or whether employers are deliberately using partnership as a vehicle with which to circumvent and weaken unions. Employers may achieve this by: opening their doors to rival (including non-union) bodies; adopting a nebulous definition of partnership; using the introduction and operationalisation of partnership as a 'Trojan Horse' to bring about a dilution in pre-existing consultation and negotiation practices; narrowing and/or informalising the channels hitherto used for communication, consultation and negotiation; or eschewing all indirect representation and dealing with staff directly.

This polarisation is misleading. It places unions at the centre of the partnership universe. The reality is that employers are also capable of developing what they believe to be effective forms of partnership that do not involve unions. Partnership actually pivots around the conduct of the relationship between employers and their employees, geared towards the construction and maintenance of a unitarist philosophy – how unions fit in to this *modus vivendi* is a sub-issue (but, of course, a substantive one for unions). They may be welcomed or at least tolerated as stakeholders. If, however, unions are perceived to be too weak or too adversarial to co-construct dual commitment they are likely to be marginalised.

In fact unions encounter major obstacles when trying to convince employers that they can make a positive contribution to the business. Evidence that unions are no longer obstacles to innovation and flexibility in the workplace is contested, and many employers continue to believe that unions have a negative impact on both employers' relationship with employees and productivity.

The Contested Benefits of Partnership

Huzzard and Gregory *et al* (2004) identify several core 'dimensions' where partnership must deliver for unions:

- Information and consultation rights
- Structural improvements in trade union organisation
- Improved processes and opportunities for joint problem solving
- Better bargaining procedures and atmosphere
- Preservation of union independence
- Improvements in quality of working life and/or work organisation

Managerial and proprietorial based resistance to any form of power-sharing is unsurprising and may reflect a belief that informal systems of employee relations are best. At the same time, it is argued that partnership facilitates enhanced employee participation, and that staff therefore feel 'worthy to speak' and 'worthy to listen', permitting better problem-solving, minimising conflict and stimulating higher levels of performance and increases in productivity.

In mutual gains organisations unions seek to avoid becoming managements' poodles and instead seek recognition as privileged stakeholders. As Gennard and Judges note (2006) once a commitment to partnership is made merely saying "no" to a proposal (and waiting for the reaction) is no longer viable – there must be dialogue. Working collaboratively with employers unions can become important agents of change, widening and deepening their influence. Respected by employers and visibly winning things and doing things for their members, the union is then able to increase its appeal to non-members.

The spread of partnership must be seen within the contexts of the UK trade union movement's new-found weakness and the Blair Government's pro-union legislation, particularly the laws[44] regarding union recognition. By the end of 1999 the TUC reported over 74 new recognition agreements covering more than 21,000 employees, with more than 50% of these being initiated by employers. This figure represented a doubling of the agreements reported in 1998, which had itself seen a

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[44] The Employment Relations Act (ERA) 1999 established a statutory recognition procedure with three 'routes' to union recognition:

- Voluntary recognition: encouraging unions and employers to avoid the statutory process. The vast majority of union recognition deals have been made this way: in 2000-2001 450 of the 470 deals were voluntary (Blyton and Turnbull, 2004:197)
- Balloting: if a simple majority of those voting favour union recognition the employer must recognise the union. However, the number of "yes" votes must be equal to at least 40% of employees entitled to vote. Where recognition is secured, a basic collective bargaining agenda comprising pay, hours and holidays applies. Employers are under no obligation to submit wider terms and conditions of service to this agenda
- The Central Arbitration Committee (CAC) can force employers to recognise a union without a ballot where over 50% of the workforce are already union members

Ballots ordered by the CAC are envisaged as a last resort – voluntary recognition is encouraged. Moore's research looks at unions' success rate in recognition ballots (in Kelly and Willman, 2004:24) and shows that unions win almost two-thirds of them. Voluntary recognitions are also increasing, but at a much slower rate compared to the numbers achieved in the years immediately following the introduction of the statutory process. So progress is decelerating and, over time, unions have seemingly had to increase the amount of effort required to win. There are so many firms that do not recognise unions that it is impossible for unions to now be down to a 'hard-core' of anti-union employers. Deceleration and 'harder going' is more likely the product of employer's stepped-up counter-mobilisation strategies and/or unions expanding their recognition activities into greenfield sites.

substantial increase over the previous year (Brown, 2000). According to Brown (2000: 11) in the late 1990s:

> *...the announcement of partnership deals of one sort or another became almost a weekly occurrence. Almost all major unions were involved in them, although their content and emphasis appeared to vary substantially. The AEEU attracted most publicity with deals emphasising high productivity, flexible work reorganisation, employment security, compulsory arbitration and consultation. The GMB's approach placed emphasis upon the replacing of dead-end jobs with work that is interesting and more fulfilling, as a means of winning employee commitment. The TGWU was party to a radical partnership deal in the nuclear industry and a ground-breaking agreement in the generally hostile North Sea oil and gas fields.*

By the end of the 1990s, then, partnership was seen by many unions as the employee relations model of choice with which to progress their agendas.

The Environment 'Negotiable'

Production issues – including technical and shopfloor matters – may be compatible with partnership. Distributional issues, however, may be considered too important, sensitive or costly to include in a relationship aimed at minimising dissent and maintaining mutual trust, co-operation and a specific balance of bargaining power. According to Stuart and Martinez Lucio (2005: 111) partnership may be particularly suited to developmental issues for several reasons. First, developmental issues are diverse and may contain concrete elements (with price tags) but may also be aspirational (or nebulous), featuring built-in opportunities for consensus (or flannelling). Secondly, developmental issues accord with a range of contemporary ethical concerns regarding the world of work and ideal business behaviours. Third, developmental issues are likely to require continuing monitoring and therefore an ongoing, non-adversarial relationship between employers and unions (as opposed to infrequent and fraught encounters). According to the CBI's Matthew Farrow:

> *There is a concern that green issues should not become trade-off negotiated issues in the same way that pay is. People instinctively think that its* (pay) *either for more for the employee or more for the company's profits, so there are two different views that need ironing out. Whereas the environmental agenda shouldn't behave like that at all* (personal interview)

Finally, partnerships can be fragile, and may therefore be reserved for issues which, in the event of disagreement, are not in isolation capable of jeopardising either party's overall commitment to any collaborative project.

The last point poses the question of whether the environment is subjected to partnership simply because one or more parties to employee relations view the environment as a relatively innocuous issue. Since employers are generally in the employee relations 'driving seat' this boils down to how important employers view the green agenda – as Zibarras and Ballinger (2010: 2) observe: "Management involvement is ... the most important facilitator to encouraging and supporting employees to be 'green', and ... lack of management commitment and support is seen as the most significant barrier".

I have already asserted that environmental concerns began to press hard on employers during the 1990s, but have also noted UK industries' differentiated engagement with the green agenda. The importance employers attach to the environment may be reflected in how they position green issues within the business and within their employee relations systems.

One of the key conclusions of the TUC Greenworks Project (Chapter 7) is that where trade unions are actively involved a green agenda is more likely to be embedded in the business and able to endure personnel changes and hot-and-cold blowing management. But as increasing numbers of managers 'naturally' wake up to the business sense of adopting green(er) practices, how long will unions need or be able to occupy cajoling and/or capacity-building roles? Most Environmental Management Systems establish committees to take forward the green agenda, but these need not involve unions – Action Teams, Quality Circles and even employee-run Carbon Clubs can be encouraged to operationalise the agenda, relegating unions where they exist to cameo roles. Indeed, although data presented earlier in this chapter suggests that since the 1990s firms have become more willing to submit their environmental performance to employee scrutiny and input, employees are unlikely to exercise the greatest influence (Zorpas, 2010: 1544). Alternatively, responsibility for green issues can be delegated to the individual employee and dispersed across an organisation: lacking a clear centre, environmental issues 'escape' any bargaining processes.

Welford and Starkey (1996) argue that firms categorise and position environmental issues in one of three ways: strategic; operational or technical - see Table 4.7, below. Here, 'Discretion' refers to the freedom available to decide what needs to be done in a particular situation, whilst 'Value' refers to the importance of such decisions to the enterprise's performance. Welford and Starkey believe that positioning environmental issues as 'Strategic' provides manifold opportunities for action – and is potentially critical to the success of the firm. Prosecuting an environmental agenda at the 'Operational' level constrains creativity and subjects the agenda to bureaucratic and mechanical

Table 4.7: Employers' positioning of Environmental Issues

	Level of Discretion	Value
Strategic	High	High
Operational	Low	Medium-to-high
Technical	Low-to-High	Low

Source: Adapted from Welford and Starkey (1996)

limits and systems of control, but may nonetheless still make a major contribution to the firm's performance. Finally, understanding and positioning environmental issues as technical issues includes doing nothing, simple and affordable one-off initiatives, and the purchase and installation of new expensive plant and IT. But the 'technical fix' philosophy on its own is unlikely to generate especially durable or significant environmental benefits and is certainly not associated with a green culture change.

The positioning of environmental issues by senior management is important, therefore, because it influences what sort of green agenda evolves as well as who is 'allowed' to speak on it. Smith (1993) for example observes that constructing the environment as a technical issue tends to confine it to the 'shopfloor' – technical issues, he argues, are rarely discussed at board level.

The problem here is that on the one hand it is clearly desirable for environmental matters to be positioned as a strategic issue, so that greening takes off and can contribute to a wide-ranging and meaningful green agenda for the firm that unions and management can jointly prosecute. But on the other hand, just as technical issues are rarely discussed at board level, trade unions are not much welcomed there either. Unions may be considered 'worthy to speak' and 'worthy to listen' on technical shopfloor environmentalism but may be frozen out of board level strategic discussions especially if 'the strategic' is conflated with managerial/proprietorial prerogative (Poole, 1986). On employee relations therefore, unions may be confined to operationalising a very limited environmental agenda[45]. Further, according to Paton (in Socolow *et al*, 1997), environmentalism at work often occurs in areas outside classic union bargaining territory including: product design; materials management; supplier management and service and support.

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[45] Unions have recently renewed their call for their Environmental Representatives to be afforded accredited representative status akin to that of Health and Safety Representatives and Union Learning Representatives. During a keynote speech at one TUC Greenworks Conference David Milliband, then Secretary of State for the Environment, said that he did not see the point in providing union representatives with "time-off rights to go around turning light switches off". It is hard to imagine a more insensitive dismissal of the contribution of unions to workplace greening. Needless to say, the comment was not warmly received.

Certain constructions and positioning of environmental issues may also enable employers to delegate and disperse responsibility for green issues across the entire workforce. Spread so thin, green issues cease being seen as issues around which employee relations occurs – something conducted by specific actors and requiring expertise, negotiating skills, information and special fora – and instead becomes every employee's personal responsibility. Zibarras' and Ballinger's (2010) research indeed suggests that senior managers act as gatekeepers to employee involvement and that the majority of organisations that do encourage employee input do so through awareness-raising activities intended to disperse and personalise environmental responsibility across the workforce. Here it may languish – although 83% of senior managers from the 197 respondent firms surveyed believed staff engagement was crucial to the firm's environmental performance only 15% bothered to monitor and/or evaluate the success of their environmental behaviour policies and only 38% thought what they were doing was sufficient.

Further, just as strategic constructions of the environment may privilege senior managers, there is also the danger that technical constructions privilege technical and specialist employees, and their unions. Unions representing skilled and professional workers are more likely to be recognised, welcomed and consulted with than unions representing low and unskilled employees (Waddington, 2004).

There is a strong 'values' component within the green agenda which appears to confirm its categorisation as a developmental issue. The TUC organised a symposium on partnership and the environment in 1996 and concluded that partnership was an effective vehicle for achieving improved workplace environmental performance (TUC General Council Report, 1997). And as Lord Whitty notes: "From the late-1990s it became one of those issues on which 'new unionism' could be based. You could do partnership with it". But environmental issues as employee relations negotiables are likely to play out differently according to how enterprises understand and position the green agenda within the business. Employers' positioning of the environment and willingness to discuss it with employees will reflect, *inter alia*, sectoral concerns; regulation; economic concerns (including affordability); availability of alternative green(er) plant and processes etc.; senior managements' existing attitudes towards environmental issues; senior managements' existing approach to employee relations and participation and the precise green agenda that unions and management are seeking to operationalise. Further, as Penny Morley, who in the 1990s helped to construct the TGWU's environmental policy and until 2008 was the Unite Environmental Policy Officer and Chair of the TUSDAC Working Group, remarks: "If you've got a rubbish employer that doesn't want to talk to you about your pay or anything else they're not going to talk to you about this either". In sum,

unions should note that the environmental agenda is not an automatic 'in' with employers and nor is it guaranteed to be controversy-free. These issues are addressed in more detail in chapters 5 and 8.

Into the 2000s - Previous Surveys of Unions and the Environment

Table 4.8: Trade Unions and the Environment 2004 TUSDAC Survey

Environment Statement	Responses (1)	
	Agree/Strongly Agree	Disagree/Strongly Disagree
I would support environmental measures in my workplace	99%	1%
The government should do more to combat global warming	95%	4%
Unions should be doing more to protect the environment	82%	14%
Green pressure groups are doing a good job in raising environmental awareness	76%	25%
Union representatives should carry out environmental audits	66%	32%
I am mainly concerned about the quality of my local environment	30%	69%
There is not much the government can do without better international co-operation	30%	70%
I am concerned that environmental policies could lead to job losses	17%	81%
Environmental damage is the unavoidable price of economic success	15%	84%
There is nothing much that I can do to improve the environment	7%	92%
Companies can be trusted to take care of the environment	3%	95%

(1) 310 union members responded from 11 unions.

Source: Greening the Workplace (2005) (London, TUSDAC)

Unions' environmental activities have been almost completely ignored by both WERS and BSAS (see earlier) but since 2002 the TUC itself has organised semi-regular surveys to gauge the interest of

unions and their members in the environment and the range of union environmental activities and concerns[46].

These surveys reveal growing and substantial interest in the environment amongst trade unions and their memberships. The first 2002 TUC 'pulse' survey found that 94% of employees supported a range of workplace environmental initiatives such as recycling, waste reduction and water conservation. 79% of respondents disagreed with the statement "there is nothing much I can do to improve the environment" (Labour Research Department, 2007). A more comprehensive survey was undertaken by TUSDAC in 2004 (See Table 4.8).

Table 4.9: Union Representatives' Responses to 2007 LRD 'Unions and the Environment' Survey

Activity/Indicator	%
Union is involved in workplace greening	31
Environment is formally recognised as a bargaining agenda item	19
There is a joint union/management Environmental Agreement	15
Union reps with environmental responsibilities granted time off for training and for their duties	26
Union reps with environmental responsibilities in receipt of appropriate training	10
Union reps experiencing problems securing time off for training	2
Workplaces with an Environmental Management System in which unions are involved in greening	10

Source: Derived from 2007 LRD Survey: *The Environment and Climate Change* (June 2007)

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[46] At the time of writing, in addition to the 2002, 2004, 2007 and 2009 surveys, the TUC was planning a further survey in 2012; the results of which would be announced at the TUC's 'Keep on Going Green at Work' Conference in July 2012.

Within just two years the percentage of union members disagreeing with the statement "there is nothing much I can do to improve the environment" had increased from 79% to 92%. The results of the 2004 survey evidence considerable concern about the environment[47]. Union members believed that the Government was not doing enough and that environmental protection could not be left to private enterprises and there was overwhelming support for greater union engagement.

In 2007 the Labour Research Department (LRD) was commissioned by the TUC to conduct what may have been the first comprehensive 'audit' of unions' actual workplace environmental activities. The LRD received 677 responses, but respondents were generally unrepresentative – 72% of respondents were from public sector unions; 27% were from central government and 49% worked in offices. Moreover, 81% of respondents belonged to just 5 unions: PCS (25%); Prospect (22%); UCU (14%); CWU (12%); TGWU (8%). The LRD asserts that "the survey indicates widespread enthusiasm among trade union reps for taking action on the environment, with many offering practical examples of their achievements in the workplace" (LRD, June 2007). Of the 677 respondents, the majority were generic union representatives (56%), although safety representatives (34%) and learning and equality representatives (8%) also responded. Only 1% of respondents described themselves as environmental representatives.

When viewed alongside the 2004 survey, the 2007 survey suggests an implementation deficit regarding operationalisation of their members' and activists' enthusiasm for the environment - Table 4.9. Even in workplaces operating an Environmental Management System – where there is a requirement to involve staff in environmental policy-making – only 10% featured union participation.

The LRD conducted a more comprehensive survey of unions' environmental activities in February-March 2009[48]. The survey was administered electronically. The LRD received 1,301 responses of which 4% described themselves as 'environment reps', a significant increase compared to the 2007 survey. The LRD received responses from 30 unions, but 5 unions – UNISON; Prospect; UCU; Unite; PCS – accounted for 70% of total responses, with UNISON and Prospect alone accounting for more than one third of responses.

The 2009 survey differed from previous surveys by inviting respondents to record and assess the environmental progress made by their employers and in their workplaces. On green jobs and skills

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[47] The TUSDAC report does not provide details regarding the administration of this questionnaire. The TUSDAC unions may also be those most enthusiastic about the environment.
[48] A selection of the results from this unpublished survey was presented and distributed to delegates attending the TUC Green Workplaces Day Conference on 9 June 2009. In July 2009 I requested access to the full results and/or the complete raw data in order to conduct my own analysis, but this was refused by LRD.

only 6% of representatives said their employer had definitely created new green jobs whereas 53% were sure that their employer had not created new green jobs and 30% were unsure. Similarly, 57% of representatives said their employer had not introduced opportunities for reskilling and upskilling in relation to climate change. 60% of representatives said that their employer had not distributed the benefits of climate change savings to their workforce or to other energy initiatives. Only 7% of representatives reported workers receiving financial incentives for engaging in pro-environmental activities. These would typically take the form of bonuses and/or prizes.

Progress made *vis-a-vis* 'mitigation', 'adaptation' and 'transport' is shown in Tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12. 'Mitigation' is defined by the TUC as those actions required to prevent future climate change, whilst 'adaptation' refers to actions to address the effects of existing climate change (TUC, June 2009). The 2009 survey suggests that respondents believe their employers are failing to adopt environmental best practice. Put differently, there is a huge (joint) agenda here for unions to become active in.

Table 4.10: Union Representatives' Assessment of their Workplaces' Progress on Mitigation

Indicator	No Action (%)	Comprehensive Action (%)
Replacing VDU Screens	26	30
Computer standby/switched off when not in use	21	22
Lighting controls	30	19
New boilers/heating system	47	14
Insulation and glazing	45	12
Ventilation/air conditioning changes	53	8
Installing renewable energy sources	74	4

Table 4.11: Union Representatives' Assessment of their Workplace's Progress on Transport

Indicator	No Action (%)	Comprehensive Action (%)
Green travel plans	52	10
Subsidies for public transport use	74	8
Hybrid dual fuel vehicles	68	5
Training in eco-driving techniques	79	2

Table 4.12: Union Representatives' Assessments of their Workplace's Progress on Adaptation

Indicator	No Action (%)	Comprehensive Action (%)
Planning for floods and storms	46	13
A 'trigger' maximum indoor temperature	72	4
Changing clothing during hot weather	65	3
Changing shift times during hot weather	88	<1
Changing equipment	67	2

Source: 2007 LRD Survey handout from the 2009 TUC Green Workplaces Conference

The LRD is convinced that securing time-off (for environmental work) is a major problem and argues that "the research supports the case for union reps to get explicit legal rights to act on climate change at work e.g. through the ACAS[49] code of practice" (LRD survey hand-out, 2009). 15% of representatives had experienced problems securing time-off to tackle climate change in their workplaces. 73% of representatives did not receive any facility time for their environmental work, but only 49 representatives said they had been refused time-off to attend training on climate change and the environment. These figures suggest, surprisingly, that as many as 27% of union

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[49] Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service is an independent non-departmental body that works with employers and employees to improve employee relations. The code of practice mentioned is 'Time off for Trade Union Duties and Activities': http://www.acas.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=2391

representatives are in receipt of facility time for their environmental work but do not reveal whether the actual allocations are sufficient. It is, of course, possible that this facility time has been given for other types of union activity and recipients have simply 'absorbed' environmental duties alongside a dominant union role. A surprisingly low percentage report difficulties securing time-off for their environmental work, but this may be because they are not doing much or, alternatively, have become efficient at juggling their union and official responsibilities. With regards to the extremely low numbers refused time-off to access training, it is not clear from the LRD data whether this is a proportion of all respondents – in which case it equates to <4% - or just the proportion of those representatives who have attempted (successfully or unsuccessfully) to access training. These latter figures are not provided, therefore it is impossible to comment whether or not such refusals are common.

Previous survey data thus provides evidence of the evolving diversity and complexity of unions' workplace greening agenda, demonstrating an accretion of a range of practical applications; growing environmental concern and a significant implementation deficit.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the extent to which unions' modernisation processes contributed to the development of their green agenda. According to FoE's Dave Timms:

> *There has been in the trade unions a very strong amount of work about greening the workplace which has been very welcome, and that hasn't actually been pushed at trade unions by the environment movement, that's something that the trade union movement has taken up entirely off its own back* (personal interview)

Conference data from the TUC, GMB UNISON and the TGWU demonstrates the emergence of workplace greening in the early 1990s, and accelerated interest in green issues in the 1990s. But accurately charting the development of unions' environmental agenda in the 1990s is difficult precisely because it was new, and has not been 'tracked' by either the BSAS or WERS. The link between unions' green agenda and their modernisation programme is partly, therefore, an implied one.

In the 1990s unions began to develop new formal and informal structures and opportunities within which a more diverse membership could articulate the wider set of policy concerns that were coalescing in Britain's workplaces and the wider political economy. By better representing an

increasingly diverse workforce and targeting the concerns of hitherto non-traditional union members and activists, unions hoped that members of such groups would be more likely to join; and employers would find it difficult to argue that unions were anachronistic or their demands unrepresentative. Some of this agenda was progressed within unions' equality and diversity work. And, crucially, it would have been hypocritical for unions to require employers to better meet the needs of women, BME employees and young workers if unions themselves remained 'male, pale and stale', hence unions accelerated their efforts to improve their policy-making, participative and representational structures and processes.

Evidence from the 1990s suggests that unions were relatively successful in identifying and operationalising members' newer bargaining agendas; that union members recognised and appreciated this; and that unions' new agendas were broadly harmonious with those of their memberships. At the same time unions also sought to empower branches by providing them with the skills required to deal more effectively with employers at a local level. A unionised workplace green agenda therefore began slowly to be articulated and operated alongside national unions' and the TUC's environmental lobbying activities.

The environment was pressing hard on employers at this time and this also helped create a genuine job of work for trade unionists to engage with. As this chapter has demonstrated, UK business's adoption of the green agenda evidenced significant variation, but even in the worst case scenario of nil engagement still offered unions new campaigning opportunities.

Environmental issues can be defined as developmental issues, which fit well with the partnership ethos. But, as the above evaluation of the partnership model of employee relations has shown, this does not mean that the environment is a 'soft' issue around which management-union consensus will automatically coalesce. Where employers are reluctant to talk to unions there are no 'soft' issues. And even though ethical demands were on the rise among UK employees they had not attained the level where workers' representatives had a mandate to achieve them by banging the table: dialogue was key.

Unions' workplace greening bargaining agenda was not necessarily dependent upon the rise of partnership for its success: unions' green agenda grew only slowly in the 1990s and still has much to do before it is seen as a 'bread and butter' issue and partnership was, and still is, relatively rare. An environmental agenda confined to mutual gains organisations would remain a minority agenda because not only were many employers uninterested in partnership, but so too were many trade unionists who saw it as too compromising. But trade unionists outside partnership organisations

and/or in disagreement with the mutual gains terminus could still be influenced by the new *modus operandi*; one which valorised dialogue and where no longer being able to make a loud noise by banging the table was seen as evidence of maturity, not weakness. Besides, trying to progress the green agenda through dialogue was important because, unlike health and safety and equality and diversity (and, from the late 1990s onwards, learning and skills) there was relatively little legal underpinning to force employers to go green.

But the 'newness' of unions' environmental agenda also served to endorse partnership as the most appropriate vehicle with which to advance it in certain workplaces. Just as some unions were taking the environment more seriously than others this chapter has shown that some employers were too. The environment did not take off as a *major* employee relations issue in the 1990s because many unions and employers were failing to take it seriously – a consensus to do relatively little had yet to fully unravel (Lambrecht Lund, 2004). This situation changed over time resulting in the differentiated levels of engagement witnessed today (amongst unions and employers); but in those organisations where the employer was engaging positively it was difficult for many unions to claim 'ownership' of the agenda or occupy any progressive or moral high ground. As Graham Petersen, National Environmental Co-ordinator with the UCU notes:

> *It's an issue that can lead to partnership and consensus more so than a lot of other issues can... because the fact is, and this is a bit of an indictment of us the trade union movement, in many organisations the employers are probably more advanced than we are in terms of taking the issue forward* (personal interview)

Partnership is the product at the confluence of a rehabilitating trade union movement and New Labour's pro-union legislation (particularly the laws relating to union recognition). Limited amounts of workplace greening activities (and fairly significant amounts of national-level environmental lobbying and summitry) predate this, but the agenda received a boost by it and was further bolstered by unions' own endogenous reforms. Partnership constituted a less adversarial approach to employee relations, but also legitimised new types of employee relations issues (Danford *et al* 2006). The new agendas developed by unions in the 1990s could not be based on their ability to disrupt production. Instead they required enthusiastic union representatives and enthusiastic managers (Stuart and Martinez Lucio, 2005).

Danford *et al* (2006: 11) identifies three main methods of union expansion: internal expansion; external expansion and social movement unionism. They argue that rapid union expansion in all three dimensions is unlikely because of union inertia and national leadership's hostility to "internal

politically based upheaval": staggered progress is more likely, "nevertheless, as a survival strategy there are few alternative options (other than defensive merger) for unions to embark upon".

This chapter has addressed how unions' expansion options and policies could accommodate an environmental agenda, albeit with particular emphasis on the internal dimension. Theoretically, unions' green agenda can also thread through expansion in the second and third dimensions – see Figure 4.1. For example, an expanding 'green' business sector may provide unions with fertile recruiting grounds, and continued engagement with the environment consolidates unions' green expertise (external expansion) – there are few more knowledgeable people on health and safety in UK workplaces than union health and safety officers and this may eventually extend to environmental issues too. And unions' continued commitment to the environment and their participation in the LER may allow them to further transcend narrow membership-based interests in favour of wider, values-based and identity-based concerns (social movement), which may produce a more extensive CSR and/or communitarian agenda linked to unions' interest in social partnership.

A qualitative transformation of both the content and conduct of employee relations and trade unionism in the 1990s helped to sustain unions' interest in the environment during a decade of continued weakness and untidy introspection. Nevertheless, the TUC/LRD surveys conducted in the mid-to-late 2000s suggest that the agenda remained undeveloped both inside unions and with employers. Chapter 5 brings us up to date through an examination of unions' contemporary environmental activities.

Chapter 5: Unions' Contemporary Environmental Activities

Introduction

This chapter contributes to answering all three research questions through an analysis of unions' contemporary greening activities, drawing on the results of my 2009 survey of 22 UK unions. The chapter seeks to describe activity in several 'dimensions':

- Unions' environmental structures and resources;
- Unions' main environmental preoccupations (including with employers)
- Contact with exogenous interest groups including EMOs and Government and 'grass roots' activism

These 'dimensions' broadly link with Danford and Richardson's *et al* (2006) internal, external and social movement unionism options for growth introduced in Chapter 4 and correspond with the modernisation strategies that unions embarked upon in the 1990s: organisational renewal and capacity-building; the advancement of novel bargaining agendas with employers; and social partnership. In particular, I investigate variations in senior union officials' attitudes towards the environment and the environmental resources made available by union headquarters. I then examine unions' sub-national environmental structures. Union participation in the Trade Union Sustainable Development Advisory Committee (TUSDAC) – the main negotiating fora for unions and government – is investigated as well as unions' relationships with EMOs and the role of the TUC in promoting the concept of 'Just Transition' and green summitry. Particular attention is paid to understanding unions' flagship workplace greening agenda (setting the scene for the case study analysis in Chapter 7). Finally, the contribution of the Campaign Against Climate Change Trade Union Group (CCTU) and rejuvenating red-green 'grassroots' activity is investigated.

As we shall see, although the TUC is attempting to position the environment as a strategic issue relatively few unions evidence serious or regular engagement; and of those that do most would find it difficult to describe their green function as widespread – it tends to be practised in large and/or public sector workplaces where the union is already well-established and may be a small-scale intervention or a 'flagship' project. However, unions claim that the agenda is popular with both their members and activists and most unions anticipate that their environmental agenda will expand in the near future.

Unions' Contemporary Environmental Activities

Surveying Unions' Environmental Activities

Table 5.1: Selected features of Respondent Unions

Union	Number of Members (2008)(1)	Size Band (2)	Coverage	Main Industrial Sector (3)	Public/Private? (4)	Overall Descriptor (5)
BACM	2783	micro	Great Britain	Energy	Mainly Private	MicroPrivSS
BFAWU	30000	small	United Kingdom	Manufacturing	Mainly Private	SPrivSS
Connect (6)	19316	small	United Kingdom	Communications and IT	Public/Private	SPub/PrivGen
CWU	236679	medium	United Kingdom	Communications and IT	Mainly Public	MPubSS
DSA	393	micro	United Kingdom	Food	Mainly Private	MicroPrivSS
FBU	45410	small	United Kingdom	Emergency Services	Mainly Public	SPubSS
FDA	17011	small	United Kingdom	Central Government Services	Mainly Public	SPubSS
GMB	590125	large	United Kingdom	General Union	Public/Private	LPub/PrivGen
HCSA	3108	micro	United Kingdom	Health	Mainly Private	MicroPubSS
NIPSA	43000	small	Northern Ireland only	General Union	Mainly Public	SPubGen
NUT	372770	large	Great Britain	Education	Mainly Public	LPubSS
PCS	300224	large	Great Britain	Central Government Services	Mainly Public	LPubGen
Prospect (6)	102702	medium	United Kingdom	General Union	Public/Private	MPub/PrivGen
TSSA	33000	small	Great Britain	Transport - solely or mainly PEOPLE	Mainly Private	SPrivSS
UCU	110974	medium	United Kingdom	Education	Mainly Public	MPubSS
UNISON	1343000	super	United Kingdom	Local Government Services	Mainly Public	Sup/PubGen
Unite	1892491	super	United Kingdom	General Union	Mainly Private	Sup/PrivGen
Unite Ireland	48242	medium	Northern Ireland only	Transport - solely or mainly PEOPLE	Mainly Private	MPrivSS
URTU	16000	small	United Kingdom	Transport - solely or mainly PEOPLE	Mainly Private	SPrivSS
USDAW	356046	large	United Kingdom	Retail	Mainly Private	LPrivSS
WGGB	1323	micro	United Kingdom	Media and Creative	Mainly Private	MicroPrivSS
YISA	1214	micro	Great Britain	Financial Services	Mainly Private	MicroPrivSS

(1) Figures based on union's annual returns to the British and Northern Ireland Certification Office. (2) There is no agreed system of classifying unions by size. I adopted the following system: <5,000: Micro; 5001-50,000: Small; 50,001-300,000: Medium; 301,000-1,000,000: Large; >1,000,000: Super. (3) Based on union's own response. (4) 'Best guess' assessments. (5) Micro = micro; S = small; M = medium; L = large; Sup = super; Pub = public (sector) ; Priv = private (sector); Pub/Priv = public and private (sector) mix; Gen = general union; SS = single sector. (6) Survey conducted prior to the merger of Connect and Prospect in 2009

Selected features of the respondent unions are provided in Table 5.1. Correlational analyses (of the key independent and dependent variables that emerged from the literature and elite interviews) – facilitating a deeper understanding of *how* and *why* unions become environmentally active and

explaining why some unions are more active than others – is undertaken in Chapter 6; alongside an examination of unions' beliefs regarding the agenda's utility as a recruitment tool and its behaviour as a negotiable.

22 unions responded to my questionnaire, distributed in March 2009. This represents a response rate of <25%, however the respondent unions represent approximately 80% of the UK's 7 million trade union members. A range of 'micro', 'small' 'medium' 'large' and 'super' unions responded. Most respondent unions' memberships are relatively stable. Regarding their financial status, 13 unions reported operating at a loss, but at varying levels of severity. Only two unions solely organised in Northern Ireland responded, but many of the respondent unions are organised across the whole of the UK. The respondent unions are organised in both the private and public sectors, with some unions reporting sizeable memberships in both, and they represent at least 13 specific industrial sectors, excluding the four unions that described themselves as a multi-sectoral 'General Union'.

Headquarters Support for Union Environmental Activities

Environmental Policy Officers

Arguably the most important observation concerns the low numbers of unions actually employing staff with explicit responsibilities for environmental issues. This finding is significant because more unions report environmental activity than report employing Environmental Policy Officers (EPOs), so someone must be doing the work. In such circumstances it is likely that environmental issues are dispersed across the union where, for example, they may be picked-up in an *ad hoc* manner by FTOs or delegated to senior lay representatives.

Eight unions employed support staff to deal with environmental issues, typically just one or two people. Although this means that at least one union does not have an EPO but does employ administrative staff to handle environmental work, support staff are more likely to be found providing key secretarial and administrative services to EPOs.

Only seven of the respondent unions employed one or more staff to develop their environmental policy agenda, but where this was the case the trend was to allocate environmental responsibility to a single postholder.

EPOs are classed as senior officials within union hierarchies. They may not necessarily spend all their time on environmental work. EPOs have a wide range of additional responsibilities particularly in 'back office' (research) and capacity-building (education and organisation) roles. However, EPOs may also have some non-environmental bargaining responsibilities.

The main characteristics of the EPO job are summarised in Table 5.2 and Table 5.3 provides details of the postholders. The sample is, of course, very small. But crudely it would seem that the typical EPO has been in post for at least two years, having worked for the same union for an unspecified period before that, in a different role. They are middle-aged and well-educated, but do not have a formal qualification in an environment-related subject. EPOs are therefore likely to be longstanding trade union professionals as opposed to environmental specialists purposely recruited to help unions engage with the green agenda. This is interesting for at least two main reasons. First, it suggests that these unions see the environment as another bargaining/organising/campaigning agenda - to be developed via traditional FTO skillsets - rather than an unknown and/or largely technical matter. Secondly, it challenges the claim that unions' newer agendas are attracting a new 'breed' of trade unionist hitherto unmoved by traditional union values and praxis (see Chapter 4) – at least as far as union headquarters are concerned.

Interestingly, despite the links between health and safety and the environment, only two EPOs also had formal responsibilities for health and safety. Similarly, there are links between the environmental agenda and unions' international agenda – PCS, for example, states "our journey to becoming a greener union began in 2002 following conference motions to affiliate to 'No Sweat' – a solidarity organisation that campaigns against sweatshops – and to support Oxfam's *Trade Justice Campaign* by using PCS' members power as consumers to encourage the use of fair trade products in workplaces" (PCS, 2008: 4). Yet only one EPO has formal responsibilities for international issues.

Union Leaderships and National Executives

The following section presents data regarding national union leaderships' support for environmentalism and the extent to which it is embraced and discussed by union NECs. Participation in TUSDAC (see Chapter 4) and national level links with EMOs are also investigated.

Speaking at the 2010 TUC Green Conference, Frances O'Grady, the TUC's Deputy General Secretary, said "the environment is now a strategic priority for the trade union movement. Our next priority is for trade unions to be seen as strategic actors in this agenda by government and by business". As a

Table 5.2: Characteristics of EPO Job

		Count
Is the Environmental Policy Officer...?	junior	0
	middle-ranking	1
	senior	5
% of postholder's time spent on Environmental issues	1%-50%	4
	>50% - <100%	2
	100%	0
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **Health and Safety**	yes	2
	no	4
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **Equalities/Diversity**	yes	2
	no	5
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **International**	yes	1
	no	5
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **Recruitment/Organisation**	yes	2
	no	4
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **Education and Learning**	yes	4
	no	2
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **Research (non-environmental)**	yes	3
	no	3
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **Negotiations (non-environmental)**	yes	4
	no	2
What Else does the Environmental Officer do? **Administrative or Managerial**	yes	4
	no	2

Table 5.3: Characteristics of EPOs

		Count
How long has the postholder been in the job?	One year or less	1
	More than one year but less than 2 years	0
	2 - 5 years	2
	More than 5 years	2
Postholder's last paid job before current environmental role	another role in the same union	4
	an environmental role in a different union	0
	a non-environmental role in a different union	1
	an environmental role, but not in a union	0
	a non-environmental role, and not for a union	1
	did not work	0
Postholder's Age	41-50	4
	51-60	2
Postholder's Highest Qualification	First Degree	2
	Masters Degree	1
	Professional Qualification	2
	Don't Know	1
Does the postholder have an environmental qualification?	yes	0
	no	5

strategic issue one would expect to see environmental issues being engaged with and resourced by union leaderships. Salamon (1992: 189) observes that:

> *The term 'leadership' is frequently used in such a way as to imply that it is located exclusively at the national level or, indeed, is embodied in a small group (the NEC) or a single role (the general secretary or president). However, in reality a trade union is not a monolithic entity with a single focal point of leadership. It is composed of an array of subgroups*

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> *administered and represented, at national and company levels, by a mixture of full-time officials and active lay officials. The leadership role within trade unions is therefore diffuse*

Salamon is right to observe that leadership can be found at all levels of the union wherever there is interaction between a variety of leadership functionaries and ordinary members and lay activists, and that it occurs within a range of formal and informal representative and administrative subsystems, particularly those related to participation and policy making.

As polyarchic organisations their senior management will typically comprise a mix of elected and unelected, professional and lay staff. Unions' National Executive Committees (NEC) are normally composed of elected ordinary members and take advice from relevant specialist and professional union employees (particularly FTOs). Although union's annual delegate conference (ADCs)[50] remains its sovereign policy making body, it is the NEC's job to implement conference policy and to discharge the duties of the union between conferences. A detailed evaluation of unions' participative and election subsystems is beyond the remit of this thesis and unnecessary. But as Salamon (1992: 193) observes:

> *Any union leader, at whatever level in the union hierarchy, would argue that the role is not simply to carry out the membership's wishes without question but to interpret them in the light of the external environments within which the organisation exists and to determine what is 'feasible and realistic'.*

Therefore although union leaderships are not all-powerful and cannot be fully understood without recourse to their specific institutional and processual contexts, they are obviously influential. They are, for example, likely to play key roles in unions' agenda-setting processes – where, as Danford *et al* (2006: 11) argue (see Chapter 4), they will be concerned with reconciling competing demands (from various parts of the organisation) in order to minimise conflict).

In Chapter 1 I argued that 'spats' between the elites of the labour and environmental movements masked grassroots and town and city level collaboration between trade unionists and ecologists. Siegman (1985), Mason (1999: 177), Norton (2004) and Yates (2004: 349) acknowledge the considerable influence of senior national union figures on policy and strategy. Siegman noted that some union leaderships were largely uninterested in prosecuting an environmental agenda even

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[50] Some unions hold their conferences every two years e.g. Prospect and GMB.

when their members wanted them to, but such resistance was harder to sustain in more democratic unions. Similarly, Mason's case study of the TGWU's environmental agenda (see Chapter 4) attributes its success to a combination of supportive national officials and decentralised structures. Slightly differently, Yates maintains that it is the actual tension between grassroots autonomy and centralised leadership control which enhances union innovation and strategic capacity: according to Yates too much leadership stifles activism but too little jeopardises "tactical unity" and risks poor resource management.

Michels (1958), of course, argues that senior trade unionists almost inevitably lose touch with their members, but Van de Vall (1970) argues that this is most likely where ordinary members are inactive and lay officialdom underdeveloped. There have been significant changes to trade union democracy and the balance of power between union leaders and ordinary members and activists since Michels

Figure 5.1: Frequency Chart for 'How Committed to Environmental Agenda are the Union's Most Senior Officials?'

How committed to Environmental agenda are union's most senior officials?
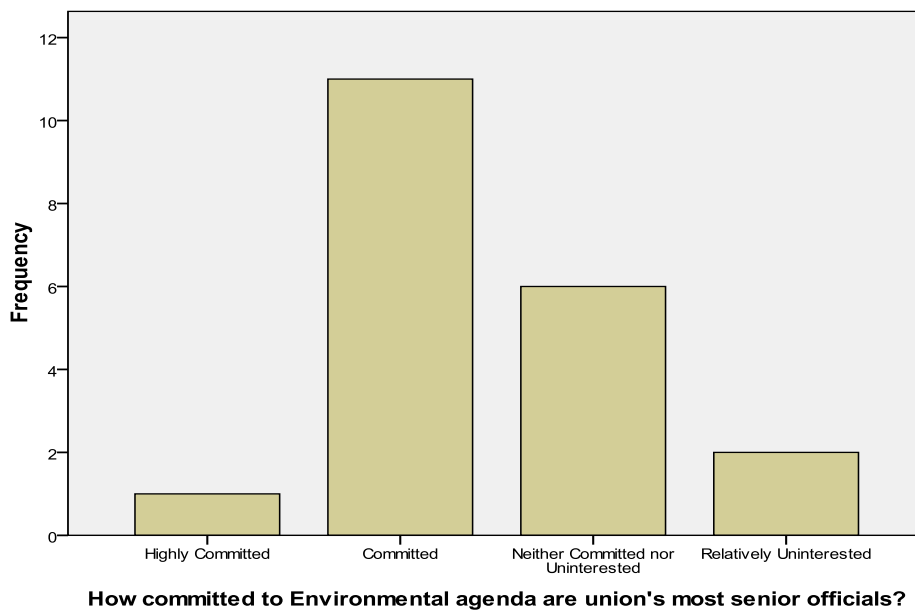
formulated the theory of 'the iron law oligarchy'. In recent years, some of these changes were prompted by the Conservative Government's anti-union legislation – purportedly introduced to force union leaders to eschew radical posturing and instead pursue policies more reflective of the average, moderate member[51] – and some by unions themselves in order to better represent

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[51] The 1984 Trade Union Act, for example, regulates union elections. Prior to the Act General Secretaries, once elected, were allowed to remain in post for life or, alternatively, only had to face re-election very 5-7 years,

membership diversity. Union leaderships' support for the green agenda was considered important by the TUC which, in 2005, organised a 'Green Leaders Breakfast' for union General Secretaries and Deputy General Secretaries, partly to convince unions of the importance of going green.

Figure 5.1 suggests that a majority (12) of senior officials are committed/highly committed to their union's environmental agenda. Six respondents describe their senior officials' attitude as one of 'neither committed nor uninterested' and two unions describe their senior officials as uninterested. Further, 15 union NECs 'occasionally' discuss environmental issues whilst two do so 'regularly' and only five 'never'. Although just seven unions have created formal national dedicated committees to discuss the environment, the figure rises to 12 for informal and/or *ad hoc* meetings to discuss the environment. The data suggests union elites are genuinely interested in environmental issues and shows that the environment is frequently discussed at a senior, national level.

National Unions and TUSDAC

TUSDAC is the main forum for dialogue between unions and government on environmental issues and was created in the late-1990s (see Chapters 1 and 4 for details). Membership of the Trade Union Side (TUS) is open to all TUC-affiliated unions, and attendees are typically senior FTOs or lay officials with an environmental remit within their union. The Official Side (OS) includes Ministers and/or senior civil servants from key Government Departments, including DEFRA. TUSDAC is co-chaired by a senior union official and the Secretary of State for the Environment[52]. The TUSDAC agenda typically comprises of what can best be described as high level strategic issues, e.g. those related to the development of the UK's environmental regulatory framework, green investment plans and identification of the skills associated with the transition to a low carbon economy.

In addition to the joint forum, the TUSDAC unions have established the TUSDAC Working Group and Policy Groups. These groups take forward the TUSDAC unions' environmental work on a 'day-to-day' basis (in-between the joint meetings) and also have an agenda-setting function. The Working Group also addresses internal issues (such as reviewing progress of the TUC's Green Workplaces Project and identifying funding streams for future environment-related activities).

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and the law of Buggins's' Turn characterised the succession process. In contrast, Presidents were elected by ordinary members and a way of retaining lay government. General Secretary elections are now much more frequent.

[52] Shortly after the 2010 General Election the Coalition Government informed TUSDAC that the Secretary of State for the Environment – Caroline Spelman – would no longer co-chair future meetings. The new co-Chair would be Lord Henley, the Under Secretary of State. This move has been interpreted by TUSDAC unions as possibly signalling a downgrading of TUSDAC by the Government.

As a TUC body, the TUSDAC unions have developed relationships with various organisations such as the Carbon Trust, Sector Skills Councils (SSCs) and the Advisory Committee on Business and the Environment (ACBE)[53]. Through these bodies unions have been able to contribute to and comment on key environmental and environment-related policies. In 2001, for example, TUSDAC and ACBE produced a joint response to the Department for Education and Employment concerning the role of National Training Organisations in promoting sustainable development (ACBE, 2001). In 2006 unions asked the Government to incorporate an energy-wide review of skills into its impending Energy White Paper (TSO, 2007). The White Paper duly required SSCs to conduct such an 'audit' and the TUC co-ordinated individual union responses, collaborating with several peak organisations including Cogent (the Sector Skills Council for nuclear, oil, gas refining and process industries), the Engineering Construction Industry Training Board and the National Skills Academy for Nuclear (Cogent, 2008). More recently, the TUC have collaborated with the Energy Intensive Users Group, (which consists of representatives from the steel, chemical, paper, cement, ceramics, aluminium and industrial gas industries) to identify opportunities for energy intensive companies in any switch to a low carbon economy (Centre for Low Carbon Futures, 2011). Similarly, unions in Northern Ireland have used their established links with SSCs and presence on the Sector Skills Development Agency Board to highlight potential skills gaps associated with the transition to a low carbon economy (NIC, 2008). The cross-cutting characteristics of the green agenda results in unions seeking to 'inject' and develop environmental perspectives and policies into their traditional bargaining agendas and domains – this can be understood as a 'greening' process, which often occurs within those agendas' existing institutions and consultation and policy making processes and is one of the four main 'types' of environmental interventions associated with unions' green agenda (see Chapter 3).

Table 5.4: TUSDAC Unions and Attendance in 2008

On TUSDAC Mailing List	Regular Attendees?
Unite (formerly Amicus and TGWU) PCS; Connect; GMB; NUT; UNISON; RMT; NUJ; Community; UCU; CWU; Prospect	Yes
RMT; AEAT; UCATT; TSSA; BECTU	No

Source: correspondence with Sarah Pearce, TUC Greenworks Project Manager

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[53] For example, the Carbon Trust co-funded the first tranche of the TUC's Green Workplaces Project, and there is union representation on the Boards of most of the UK's 25 SSCs.

Although all TUC-affiliates are entitled to become active in TUSDAC many unions do not bother – see Table 5.4 below, based on data provided by the TUC. Nevertheless, a significant number of the TUC's largest and/or influential unions appear at least interested, and many of them are active participants. This echoes the responses to my survey in which 12 unions answered 'yes' to the question "Does your union send representatives to TUSDAC?" and 10 answered 'no'.

National Union Relations with EMOs

There has been no previous 'audit' of union links with EMOs. Figure 5.2 shows which environmental organisations unions have contact with. Respondents were offered a range of organisations to choose from. The list was not exhaustive but included 15 of the most important and well known organisations, selected to represent four main 'types'. The Green Party was selected to represent an explicitly political organisation. The Carbon Trust was selected because it is by far the most important and well established technocratic and advisory body providing chargeable and *pro bono* environmental services to organisations as well as funding for certain green initiatives. Certain well known 'traditional' environmental organisations were selected to represent the more conservative (and conservation-focused) bodies active in the green agenda. Finally, a list of NSM EMOs was provided.

Twelve unions reported regular contact with an environmental organisation. Contact with The Carbon Trust was fairly common (7 unions). The government-funded Carbon Trust is one of the UK's premier environmental advisory bodies, a source of expert practical and regulatory advice. It is also an awarding body which co-funded the first tranche of the TUC's Green Workplaces Project (see later). Many organisations interested in going green – particularly reducing their carbon footprint – are likely to have engaged with The Carbon Trust. In addition to funding the TUC's Green Workplaces Project the Carbon Trust has advised certain unions' on their own in-house greening initiatives.

Unions have barely any contact with either the Green Party (2 unions) or traditional environmental groups (1 union). The Green Party has, since at least the late 1990s, attempted to develop closer ties with unions via its Green Party Trades Union Group (GPTU). Membership of the GPTU is open to all party members and as well as seeking to assist unions develop their green agenda, the GPTU was created to provide support and act as a focal point for Green Party members "who sometimes find themselves in a minority in their trades unions" (GPTU website, 2010): a clear reference to many unions' much stronger links with The Labour Party. The weak relationship between unions and the Green Party is almost certainly associated with the Green Party's political weakness and with unions' historical relationship with the Labour Party. These two considerations appear to trump the

increasing alignment between the environmental policies of trade unions and those of the Green Party – indeed, current Green Party policy on trade unions and workers' rights is certainly more closely aligned to those of unions than are the Labour Party's[54]. The Green Party was, and remains, largely excluded from the labour movement[55] and does not enjoy particularly close relations with individual trade unions. The Green Party has, however, fielded guest speakers at several national and regional TUC environmental conferences and at Campaign Against Climate Change Trade Union Group conferences (see below).

Figure 5.2: Contact With: Carbon Trust; Green Party; 'Old' EMO's (1); 'New' EMO's (2)
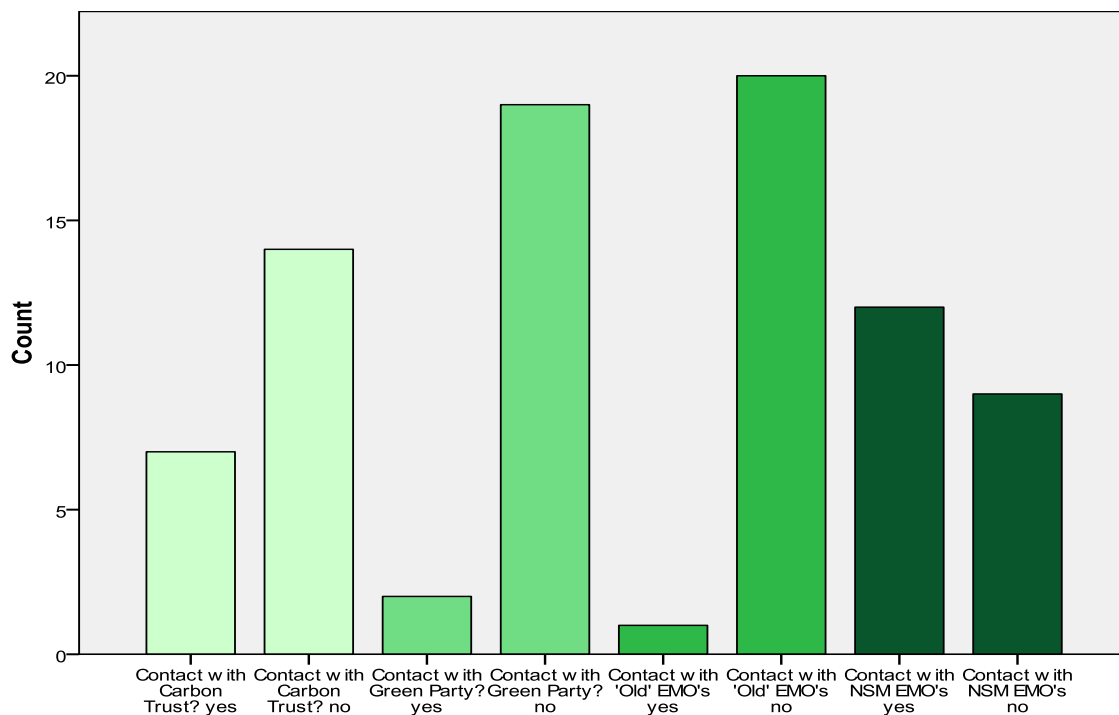
1) Respondents were offered: National Trusts; Royal Society for the Protection of Birds; World Wildlife Fund; Campaign to Protect Rural England

(2) Respondents were offered: Friends of the Earth; Greenpeace; A World To Win; Campaign Against Climate Change; Stop Climate Chaos Coalition; People and Planet; Rising Tide; Christian Ecology Link; Operation Noah

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[54] Throughout 2010 the Labour Party distanced itself from the Unite union's protracted dispute with British Airways. But Caroline Lucas, the Green Party's first MP, was very supportive. This is even more remarkable given the Green Party's beliefs regarding the contribution of the aviation industry to global warming.

[55] Rootes (in Rootes and Richardson, 1995: 84) argues that the Labour Party's inclusiveness during the 1980s meant that environmentalism was unable to compete effectively with other (radical) actors' agendas. Thus environmentalism within the Labour Party remained undeveloped and the Green Party largely ignored by the British left.

Twelve unions report regular national level contact with at least one NSM EMO, compared to just one union reporting contact with older environmental bodies (one of the National Trusts). Although many older bodies possess considerable political influence and are routinely consulted and listened to by governments, their interest in environmental politics is more likely to be indirect, peripheral or narrowly focused. They may also be concerned that allying themselves with an overtly political partner such as the trade union movement may dilute their influence with other key actors (and for some explicit political action may jeopardise their charitable status). Crucially, these older bodies may not easily conceive themselves to be part of a progressive movement and do not expound a normative vision of 'the good life' that tessellates with unions' wider social/political/industrial transformative agendas.

Of the 12 unions reporting regular contact with NSM EMOs, eight were in contact with the Campaign Against Climate Change, a relatively new grass-roots-led trade union organisation formed in the mid-2000s which is explored later in this chapter. Outside the trade union movement, FoE remains the most popular EMO to align with (6 unions) followed by Greenpeace and Stop Climate Chaos Coalition (4 each) and the student-led People and Planet (3). This is, of course, a two-way street – as Chapter 4 demonstrated, unions are building relationships with NSM EMOs and NSM EMOs themselves are reciprocating. Overall, unions reporting regular contact with at least one environmental organisation (of all types) were in relationships with 3-4 organisations - typically NSM EMOs, of which the Campaign Against Climate Change and FoE are the most popular. Unions' and EMO's propensity to collaborate – forged *inter alia* during key changes to the UK's POS in the 1990s – has been largely sustained. There is also recent evidence that these alliances are becoming more complex: in late 2011 for example the TUC, UCU, FoE, Greenpeace and Institute of Public Policy Research[56] formed the Greener Jobs Alliance to create links between unions, local authorities, training providers, employers and campaign groups to generate demand for low carbon jobs and training. The TUC has also established green apprenticeship partnerships with several major employers and training providers in low carbon construction, building retrofit, waste management and horticulture (Pearce, 2012).   Of more interest is the absence of contact with traditional, conservation-focused environmental organisations. As mentioned previously, these organisations are themselves less likely to be courting unions. But this patterning of union contact with EMOs reinforces the probability that unions have constructed 'the environment' as a cross-cutting and politically-charged progressive agenda which NSM EMOs are considered more able and willing to assist with.

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[56] A leading left-leaning thinktank.

Green Conferences

Several unions, such as PCS, UCU and Prospect, have organised stand-alone green conferences for their lay representatives and many regularly incorporate green events into their ADC fringe. For

Table 5.5: TUC Green Conferences 2007 - 2010, Guest Speakers and Workshop Themes

Year and Title	2007 – 'Environment Policy and the Climate Change Bill'	2008 – 'Trade Unions and Climate Change – a Just Transition'	March 2010 – 'Going Green at Work'	October 2010 – 'Alliances for Green Growth'
Guest Speakers	David Miliband, Secretary of State for the Environment; Nicky Gavron, Deputy Mayor of London; Tony Juniper, Executive Director FoE; Stephen Radley, Chief Economist, EEF(1); Barbara Young, Chief Executive, Environment Agency	Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for the Environment	Ed Miliband, Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change	Chris Huhne, Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change; David Kennedy, CEO, Committee on Climate Change; Caroline Lucas, Green Party Member of Parliament
Workshops	1. Local and regional action 2. Role of transport in a low carbon economy 3. What is happening in Europe and where next for Kyoto? 4. Jobs and skills 5. Greening the workplace 6. Climate Change Bill – how will it work?	1. A Just Transition 2. Think Global for a new trade union internationalism 3. Act local – green your workplace 4. Developing countries 'on the frontline' 5. Green transport 6. Floods, storms and droughts – is the UK ready for climate change?	1. Greening your workplace 2. Adaptation 3. Get CRC(2) ready 4. Targeting climate change 5. Climate solidarity	1. Building Local Green Alliances 2. Green Investment 3. Green Skills 4. Energy efficiency and the Coalition's 'Green Deal' (3) 5. Energy intensive industries 6. Green Energy 7. Alliances for a global climate deal

(1) UK manufacturing peak organisation.

(2) The UK Carbon Reduction Commitment, a carbon trading scheme affecting 5000 large organisations in the UK.

(3) A reference to the environmental policies of the UK's Coalition Government.

example, the PCS 2007 Green Forum was attended by over 90 representatives from approximately 70 union branches/sub-branches across the UK and employed in almost 30 different public and private sector organisations. UCU's first conference on the environment was held in 2009 and was attended by 50 delegates.

The TUC has organised occasional environmental conferences and workshops for FTOs and lay representatives since the 1970s, but since 2000 they became almost annual events. TUC green conferences typically take the form of keynote speeches, workshops and Q&A sessions and are well attended. The workshop themes and (external) guest speakers from a selection of recent conferences are shown in Table 5.5. The TUC also organised a Green Workplaces Day half-day workshop in 2009 at which participants in the TUC Green Workplaces Project (see later) explained their work.

The TUC's green conferences undoubtedly contain both educative and 'showcasing' elements. Although they are not formal policy making events they contribute to the formulation and consolidation of unions' environmental discourses and pivot around a relatively small number of strategic concerns. These concerns reflect unions' social reformist philosophy, drawing explicit links between environmental challenges and some traditional concerns - such as jobs, skills and international justice - which the TUC believes can only be successfully addressed by, *inter alia*, regulation, education, job creation, community regeneration and long term planning and investment policies, the details of which all sections of society should be invited to contribute to. However, unions' rather more technocentric workplace greening agenda has also featured prominently, with conference speeches, Q&A sessions and workshops used to promulgate and identify best practice.

Sub-national Environmental Activities

This section explores unions' sub-national environmental activities. First, survey data concerning the provision of green resources and training to sub-national union representatives are reported. The following sections examine the type of environmental training available and the extent of unions' green structures including the numbers and responsibilities of green representatives at unions' sub-national levels. Finally, two developments privileging unions' branch activists are investigated: the TUC's Green Workplaces Project and accelerating grassroots red-green activism.

Training and Resources for Union Green Representatives

The TUC is almost certainly responsible for providing the majority of formal environmental training to unions' green representatives (UGRs), and much of it is focused on the workplace greening

agenda. In 2010 for example, the TUC established a national online network for UGRs, aided by a grant from the UK's Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. The network comprises an e-newsletter and training materials, case studies and resources to support workplace negotiations (Pearce, 2012).

In addition to a range of printed materials available for purchase and/or downloading from the TUC website, the TUC also offers an on-line course for UGRs, and has developed a taught course for roll-out by TUC Regional Offices. Not all of the TUC's Regional Offices present this course regularly. TUC Regions are, of course, semi-autonomous and free to take regional-based decisions regarding the training they wish to make available to constituent unions each year and not all view the environment as a priority[57]. The South West TUC is particularly active, expanding its environmental training by constructing and delivering industry-specific environmental courses (e.g. for the brewing industry) [58]. However, the Northern TUC has worked with the North East Regional Development Agency to produce a three-year programme of action to build sustainable workplaces and communities (Northern TUC, 2006) and the North West TUC has organised a workshop-based conference for new UGRs focused on green jobs and environmental organising and campaigning ('For a Future that Works', North West TUC, 2012).

The survey found that 11 unions produce their own environmental resources and materials for branch representatives whilst 10 do not; while 12 unions encourage members to access environmental training and 10 do not. Many unions now have green pages on their websites featuring links to key environmental organisations and resources and some produce bespoke literature. Much of this material is focused on workplace greening: for example: PCS' 'Becoming a Greener Union' (2008) and 'Going Green in the Workplace' (2010); UNISON's 'Greening the Workplace' (2008) and Prospect's 'Greening Your Workplace Negotiator's Guide' (2007). Some unions, such as Prospect and UCU, issue newsletters and have established UGR networks and/or Facebook groups to keep their green activists informed and to encourage an *esprit de corps*.

Some individual unions, including Prospect, Community and Unite, have designed and delivered their own training to UGRs, whilst some have collaborated with other organisations to do this. PCS, for example, 'host' five digest courses on climate change designed specifically for trade unionists by the Climate Outreach and Information Network (COIN) and Ruskin College (COIN/PCS/Ruskin College, 2009):

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[57] At one recent TUC Green Conference I spoke informally to a sceptical senior official from one Region who remarked "I thought I'd better come to see what all the fuss is about".
[58] The contribution of fishing, the marine environment, agriculture and tourism to the South West's economy might explain the SWTUC's interest in environmental issues.

- **Climate Change Condensed**: "All you need to know about climate change in just three hours…for people who are new to climate change"

- **How to win the Climate change argument in a 15 minute tea break**: "for activists who want to overcome colleagues' denial and evasion of climate change"

- **A Green New Deal**: "what does a low carbon society mean for trade unionists?"

- **Climate change negotiation**: "how do I approach management about climate change issues?"

- **Trade union climate action groups**: "for trade unionists who want to discuss and work on a climate change issue that interests them".

Further details regarding unions' environmental training is provided later in the context of the TUC's Green Workplaces project and in the investigation of unions' community-based environmental work and rejuvenating red-green alliances.

Branch and Intermediate Level Green Representatives and Structures

Table 5.6 shows that 10 unions have green representatives at branch level, whilst five do not and seven do not know. This last figure is surprisingly high. It is possible that HQ-based EPOs are unfamiliar with what is happening across the wider union and/or there is a lack of effective governance over what is, after all, a relatively new union function. This contrasts sharply, for example, with the situation regarding unions' other relatively recent function of learning and skills and the numbers of ULRs in UK workplaces. Here, the TUC and most unions can provide accurate data with regards to the number of ULRs that exist, as well as the number of members accessing their services, because unions' learning agenda was initially funded by taxpayers' money which required an audit trail. As Sue Ferns, Head of Research at Prospect observes:

> *The same doesn't exist in regard to this function. There's been small funding from the Carbon Trust and there's some funding through the Union Modernisation Fund but it's all small-scale and the requirement to report back doesn't exist in the same way* (personal interview)

This view is echoed by the UCU's Environmental Co-ordinator Graham Petersen:

> *It's not being tracked in the same way, like the ULR programme has. That's primarily because there's been loads of money thrown at that, so there's a*

financial capacity to provide monitoring and growth. With the environment there's a lot of circumstantial evidence. I couldn't give you any figures, any statistics on the number of new green reps that we've recruited (personal interview)

Table 5.6: Branch Level Green Representatives

		Count
Percentage of branches that have allocated environmental responsibilities to one or more activists	0%	**5**
	1%-10%	**6**
	11%-30%	**4**
	no answer/do not know	**7**
Percentage for whom Environmental work is their sole or dominant union role	<10%	**8**
	do not know	**7**
	no answer	**2**
	not applicable	**5**
Percentage of Environmental reps who combine environmental work with Health and Safety	<10%	**2**
	31%-50%	**2**
	51%-70%	**1**
	>70%	**1**
	do not know	**9**
	no answer	**2**
	not applicable	**5**
Percentage of Branch Committees with an Environmental rep on them	<10%	**5**
	11%-30%	**1**
	do not know	**9**
	no answer	**2**
	not applicable	**5**

But Sue Ferns also observes:

The other reason you can't do it is because there isn't a recognised role of Environmental Rep. We have an environmental Network in Prospect, but (its members) *would not necessarily see themselves as Environmental Representatives. We don't issue cards like we do with Health and Safety Reps. So there's uncertainty amongst people themselves about whether they are Environmental Reps. And, of course, in some areas Health and Safety Reps are taking on this role, partly because they've got the facilities. So what would you be counting?* (personal interview)

Of the 10 unions who do report having representatives with a formally allocated green remit, six believe that no more than 10% of their total branches have green representatives, whilst four believe between 11% - 30% of their branches feature green representatives. Further, where UGRs do exist their actual environmental role is likely to only be their main role in <10% of cases. For example, six unions indicate that many of their UGRs are also likely to be Health and Safety Officers. Finally, six unions indicated that their UGRs are represented on formal branch structures, albeit rarely (never exceeding 30% of potential cases). Leaving aside the difficulties associated with identifying and counting UGRs it seems that: only a relatively small number of unions have any; those that do, do not have many; the green role is unlikely to be their main union role and if they are members of their Branch Committees it is not necessarily in their capacity as a UGR.

Table 5.7: Unions' Operationalization of a Green Agenda at Intermediate Levels of the Union

Are there any *Individuals (*lay or otherwise) with environmental responsibilities at any intermediate levels of the union - in-between branches/sub-branches and the national union?			Are there any environmental *Structures* at Intermediate levels of your union?		
yes	**no**	**do not know**	**yes**	**no**	**do not know**
3	14	3	4	15	2

Regarding unions' intermediate occupational/company/industry-based structures only three unions had individuals with specific environmental responsibilities and only four unions featured environmental structures at this tier. Respondents are more likely to be familiar with what is happening at this level (because it is closer to headquarters) hence the number of 'don't knows' is significantly less. See Table 5.7.

The immaturity of unions' sub-national structures contrasts sharply with the activities of the TUC and with some of the evidence relating to certain unions' national level activities which instead indicates that the environment is viewed as a strategic priority worth allocating resources to. A core-periphery model of understanding unions' resourcing of the environment is therefore suggested: well-defined structures exist at the centre (the TUC), becoming slightly 'patchier' as the focus shifts

Figure 5.3: Impetus Behind Environmental Policy-making (μ) (Score: 1-6; 1=least influential, 6=most influential)
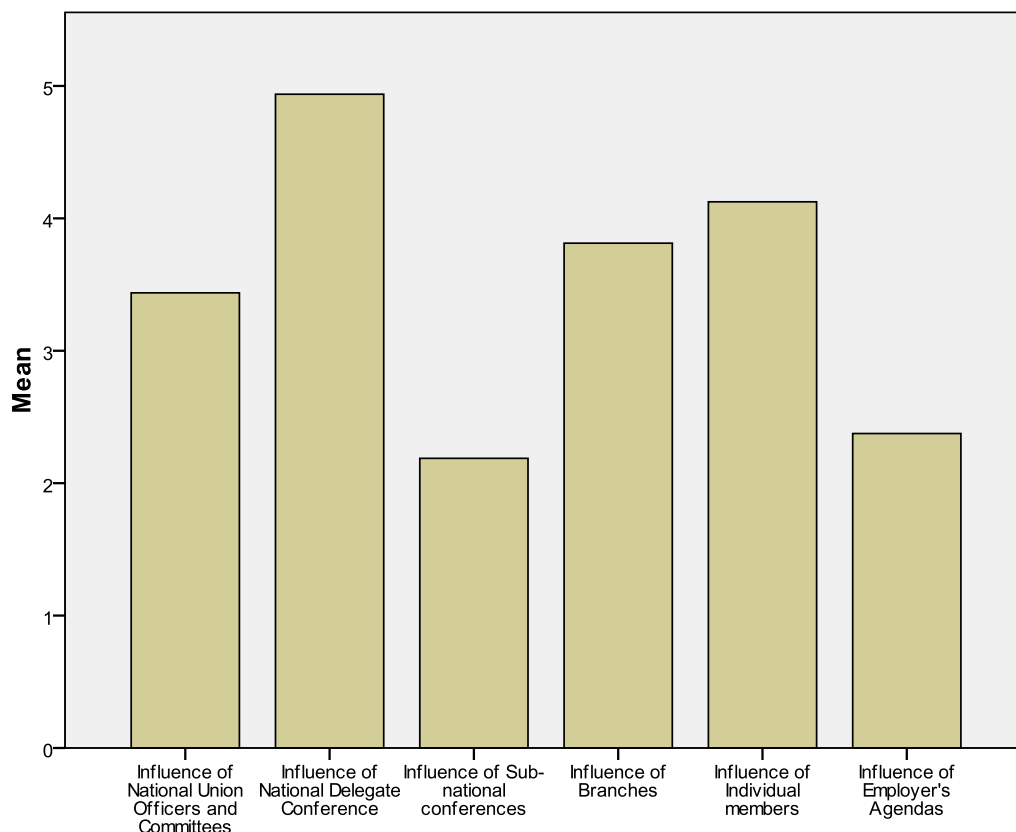
outwards to individual unions and 'patchier' still when we look at individual unions' sub-national provision. The underdeveloped sub-national structures currently in place to operationalise unions' green agenda suggests that the environment remains an inchoate function of the UK trade union movement; and the implementation deficit tentatively identified in Chapter 4 *vis-à-vis* the LRD survey data is further reinforced.

This core-periphery model oddly appears less useful for understanding unions' *interest* in the environment: the environment is popular at the centre (the TUC) and (according to the LRD survey) popular at the periphery with branch activists and ordinary members. So is it 'sagging' in the middle at the level of individual unions and their leaderships, i.e. those who exercise most direct and day-to-day control over union resources, expenditure and policy and whose actions function to activate and deactivate memberships?

My questionnaire asked 'who is driving unions' interest in the environment?' - see Figure 5.3. Some unions do not have sub-national conferences, and if these are excluded we are roughly left with a 'bottom-up' picture: employers, as external actors, have the least influence; followed by national union officials and committees; followed by branches; followed by individual members. Unions' Annual Delegate Conferences (ADC) have most influence[59]: although the ADC is a national body it typifies lay government and places members and branches at the forefront of policy making. If one takes the view that the ADC is a member-led institution then it is possible to argue that the environment is pushed least forcefully and consistently by those union actors and institutions farthest from the members – but those who exercise most direct control over union resources and expenditure[60]. However, although union memberships and lay activists are frequently at odds with their unions' national leaders, overall most headquarters appear interested in the green agenda (see earlier).

This situation – of relatively high and smoothly distributed interest across the union movement but modest sub-national resourcing and activity - may either be because efforts to operationalise a unionised green agenda locally are being frustrated or it may be evidence that unions' environmental agenda remains in transition.

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[59] One must acknowledge the risk that respondents would want to emphasise the democratic nature of their unions and play down the influence of elites and appointed FTOs. However, Congress and ADC data presented in chapters 1, 3 and 4 constitute firm evidence of bottom-up environmental policymaking.

[60] Of course, it is also possible to understand the ADC as an elitist institution too, reserved for unions' elite sub-national lay activists; but this does not automatically undermine the wider point *vis-à-vis* who exercises most control over resources.

Figure 5.4: Where are unions implementing a green agenda?
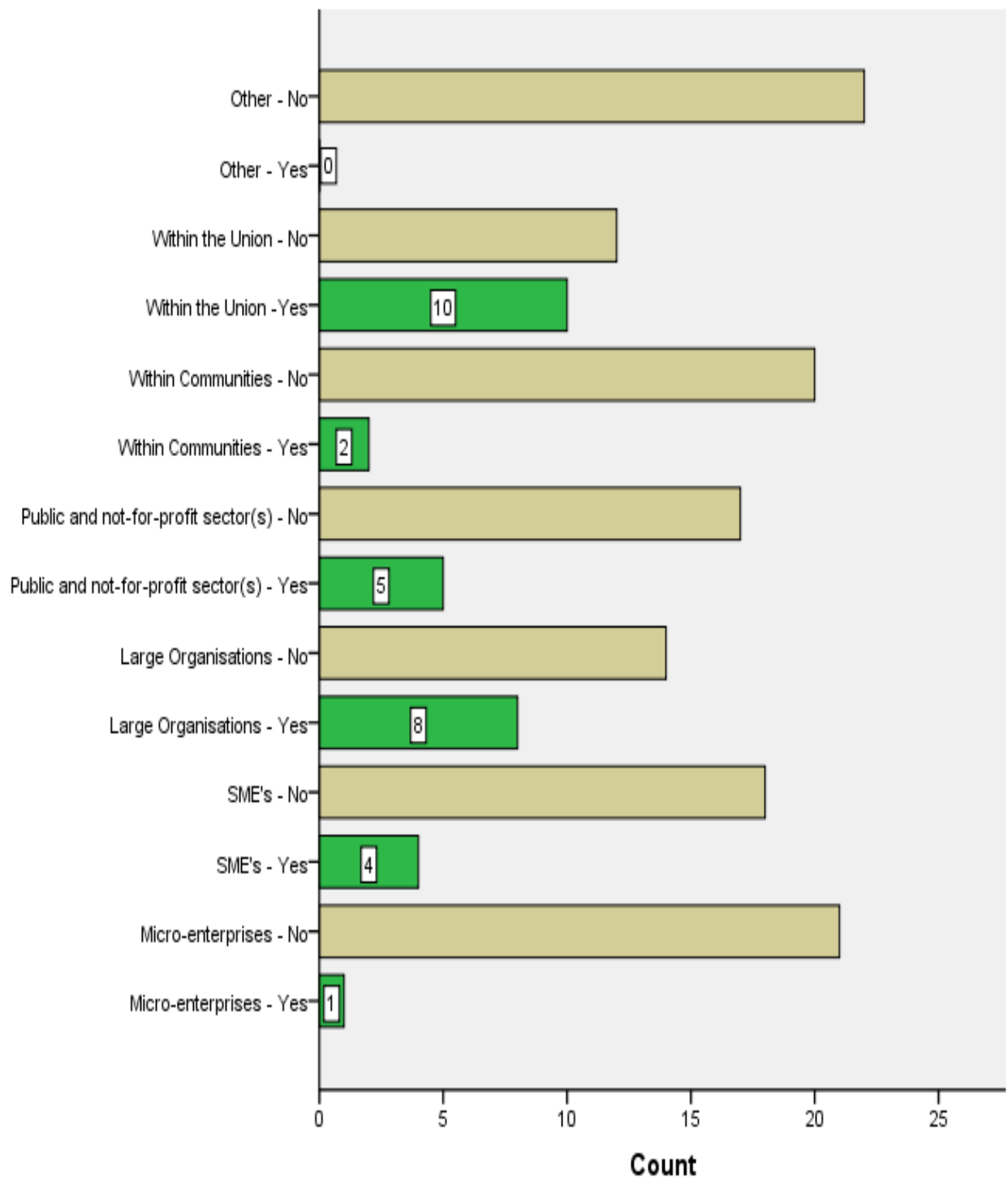
The most likely source of opposition to unions' sub-national green agenda is employers, who may do so by withholding facility time. However, EMOs report employers exercising relatively little influence over unions' green agenda, and even the 2009 LRD survey suggests that UGRs are either successfully securing time off or are at least adept at coping with insufficient allocations of facility time (see Chapter 4).

More probably, unions' environmental agenda remains in transition – but a qualitatively different transition to that of the 1990s explored in chapters 3 and 4. During the 1990s unions were busy trying to identify how the environment could be incorporated into their wider industrial agendas. Those debates appear to be partly resolved (with unions' green agenda settling around 'Just Transition' – see later this chapter - and workplace greening) suggesting that unions' are instead now capacity-building and seeking to consolidate the agenda. The fact that 17 of the respondent unions anticipate their environmental agendas increasing in the future reinforces this analysis.

Greening Initiatives

Individual Unions Green Activities

An examination of the unions' own grey materials suggests that large numbers of union-organised workplaces are doing *something* on the environment. Much of it is small scale, however, and often the reportage does not indicate clearly whether the union actually contributed to a particular innovation or whether it was employer-led or prompted by other non-union interests in the workplace (and might, therefore, have happened with or without the union). Unions' in-house publications are also likely to exaggerate their role to impress the membership. The questionnaire revealed that 10 of the respondent unions were implementing a green agenda somewhere and more detail is provided in Figure 5.4.

According to Figure 5.4 most greening is occurring in large and/or public sector organisations (and within unions themselves – a matter of getting their own house in order). There is less activity in smaller organisations or in the private sector, and unions are not active in community-based environmentalism (see later). This patterning is largely unsurprising and further evidence of capacity building and the agenda's newness. Unions are generally stronger in the public sector than the private sector and stronger in large organisations than small ones (see Chapters 3 and 4) and it certainly make sense to pilot a relatively new agenda with those branches and in those settings where the union has an established presence and the capacity to absorb the extra work (see also Chapter 7).

Table 5.8: Amount of Time Spent by Unions on Various Environmental Categories

Category	Significant Amount of Time	Fair Amount of Time	No/little Time	Count
Transport	3	8	10	21
Energy	3	7	10	20
Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution	1	9	11	21
Manufacturing/Economy	4	3	14	21
Environmental Regulation/Policy Instruments	1	8	11	20
Marine Environment	0	2	18	20
Farming/Food	0	5	15	20
Human Health	2	7	12	21
Wildlife/Conservation	0	1	19	20
Water	2	6	12	20
Globalisation/International Environmental Issues	4	11	5	20
Research and Development/Science	2	5	13	20
Housing/Land-use	2	4	14	20
Emergency Services	2	2	16	20
Population Growth	0	3	17	20
Infrastructure Projects	1	6	13	20

Table 5.8 shows how much time unions are spending on a range of environmental categories (the categories were derived from content analysis of environmental motions submitted to Congress – see Chapter 3). These are broad, strategic categories and the responses probably refer to what

EPOs/national unions are doing although sub-national levels may be contributing. 'Transport', 'Energy', 'Global Warming', 'Environmental Regulation' 'Human Health' and 'International

Figure 5.5: Mean Importance Scores for Environmental Categories (0=no importance; 10=high importance)
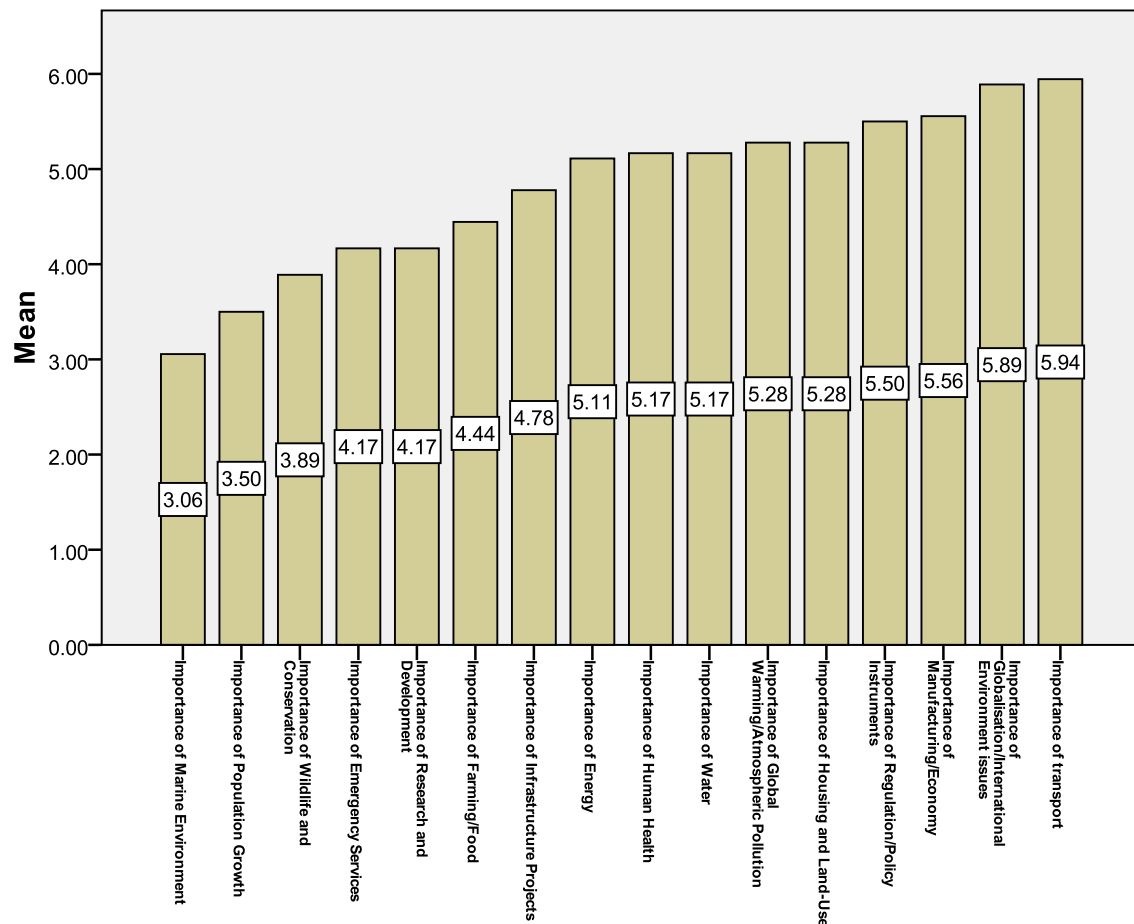
Environmental Issues' are those most frequently engaged with. 'Population Growth', 'Emergency Services', 'Wildlife Conservation' and 'Marine Environment' exercise unions least. Time spent on specific categories broadly correlates with the importance unions attach to them (Figure 5.5), which suggests that unions do exercise a degree of control over the agenda.

A review of union grey materials suggests much workplace greening activity is focused on reducing energy usage and waste and reducing carbon footprints. Some activities are linked to the union's/activist's occupational concerns: both the UCU and NUT, for example, have worked on green curriculum projects and Unite have worked with road haulage firms to improve fuel and driver

efficiency (LRD, December 2005). Some unions, such as CWU, have found it necessary to 'smuggle' environmental issues into their more established health and safety agenda in order to raise green issues with management (LRD, February 2007). The extent to which branches engage with the environment naturally varies: it may range from putting posters on union noticeboards reminding staff not to leave computers on standby, to participation in formal joint Environmental Working Groups (EWGs) - the 2009 LRD survey uncovered 430 different formal and informal EWGs (Pearce, 2012). But even where EWGs exist, they may not necessarily be recognised by management as formal negotiating fora and unions may just be one of several interests represented.

PCS, Prospect and UNISON appear particularly active. In addition to the TUC Green Workplaces Project (see below) UNISON is operationalizing a workplace green agenda in: Great Ormond Street Hospital; The Peak District National Park; The University of Brighton; Broomfield Hospital; City College Manchester (jointly with UCU) and Bristol City Council (UNISON, 2010). The latter is funded by the South West Regional Development Agency[61] and supported by the SWTUC. UNISON established a Green Representatives Committee which is formally recognised by Bristol City Council and has contributed to the council's waste management and recycling policies. Elsewhere, UNISON have been able to access funding from the Scottish Executive's 'Climate Change Challenge Fund' and the Wales Development Fund for Unions[62] to launch similar projects and initiatives in Scotland and Wales.

Overall, unions' environmental activities appear concentrated in areas where they are strong and have coalesced around a relatively limited number of key issues that are important to them. Unions' grey materials emphasise the growing popularity of the green agenda but are an inaccurate guide to what is occurring across the movement. In fact the clearest message from Table 5.9 is that unions' environmental activism remains a minority pursuit, with a majority of unions spending "No or Little Time" on almost every environmental category; only modest numbers spending "Fair Amounts of Time" on any and extremely small numbers spending "Significant Amounts of Time" on any. These results also contrast with the data presented earlier confirming that union leaderships are generally committed to the agenda and that the environment is discussed regularly at a national level – for now, there appears to be more 'talk' than 'action'.

The TUC Green Workplaces Project and Workplace Greening

The TUC's Green Workplaces project was funded by a grant from the Carbon Trust. The project commenced in 2006 and had the following aims (TUC, 2008: 6):

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[61] This no longer exists. Regional Development Agencies were disbanded by the UK Coalition Government as part of their policy to reduce public spending.
[62] Wales own equivalent of the Union Modernisation Fund (see footnote 14)

- Practical engagement of workers and management in six schemes at workplace level, to secure measurable energy savings in the short term

- Project monitoring in up to six schemes, including an audit of achieved energy savings

- Longer term Framework Agreements under discussion towards embedding carbon management arrangements

- A report-back conference

Phase 2 of the Project ran from 2008 - 2011[63], this time funded by the Union Modernisation Fund[64]. The Green Workplaces Project was the first of its kind in the UK and was, to some extent, designed to showcase unions' commitment to the environment as well as demonstrate the contribution that unions could make to improving employers' environmental performance. Details of Phases 1 and 2 are provided in Table 5.9. Individual unions worked with TUSDAC to identify suitable workplaces. The selected workplaces appear to confirm the observation that most activity is occurring in the public and not-for-profit sector (unions, civic amenities, hospitals, councils and central government departments) and/or in large organisations. Of the five private sector case studies, Scottish Power, BT and United Utilities were once public sector organisations and there is therefore a legacy of union activity and established systems of employee relations.

A Project Manager was recruited and a special project steering group comprising of TUSDAC members was set up to oversee progress. The steering group and Project Manager arranged to provide participating branches with bespoke information, resources and training. In most cases branches were expected to work collaboratively with employers and to form EWGs to achieve specified CO_2 savings. Reductions were generally made, but progress was slow. TUSDAC and the TUC are, however, keen to emphasise a range of additional benefits associated with the union workplace greening agenda.

First, the project prompted stronger links between the TUC's environmental agenda and Unionlearn, the TUC's learning and skills provider. The TUC consequently published two key resources for union branches: 'Go Green at Work: a handbook for union green representatives' and 'Targeting climate change: a TUC Education workbook for trade unionists' in 2008 and 2009 respectively. The latter contains an inspection checklist for UGRs to conduct an environmental audit of their workplace as

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[63] The TUC are seeking new funding to continue the work.
[64] A grant scheme administered by the Department for Business Innovation and Skills, created by the Labour Government to assist union modernisation and innovation. It was abolished by the Coalition Government in September 2010 with immediate effect.

Table 5.9: Unions and Workplaces in the TUC Green Workplaces Projects

	Union(s)	Employer/Workplace
Phase 1 (2006 – 2007)	PCS, Prospect, TGWU, FDA	British Museum, London
	Community, TGWU-Unite	Corus Steelworks, Wolverhampton
	na	TUC (Congress House + 6 Regional Offices
	Prospect, UNISON, AMICUS	Scottish Power, Motherwell
	AMICUS	Friends Provident – Dorking, Exeter, Salisbury, Manchester (financial services)
	PCS, Prospect, FDA	DEFRA, York
Phase 2 (2008 – 2010)	Prospect (formerly Connect), CWU	BT, Adastral Park, Ipswich
	UNISON	Great Ormond Street Hospital, London
	UNISON, GMB, Unite	Leicester City Council
	Prospect, PCS, FDA	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
	Prospect, PCS	National Museums, Liverpool
	na	NUT Headquarters, London
	GMB, Prospect, UNISON, Unite	United Utilities (water company)

Source: TUC Green Workplaces Project 2006 – 7 (April 2008) (London, TUC) and Green Works: TUC Green Workplaces Project Report 2008 – 10 (TUC, London)

well as resources and advice relating to campaigning and negotiating on: EMS; energy; green travel plans; waste; water; finance and procurement. A copy of the inspection checklist is provided at Appendix I.

Secondly, the project also increased interest in environmental issues generally, across the wider trade union movement and amongst pre-existing industry-specific employee-based networks. Finally, the project facilitated enhanced red-green links and increased interest in environmental issues among business.

The TUC identifies the following key lessons learned:

- There must be an ongoing relationship between the Project Team and participating branches to ensure that the agenda retains momentum;
- Employers need to see unions as part of the solution;
- Employers generally appreciated the ability of unions to secure employee engagement;
- Unions need to use legislation effectively to achieve greening objectives;
- In multi-union workplaces it is important to involve members and reps from a wide range of occupations;
- Senior management buy-in is desirable;
- The creation of formal structures and securing facility time "is essential to achieving quick progress and building effective campaigns";
- Branches must be realistic about what they can achieve and build capacity incrementally;
- Management-led initiatives with no or little union involvement are less effective at raising the profile of environmental issues at work – and less trusted by staff - than those where unions have visible leading roles.

Source: TUC Green Workplaces Project 2006 – 7 (April 2008) (London, TUC) and Green Works: TUC Green Workplaces Project Report 2008 – 10 (March 2010) (TUC, London)

The TUC Case for Workplace Greening

Over 50% of carbon emissions are related to commercial activities whilst only 28% are associated with residential end users (TUC, 2008:10). The Carbon Trust estimates that British companies waste over £1bn of energy each year (Carbon Trust, 2009). The switch to a low carbon economy therefore requires intervention at sectoral, industrial, organisation and workplace levels. Workplace greening is a bottom-up intervention focused on individual organisations and workplaces, designed to complement union's wider green jobs agenda. The following section uses elite interview data to facilitate a deeper understanding of unions' workplace greening agenda (and, in particular, views regarding the agenda's ability to function as a vehicle for union renewal):

- Penny Morley: Chair of the TUSDAC Working Group until 2009

- Caroline Molloy: TUC Green Workplaces Project Manager 2006 – 2009

- Sarah Pearce: TUC Green Workplaces Project Manager 2009 – August 2011

- Graham Petersen: UCU Environmental Co-ordinator and author of the TUC's 'Targeting Climate Change – A TUC Education Workbook for Trade Unionists' (TUC, 2009)

These views and the TUC's wider claims for workplace greening (see below) are tested fully in Chapter 7 (Case Studies).

Employee Interest in Workplace Greening

The TUC believes that the environment is a popular issue which people want to become involved in. Caroline Molloy recalls a union-led environmental awareness day at the insurance firm Friends Provident:

> *...the steward there who organised that said to me "this is by far the most interest we've ever had in any union event"* (personal interview)

Caroline reports a similar experience at the British Museum:

> *… a quarter of the staff came down to the day, and the Carbon Trust speaker said when you have these events that management alone put on rather than a joint event you expect to get 5 or 10 per cent of the workforce. So to get a quarter of the workforce is good. And you can see clearly that you've got everyone from the cleaners and the security guards to the curators* (personal interview)

The TUC claims workers are increasingly keen to act sustainably in the domestic sphere and now want increased opportunities to act sustainably at work. According to Sarah Pearce the green agenda appeals to people who simply want to feel empowered and listened to on an issue they care about:

> *… there is this kind of untapped demand there of people feeling frustrated if they come to work and they feel that it's all, just out of their hands and there's no way of them controlling that; then apart from anything else it's just more pleasant, more quality job, more empowering for people to feel that they do have a way of making a difference in work* (personal interview)

Unions' workplace greening agenda has distinct educational and empowering objectives. According to Caroline, unions are in a perfect position to represent and facilitate employees' ethical concerns:

We're making the link with issues around fuel poverty, around the links between what people are doing at home, saying that unions aren't just concerned about what happens in your working life. We want people to feel empowered. I mean the Carbon Trust did a survey where they said that seventy per cent of workers wanted to be more green at work, but they wanted - they needed - more help from their employers to be able to do so (personal interview)

Sarah Pearce agrees:

Even before you get into issues about job security, and the impact of climate change and rising fuel costs on people's job security, some people are motivated in the workplace by purely wanting to make that environmental difference, which they become interested in out of work (personal interview)

Caroline also maintains that employees are supportive of unions' environmental activism:

We're saying to people "you might not have realised that unions are about these newer things". They might have thought unions were purely about pay, and people said "Oh yeah, I didn't know unions were into all this sort of other stuff" (personal interview)

The Workplace Environmental Agenda

According to Graham Petersen:

The topics we chose were quite clearly the ones coming through as core areas for union involvement. Energy, transport policy, waste management, water. But we wanted to go a bit wider than the traditional core, into areas like ethical investment and procurement and that type of thing. So it was a mixture of looking at trade union and management organisation; how you can develop policies and agreements with an employer (personal interview)

Penny Morley believes the agenda varies from workplace to workplace:

It depends on where the people are what sorts of issues there are, how they can get involved in this. We had a famous case of a chemical factory in the north-east where because they went down the road of doing something about the chemical pollution that was coming from the factory they enhanced the life of the factory, turned it around, changed things (personal interview)

Similarly, Caroline Molloy recalls being surprised by some transport workers' concerns:

… they wanted to talk about fuel poverty, they were concerned, if not for themselves, often very concerned about their parents and the impact of fuel poverty on them. I've spoken to drivers - even a couple of years before we talked so much about biofuels - who were very interested. They didn't just want to talk about how they might get some training to drive in a more fuel-efficient fashion, although they were interested in that. They wanted to talk about big policy issues that they're reading about in the papers. They're saying "we're not just here to learn about how to turn the lights off, we're here to engage with this" (personal interview)

Sarah Pearce concurs:

It's about raising awareness really…it's also about green travel and possibly negotiating the possibility to work from home or negotiating time-off. Like, for instance, the GMB who negotiated a four-day week because it saved the employer energy. But obviously if you're going to do something like that it's important everybody's consulted. It's not just about pounds and pennies, it can be about all kinds of working conditions (personal interview)

Popular interest in the environment may not be enough to sustain a robust workplace greening agenda. Penny Morley maintains "you've got to have a certain level of stability of employment to be able to get involved in these sorts of areas anyway". Penny recalls:

All the survey work that we've done shows enormous enthusiasm from trade unionists for the unions to be doing more. So it's clearly an issue that is high up on our steward's agenda, but that will vary. If your factory is gonna be closed, the issue that will concern you most is not going to be this. I mean we've had places where we've had good environment reps, rang them up for an update and was told the factory's closed (personal interview)

The precise greening agenda pursued may therefore reflect workforce and workplace specificities. But according to Graham Petersen there has to be an underpinning concern for the environment:

… in a way this is an issue which goes beyond the kind of personal 'what's in it for me' approach, and the people who are going to be engaged are going to see it in

a more collective sense of broadly saving the planet, so they're going to have that ideology attached to it (personal interview)

According to Sarah Pearce although there are a range of practical benefits associated with the environmental agenda genuine concern for the environment is a prerequisite. She also maintains that workplace greening is able to contribute to a wider, values-based quality-at-work agenda:

You get a safer working environment, safer, healthier, cleaner, less polluted, less wasteful. But the one thing that I'm always emphasising to employers and to union reps is that they really have to value the environment for its own sake. It's about environmental issues. It's not actually about increasing the numbers of reps, that happens naturally, that's a side-effect. If you don't value the environment for its own sake then people looking in will just see straight through it and it loses all credibility. And people do get a buzz out of it. It's one of those where it's not necessarily going to be money-orientated so it's about, and it sounds corny, having a good feeling (personal interview)

A conservative workplace greening agenda does not, of course, guarantee interest, but it minimises opposition and does not put employers on the defensive; indeed, the emphasis on reducing energy bills appeals to management and for now there is little evidence of unions arguing for the re-cycling of any savings (on energy for example) either back into the business or into employee benefits. Graham Petersen observes:

I think some people do feel guilty about raising this as an issue if it was just going to end up in people's pay packets and potentially increase their consumer lifestyle. But I don't have a problem with it if you're looking at the potential for sharing the profit and savings and putting them into schemes that the workforce would benefit from and have a green basis or environmental basis, rather than just cash in hand (personal interview)

But Caroline Molloy is less hesitant:

In some cases, what they do is for a portion to be donated to environmental charity. And, yeah, ultimately, is that cost benefit going to be ploughed back in to bonuses for us? There are some examples, actually, of one or two places where that has happened. Or indeed where people have negotiated shorter working weeks on the basis that that would also have an energy saving. It's just a question of where you set the bar… as people gain confidence in their

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negotiating abilities this would become something they'll be able to take on
more and more (personal interview)

A technical and depoliticised conservative workplace greening agenda leaves unions vulnerable to accusations that it is acting as a midwife to ecological modernisation (not the crime of the century but a far cry from the progressivism which some ecosocialists attach to the agenda – see later). However, it is doubtful whether any of the pilot organisations (or, indeed, my case studies) provided unions with opportunities to pursue a substantive radical agenda (such as reorienting products and services to meet ecological or wider societal needs). The standard environmental agendas pursued were those that had wide appeal and which contributed to each organisation's emissions targets.

Workplace Greening as a Vehicle for Recruiting New Members and Activists

Unions are pitching their workplace greening agenda to a wide audience: union members, non-members and management. This may reflect a unitarist belief that environmental issues cut-across traditional interests and/or a practical view that for organisations to improve their environmental performance they must engage all employees and management.

It may also reflect a belief that the agenda needs to be marketed widely in order to achieve initial traction in workplaces and for union involvement gradually to acquire legitimacy: unions' current model of workplace greening, then, may be vulnerable to renegotiation once the agenda becomes established. One alternative model of workplace greening would see unions focused on providing resources and training to UGRs only, equipping them to negotiate an environmental agenda with their employers which the latter then operationalizes (via line managers, rules and guidelines to staff) and the union monitors – much as it would do with a new HR policy.

But even though unions are currently promoting an inclusive environmental agenda that does not differentiate between members and non-members, it is clear that they see it as an issue around which they can campaign, recruit and organise. According to Penny Morley:

… from the point of view of increasing our organisation … we looked at what's
happened in other areas with union learning reps and equality reps, where
certainly in the case of union learning reps there has been some success in
getting the union agenda extended to a new area. And people see the potential
for the environment and want to follow that and get the environmental agenda
actually expanding the unions, what the union can negotiate on and organise
around in the workplace (personal interview)

The prevailing view is that unions' workplace greening agenda provides non-members with an additional reason to join the union; provides new opportunities for existing members to become *more* active; and some of these will go on to become UGRs. This process raises the profile of the union and leads to growth. Penny Morley believes the agenda is very effective in terms of attracting new activists:

> *There's no 'golden bullet' for union resurgence that's gonna come from any one issue, to be honest. But in terms of environmental issues certainly our experience in the workplace pilots, and with our own members, is our members and our stewards are getting drawn into this in a huge range of ways … we would see this as another way in which you may draw people in to union involvement, who haven't been previously* (personal interview)

But in some workplaces the agenda is led by established union representatives, not new ones Caroline Molloy observes:

> *Union learning reps and health and safety in some workplaces are actually taking on this agenda, because, after all, they have statutory rights and therefore the time is less of an issue for them* (personal interview)

In terms of recruitment, unions do not routinely ask new members why they joined, so it is difficult to test these claims. According to Sarah Pearce:

> *We don't have numbers of increases in membership. But we have a lot of anecdotal evidence. So for instance the green workplaces in the British Museum we can say that we held an open day there and out of 800 staff we had 200 people turn up, which the Carbon Trust would say normally you'd have about 5% turn-out if it was management-led, but because the union was involved we had a quarter of the staff turn out for it. We had 80 people enrol for 20 places on the courses, we had to keep rolling-out the courses to cope with that. So we can sort of give anecdotal evidence that "yes" it does attract environmental reps', but we haven't got numbers. And that's something that we very much want to look into* (personal interview)

Overall, employees appear to be interested in participating in initiatives to make their workplaces greener, and formal union participation in workplace greening is generally supported by members and non-members alike. But evidence of the agenda's utility to recruit members and activists is patchy.

Workplace Greening and Employee Relations

Chapter 4 drew a link between unions' developmental agendas and partnership. Partnership is associated with the mutual gains approach to employee relations where unions are constructed as jointly responsible for organisational success and expected to endorse partnership as a means of providing employers with increased support for their policies. Accordingly, if unions successfully secure the support of senior management for union policies this may increase the effectiveness and appeal of the union (Moore, 2011). Finally, partnership is expected to generate better environmental policies.

Unions' experience during both phases of the project suggest they encountered few difficulties in occupying key roles in the green agenda or convincing employers that the organisation's environmental performance is a legitimate subject of industrial relations and wider employee scrutiny. According to Sarah Pearce:

> *The main focus for the project is using environmental issues as a vehicle for improving industrial relations. BERR[65] refer to it as the "transformational potential" of the project. How can we get employers working more positively with unions and vice versa? Because it does have great potential for improving industrial relations* (personal interview)

However, Caroline Molloy maintains that some employers were less willing to discuss the issue:

> *We found that employers want to set the terms, obviously, and they want to be able to control the flow of information, there's been resistance sometimes to getting information about energy usage and stuff like that. We've been able to get it in the end but its taken persistence* (personal interview)

According to Sarah Pearce workplace greening is "good for partnership because it's largely uncontroversial". This will clearly vary according to the environmental agenda under discussion and the employer's attitudes towards unions, as Penny Morley observes:

> *Yeah, I think it's quite a good* (partnership) *issue. But in my view I think if you've got a good relationship with the employer on a whole range of issues, and if you've got a negotiating structure that's working, this will be another issue that you get on the bargaining agenda. If you've got a rubbish employer that doesn't*

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[65] The UK's Department of Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform

want to talk to you about your pay or anything else they're not going to talk to
you about this either (personal interview)

But Sarah Pearce believes the consensus associated with the environmental agenda can spread to other, more contested agendas:

(The environment is) *something that they can concentrate on and negotiate*
around that they're not so at odds with. If you think of it, there are going to be
some workplaces where it's difficult to get them round the table at all and if the
employer is aware of the benefits to them of embracing the environmental
agenda, then that gives them an incentive to talk to the unions about other
working conditions (personal interview)

Union participation is also viewed as superior to top-down management-led efforts. According to Caroline Molloy:

In all the projects that we did there have been some attempts by the employers
in the past to set up 'green champion' schemes or raise awareness schemes, stuff
like that. I don't want to be too critical of these schemes, some of them had
achieved quite good measures. But I think where the union value really comes in
is the experience of the need to actually build clear structures of accountability.
Quite a few employers did a load of stuff around suggestion schemes, but then
they were a bit stumped at that point, because they were just overwhelmed with
suggestions. And there is a problem with initiatives that are dependent on the
enthusiasm of one manager, say, and then that manager moves on and then
things crumble. A lot of the emphasis for us has been setting up joint
environmental agreements and joint environmental committees. So it doesn't
matter if people come and go, there's a structure in place (personal interview)

Slightly differently, Sarah Pearce believes that a union-led all-staff approach can also serve to convince sceptical employers to take workplace greening seriously:

It's going to be much more effective if we all work together because
management are much more likely to respond if they see the issue being driven
on this basis. Perhaps because then they think "Oh this isn't simply a union
recruitment drive" (personal interview)

According to Sarah Pearce:

We want to show how absolutely essential it is to have a trade union on board, how employers can improve their green credibility much more if they engage their employees in a bottom-up way. And it's been shown that unions can do that…unions make such a huge difference to communication … employees trust their unions (personal interview)

Unions are able to mobilise, distil and co-ordinate staff opinion. Caroline Molloy observes:

Quite often what we found was employers are perhaps well-intentioned but without meeting workers as equals, and having the workers - because they've got the union behind them - being able to say to management "actually, this is the problem with what you're doing", they just don't realise the problems (personal interview)

As Sarah Pearce notes:

It's what works best in the workplace that you're in. For some, just using the actual negotiating frameworks that are already in existence is the most efficient way of doing it. Other places might feel that it has more of an impact to have something completely separate. It depends on the workplace and the personalities that you're working with (personal interview)

According to Sarah Pearce: "The ultimate idea is that if a workplace is sustainable, then a job is sustainable. Our line is that we'd rather see employers reducing their energy bills than reducing employees". Caroline Molloy argues:

I don't feel that we ought to be saying as unions "well we're not interested in doing anything that saves the employer money", if it's got a whole heap of social benefits, which we, just like everyone else, live in this world and if it's going to have that medium term benefit for ourselves and citizens of this planet, I don't think we should have any problem with working towards common aims (personal interview)

As Penny Morley observes this can be considered normative:

We're not stupid, we're not going to have lots of joint working that gives the employer good publicity, when meanwhile they're cutting terms and conditions.

> *It doesn't mean to say if we get involved on this that we can't have a fall out on that either. You try to have a mature relationship* (personal interview)

The Benefits of Workplace Greening

The following benefits are extrapolated from the TUC's own Project Reports (2008 and 2010) which evaluated both tranches of the project:

1.For the Union

    i. Enhanced levels of staff engagement from members and non-members compared to other agendas

    ii. A new, expansive agenda around which to recruit new members

    iii. A new, expansive agenda around which to recruit new activists

    iv. A new, expansive agenda around which to improve branch organisation

2. For the Employer

    v. Raised appreciation of the organisation's commitment to environmental best practice

3. For the Environmental Policymaking Process

    vi. Higher level of staff engagement associated with union involvement, compared to those led solely by management

    vii. A more robust environmental agenda underpinned by defined policymaking processes and structures

    viii. Raised awareness of environmental issues

4. For Employee Relations

    ix. The creation of new bargaining structures with which to prosecute a green agenda more effectively

    x. A boost to extant levels of communication and consultation (between management, unions and staff) generally

    xi. New opportunities for staff to contribute to their organisation's environmental policies

    xii. Opportunities for staff who had never contributed before to participate in their organisation's activities

    xiii. Consensual approach to policymaking

5. For Policy

    xiv. Managements made to measure and report on environmental performance for the first time

    xv. Measurable reductions in energy use

xvi. Smart, practical policies, reflecting the participation of a wide range of employees (e.g. senior; junior; technical; non-technical; front-line; back office)

These benefits and observations are evaluated fully in Chapter 7. The Green Workplaces Project is emblematic of unions' growing interest in the environment in the 2000s and raised the profile of green issues considerably. It provided unions embarking on a workplace green agenda with a comprehensive range of green resources and a methodology to operationalize it. It also claimed to show that union participation in workplace environmental initiatives was likely to maximise staff buy-in and, consequently, environmental benefits.

Climate Solidarity and Community Work

The environment offers unions significant opportunities to participate in community and town and city level campaigns, politics and projects. Such activities would represent a continuation of the grassroots activity identified in Chapter 1 and accords with the concept of social movement unionism introduced in Chapter 4. Figure 5.4, however, confirmed that few unions are participating in community-based environmental activity (inactivity which contrasts sharply with many unions' anti-fascist work, particularly in areas where the British National Party is active e.g. London, the North West and West Yorkshire).

Wills and Simms (2004: 66) use the term 'reciprocal community unionism' to describe deep, sustained relationships with community groups to help improve local life as well as fostering trade union growth and maintain that it is sporadic in the UK. Parker (2008), too, considers social movement unionism in the UK episodic, uncoordinated and lacking governance. According to Parker participating unions may understand their community work as part of their recruitment, organising and political revival strategies and may therefore behave cautiously, seeking guarantees regarding potential payback before committing – union resources are precious and civil alliance building can be time and labour intensive. Alliances may also necessitate shared decision-making and power-sharing processes (Tattersall, 2005: 108) which unions may or may not be comfortable with. As Hyman (2004: 345) notes, unions cannot be forced to engage with civil society - even when there is intrinsic solidarity (in this case with local green groups) the employment relationship and labour market remain unions' bread and butter and they must decide for themselves how far and fast they wish to widen their remit. In addition, given (contested) evidence of a general decline in civic mobilisation - or at least highly differentiated patterns of engagement (Hague and Harrop, 2007: 165) - community unionism may represent a shaky nail for unions to hang their coats on.

Nevertheless, this situation looks poised to change. The Greener Jobs Alliance (see earlier) has a clear community focus and in 2011 the Trades Union Councils Joint Consultative Committee identified 'Green Workplaces' and 'Green Communities' as strategic priorities (alongside fighting fascism, defending the National Health Service and opposing cuts in public services) (TUCJCC, 2011). One further example of grassroots union engagement with the green agenda is the Climate Solidarity Project. The Project commenced in 2009[66] and is a collaboration between COIN; PCS; CWU; NUT and UCU, although it has also been promoted by TSSA, Prospect and Unite. It is a two-year project, funded by DEFRA's 'Greener Living Fund', and provides resources and training to help trade unionists establish Climate Action Groups (CAG). These groups are then tasked with developing community-based environmental campaigns and activities on issues such as transport, housing and food. The Project is monitored and evaluated by the Open University, Oxford University's 'Environmental Change Institute' and Sussex University. Participation in the Project lends itself well to those unions whose members provide services to local communities.

On transport, CAGs can campaign to improve public transport links and work with local government, bus companies and local employers to implement green travel initiatives. On housing CAGs are involved in campaigning to improve access to affordable home insulation services from local low carbon suppliers. And on food CAGs are campaigning against food waste and food miles.

Several CAGs have been established and the communitarian emphasis is clearly evident. However, I spoke to one senior union representative involved in the Project (who wished to remain anonymous) who confided that hers was not the only union to see the Project primarily as a means of obtaining funding to increase the capacity of their workplace greening agenda.

A community-based green agenda would empower branches and lay representatives (particularly UGRs where they exist), extending the 'reach' of trade unionism and is certainly compatible with the organising model and unions' social partnership agenda. But the difficulties, uncertainties and sensitivities associated with community unionism – even on an issue around which there may be intrinsic solidarity and copious 'jumping-in' points – help to explain the current immaturity of UK unions' community-based green agenda. Although there is evidence that UK unions are seeking to accelerate their community-based green agenda, the relative newness of the green agenda has yet to properly filter through – in 'Swords of Justice and Civic Pillars: the Case for Greater Engagement

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[66] Shortly after my survey was administered – hence none of the unions involved reported implementing a green agenda in 'Communities' in their survey responses.

Between British Trade Unions and Community Organisations' (TUC, 2010) the TUC does not mention the environment once![67]

Grassroots Ecosocialism

Throughout the 2000s various socialist organisations, such as 'Socialist Resistance', 'Workers Power', 'Permanent Revolution' and 'Workers' Climate Action' formed or began to focus more closely on the environment, particularly climate change. These organisations typically view global warming as a class issue in which those who contribute least suffer the most, and argue for a workers-led transition to a low carbon economy. They seek to build a mass movement against climate change in which trade unions are in the vanguard and campaign for democratic public ownership of the energy and transport industries (Permanent Revolution, 2008; Workers Power, undated) and an expansion of sustainable, skilled and socially useful work. Roy Wilkes, Secretary of the Organising Committee of the Campaign Against Climate Change Trade Union Group (CCTU) is worth quoting at length (Socialist Resistance, undated):

> *Trade unionists have tended to regard environmentalism as a threat to jobs and environmentalists distrust unions because they defend even the most polluting industries. Both sides are right about the other but for the wrong reasons.*

> *The trade union bureaucracy allows capital free rein to direct production in whatever way it sees fit, as long as it provides their members with jobs; they rarely question what is produced or how it is produced, except from a narrow health and safety perspective. Or more recently from the perspective of 'greening the workplace'.*

> *Many environmentalists…have taken managerial jobs within big corporations in a vain attempt to reform them from within, while others continue to advocate pro-capitalist solutions to the environmental crisis.*

> *As ecosocialists we have to organise to change this situation. We want trade unionists to be a leading part of the mass movement on climate. And we want*

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[67] The Organisation and Services Department of the Trades Union Congress commissioned this report as part of its Active Unions Active Communities programme, with the support of Goldsmiths College, University of London and the Economic and Social Research Council. The report focuses on unions' work with migrant workers and on learning and skills. It should be noted that the concept of community unionism is by no means universally supported – as Friedman (2004: 366) asks: are member-led unions with a community focus really the way forward? Or is this taking the eyes off the ball, undermining co-ordinated fightbacks and replacing them with internal debates, "leaving the field to powerful capitalists"?

> *environmental activists to recognise that to be effective their allegiance has to*
>
> *lie with organised labour not with capital.*

That these arguments still need to be made is continued evidence that tensions remain between the two movements, especially at the more 'radical' end of the red-green agenda – workplace greening is tolerated as tinkering with the problem. It may also be that the far left now sees the environment as a Trojan horse with which to assert a class-based political agenda. Despite the concept of 'Just Transition' being common to both trade unionists and ecosocialists there is, overall, a discernible gap between the mainstream trade union green agenda and that of a small but growing number of more radical grassroots activists.

Campaign Against Climate Change Trade Union Group

Table 5.10: CCTU Conference Attendance in 2008 and 2009

2008		2009	
Union	**No. of Delegates**	**Union**	**No. of Delegates**
Unison	61	Unison	38
Unite	30	Unite	17
NUT	30	NUT	10
GMB	15	GMB	13
PCS	20	-	-
RMT	7	RMT	1
CWU	9	CWU	3
UCU	31	UCU	14
Connect	8	-	-
NUJ	9	NUJ	6
TSSA	1	-	-
FBU	1	-	-
Usdaw	1	-	-
Prospect	1	-	-
Total: 14	**224**	**8**	**102**

Source: CCTU

The Campaign Against Climate Change (CCC) was formed in 2005 and is an explicitly political campaign group focused on mobilising mass action against the catastrophic destabilisation of global climate associated with anthropogenic global warming. CCC campaigns emphasise the links between climate change and social justice. Nested within CACC is the Campaign Against Climate Change Trade Union Group (CCTU), which unions are invited to affiliate to and which, since 2008, has organised a

Table 5.11: CCTU Conference Workshops, 2008 and 2009

2008	2009
Carbon trading and market mechanisms	Workplace environment reps
Greening the workplace	Fighting for a Just Transition
Alternative Energy – Towards a zero carbon economy	Towns and cities
Building sustainable cities	Economics of climate change
Towards sustainable transport	Food production, diets and climate change
Global Treaties, Kyoto and beyond	How can we make transport sustainable?
-	Are renewables a solution to climate change?
-	Methods of struggle
-	International perspectives post-Kyoto
-	Forum: What Future for Coal?
-	Forum: What future for Nuclear Power?
-	Forum: What future for Aviation?

Source: CCTU Conference Agendas

national conference. CCTU conferences are typically sponsored by large numbers of union branches and Trades Councils. Details of the unions represented at the 2008 and 2009 conferences are shown in Table 5.10 and the workshops in Table 5.11. As with the TUC's green conferences the CCTU Conference is able to attract 'big name' speakers – MPs; MEPs; high-profile environmentalists; academics and union General Secretaries - and it is generally well attended. They are not formal policy-making bodies, but they do influence the left's environmental discourse. CCTU has its own organising committee, which meets regularly, and uses email to distribute minutes, literature and

alerts to a large network of interested parties[68]. Members of the CCTU e-network are also encouraged to use it as a platform for debate.

CCTU is an important addition to the UK's red-green campaign landscape. Unlike the TUC's Green Workplaces Project it is neither time-limited nor based on a mainstream ecological modernisation perspective comprising technical fixes to be prosecuted via traditional union structures and employee relations. CCTU do have more in common with CAGs – both campaigns seek to 'escape' the workplace and endorse a much more varied action repertoire. However, CAGs act parochially and their demands are modest. CCTU is a permanent national campaign seeking to construct a comprehensive and politically-charged red-green agenda capable of mobilising ecologists and trade unionists alike. CCTU seeks to work within unions: unions can affiliate nationally but regional and branch-level affiliation is also encouraged and affiliates are prompted to use their AGMs and conferences to secure resolutions to support the campaign. However, trade unionists from different unions are also encouraged to form local CCTU groups, and individual trade unionists are kept informed and invited to participate in events via email. CCTU is also able to initiate and be associated with environmental debates, discourse and action from which the TUC and certain trade union leaderships might prefer to remain distant in order to appear more sensible and compromising – an example of radical flank theory which, parenthetically, has also been utilised to understand the relationship between traditional conservation-focused EMOs and NSM EMOs as well as NSM EMOs and more radical offspring (e.g. Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd) (Saunders, 2009).

The Future

Evidence that unions' green agenda remains in transition and that unions are currently capacity building is bolstered by Figure 5.6 which shows a clear majority of unions believe that their environmental work will increase slightly or significantly over the next two years. Three unions believe it will stay the same and only one union anticipates a decrease. Further, in 2012 the LRD conducted another survey for the TUC[69] (TUC, August 2012). According to the TUC:

> *In difficult circumstances, not least the effects of recession, it is obvious that unions are raising their game at work and more union green proposals are being taken up by management. There are more joint discussions taking place at work on energy and resource issues since 2009 and four in ten*

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[68] CCTU's 'One Million Climate Jobs NOW!' (2009) and its follow-up 'One million climate jobs – solving the economic and environmental crises' (2010) have sold in large numbers. They offer a Keynesian solution to environmental degradation based on the creation of one million new green jobs particularly in the housing, renewable energy and transport sectors.
[69] The survey received 1200 responses.

stewards report that they are more concerned about the environment than

they were a year ago

Figure 5.6: Unions' views on future participation in the environmental agenda
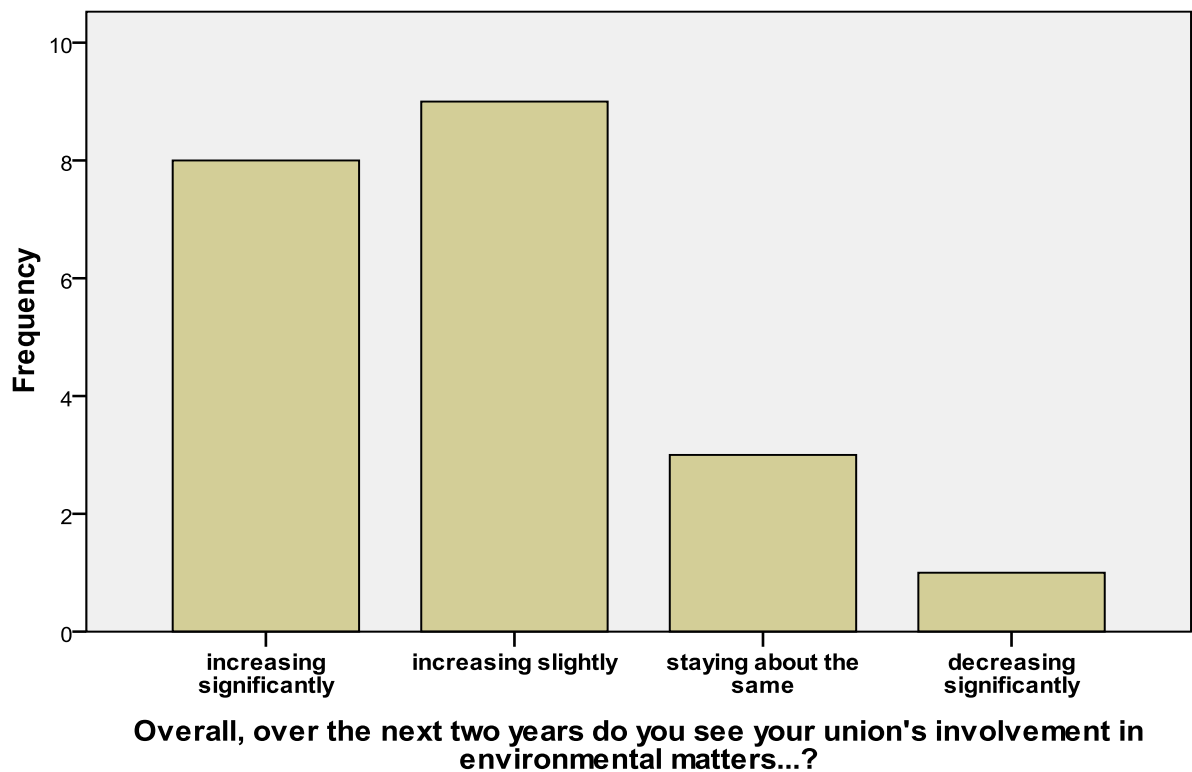
The key findings include:

- Increase in the number of UGRs

- Increase in union involvement across a range of energy efficiency measures

- Increase in union-led environmental awareness raising activities

- 26% of respondents reported the existence of a formal or informal EWG

- 7% of respondents had negotiated an environmental agreement with their employers, (representing an increase of just 1% since 2009). However, these are reported as working well, with 93% described as partly or wholly meeting their objectives

- 20% of respondents had formally tabled an environmental proposal with management

- 38% of union proposals had been accepted by management

- A slight decline (3%) in the number of UGRs in receipt of facility time
- 20% of UGRs have received appropriate training; up from 14% in 2009

Conclusion

The results of the 2012 survey confirm an ongoing and consistent, albeit gradual, increase in union green activity – particularly summitry, lobbying, conferencing and attempts to get workplace greening off the ground. Members and local activists appear interested in the agenda but although national union leaderships also appear interested there is some variation in their commitment and evidence that unions' sub-national environmental agenda is underdeveloped and under-resourced. The TUC recognises this and has acted to convince individual union elites to recognise both the strategic importance of the environment to the UK's economy – articulated within a 'Just Transition' framework - and to view the environment as a 'bread and butter' workplace issue compatible with ecological modernisation.

'Just Transition' is a high-level strategic concept towards which the TUC and some national level union activity are oriented. It is being incorporated into pre-existing policies and channels of influence (such as Sector Skills Councils) but is also being articulated within new and purpose-built fora and alliances using traditional lobbying and influencing methods. 'Just Transition' is only barely 'deep green' – it continues to privilege technical fixes and certainly eschews the type of normative conserver economy favoured by many ecologists. But it works as a values-based progressive 'rallying cry' because of the sheer level of economic planning it requires and for its rejection of the free market (as an efficient mechanism with which to manage adaptation and mitigation) both of which remain somewhat out-of-step with contemporary policy making processes but popular on the left. 'Just Transition' is, for UK unions, the long-awaited answer to the 'jobs versus the environment' question which raged for so long during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. In this sense, unions' environmental agenda is a politicised one.

But it is also technocentric. The green workplaces agenda shows signs of having been built up over time and unions now have access to a comprehensive checklist with which to audit their workplaces that includes switching off lights; providing recycling facilities; monitoring power usage; installing double glazing; negotiating green travel plans and switching to green energy suppliers. 'Reduce', 'reuse' and 'recycle' in order to reduce CO_2 emissions remain dominant elements of the agenda, but some unions are seeking to expand the agenda further e.g. by seeking dialogue with employers

regarding the ethical content of their procurement and corporate social responsibility policies and practices[70]. Technocentric and political emphases therefore co-exist.

Few unions evidence widespread or regular engagement – it tends to be focused on a limited number of issues and practised in large and/or public sector workplaces where the union is well-established and may well just be an experimental or 'flagship' project. However, there is considerable evidence suggesting that take-up is increasing.

It is tempting to blame inactivity on variations in the provision of resources by union headquarters which may themselves be the product of ongoing and unresolved debates between key headquarters actors regarding priorities. However, despite variation in union leaderships' commitment to the agenda most appear interested and approximately half of the respondent unions provide training and other resources to local representatives. It is, of course, possible that not enough or poor quality resources are available. For example, EPOs are quite rare; must juggle their work on green issues with other responsibilities and may lack technical expertise.

Unions themselves cite the absence of facility time as the major obstacle to deeper engagement – in other words the fault is at branch/workplace level and is a problem of employee relations. The LRD survey (see chapter 4) actually suggests that a remarkably high percentage of UGRs are in receipt of facility time, but this is almost certainly incorrect not least because the demand for facility time to be formally incorporated into the ACAS Code is a totemic feature of most union green conferences – there is little point arguing for something you already have. Facility time would clearly be advantageous but unions are adept at coping without it (or with insufficient allocations of it) for all manner of activities so it cannot be seen as deterministic[71]. Alternatively, branches may be experiencing difficulties convincing employers to subject the agenda to the processes of employee relations (see Chapter 4). However, unions report employers' agendas exerting very little influence on unions' environmental activities and unions' experience with workplace greening suggests employers are relatively content to subject their environmental performance to employee scrutiny.

More likely, low take-up may be attributable to the failure of branches to engage. Assuming memberships are interested this suggests the problem is one of established local executives failing

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[70]Unions are also slowly turning their attention to using procurement and supply chains as a mechanism for both improving pay and conditions in companies in the lower tiers of a supply chain as well as to promote the environmental, social and governance agenda across business (Unions, Collective Bargaining and Employment Relations Project – Research Bulletin Number 1, March 2011, TUC/Economic and Social Research Council).

[71] There is a 'chicken and egg' element here. Unions do not simply wait to get facility time before embarking on something. Often they will commit to a particular activity and then, once it is clear that they need more facility time, will submit a claim to the employer which demonstrates why an allowance is justified.

to commit to it and there may be several reasons why this might occur including enviroscepticism, fear (of an unfamiliar agenda) and an already crowded local agenda. These issues are investigated in Chapter 7.

None of the above should be surprising – this is a relatively new union function. Although in the early 1990s the environment was not, in John Monks' words, a "brand new shiny subject", Sue Ferns is surely correct when she observes that there is still a "fragility" around the agenda and a "period of activity" that unions must go through – internally, with members and with employers – before unions can claim 'ownership' of the agenda and in order for it to become sustainable.

The TUC's Green Workplaces Project made an important contribution to this process by providing unions with a methodology and everybody else – particularly employers – with an underpinning rationale for union engagement that claimed that the environmental benefits are greater when unions are involved.

Alongside this CAGs, CCTU and unions' strategic alliances with key EMOs have helped unions to articulate a more politicised and cross-cutting environmental agenda. Just as unions' health and safety function began to be extended beyond the factory gates in the 1980s and 1990s and helped to fuel unions' interest in issues such as corporate manslaughter, unions are now attempting to inject a communitarian element into their environmental work, one which transcends workplace boundaries and strengthens the social justice element within the agenda. Environmental community unionism looks poised to increase in importance, but the difficulties and sensitivities associated with such a strategy mean that this will not be a smooth or quick process. CCTU in particular has created new opportunities for exploiting red-green synergies at national and sub-national levels and is able to perform a range and 'style' of campaigning with which some union elites may not wish to be publicly associated. Additionally, CCTU is a grassroots organisation which draws on activists from across the trade union movement - as such it is not forced to endorse the views of the TUC or individual unions. In this 'critical friend' role CCTU is to express views and prompt debates on sensitive issues that individual unions and/or the TUC would consider inappropriate. CCTU is sceptical, for example, about clean coal technology which clearly conflicts with the membership interests of the NUM; and many CCTU activists remain opposed to nuclear power and the huge state subsidies that it receives, which clearly conflicts with the membership interests of unions such as Prospect. The NUM and Prospect are unlikely to want to prompt such debates themselves and the TUC would prefer to avoid presiding over internecine bickering. Doherty's (undated) and Diani's (2002) research into town- and city-level red-green coalitions in the 1970s and 1980s (see Chapter 1) cautions us against concluding that communitarian eco-socialism is new. But whereas much previous

activity took the form of campaigns against specific things (such as the loss of a local green space or an unwanted development) the current focus on reducing CO_2 provides a much more constant array of things to be arguing for and against.

The next chapter digs deeper to investigate *why* unions are going green. But this snapshot of unions' current environmental activism reveals an agenda that remains in transition – a heady, inchoate and fragile mix of the political and the technical and of aspiration; experimentation and capacity building.

Chapter 6: Understanding Trade Union Environmental Activism – Survey Analysis

Assessing Unions' Environmental Activism

This chapter seeks to develop a fuller understanding of why and how unions are engaging with the green agenda and how their environmental activism is patterned, building on the findings identified earlier in the thesis. The chapter seeks answers to all three research questions by revealing the key independent variables influencing unions' activism. The analysis uses the dependent variables **EAS**, **EMotS** and **Total Number of Environmental Categories on which Union Spends 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amounts of Time** to assess the importance of these independent variables to unions' environmental activism (see also Chapter 2 and Appendix G). Appropriate parametric and non-parametric statistical tests were performed and descriptive statistics (including mean, standard deviation, skewness and kurtosis) and tests of normality (Shapiro-Wilk) are provided at Appendix J:

- **'Total Number of Environmental Categories on which Union Spends 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amounts of Time**: the number of different environmental categories unions are engaged in. The analysis has focused on those issues that unions spend 'Fair' or 'Significant' amounts of time on. The categories were those identified using content analysis of TUC policymaking in Chapter 3.

- **'EMotS'**: unions' environmental motivation score. The score was derived from respondent unions' answers to Question 53 of the questionnaire which asked unions to allocate a mark (0-10) to various statements according to how strongly the union believed in them. The statements – essentially reasons for 'going green' - largely emerged from a combination of the literature and from elite interviews and include both what unions expect to gain from 'going green' as well as their sense of responsibility towards the environment – 'push' and 'pull' factors incentivising activity.

- **'EAS'**: unions' environmental activity score. This is an overall score measuring the extent of unions' environmental activism within the world of work and beyond. **EAS** is the sum of scores to 23 questions in the questionnaire. It is a basic measure of the extent of individual union's environmental activism, which takes into account *inter alia*: whether or not the union employs EPOs; the numbers of UGRs; the provision of specialist environmental resources and training; evidence that the union is spending time on environmental matters; evidence that 'the environment' is discussed at senior levels within the union; contacts with EMOs and evidence of 'the environment' being used as a recruitment tool.

Unions' environmental activism is characterised by an increasingly diverse action *repertoire*, including: institution building; workplace greening; lobbying; awareness raising; campaigning; joint meetings with employers; joint meetings with government and strategic relations with key EMOs. Although there is evidence that unions exert control over their environmental agendas it is also clear that their environmental agenda is in transition and is currently characterised by limited activity, and some unions are far more active than others (see also Chapter 3 for detail of the sectoral patterning of unions' environmental policymaking).This chapter describes and assesses the extent of this variation to facilitate an understanding of which 'types' of unions (e.g. large/small; public sector/private sector; blue collar/white collar) are most active.

There is some variation in senior officials' commitment to and resourcing of the green agenda and considerable evidence of underdeveloped sub-national structures. The number of UGRs is also very small and there is evidence that even where they exist they occupy peripheral roles in unions' sub-national workplace structures. Chapters 4 and 5 described how union elites may occupy pivotal roles in facilitating or constraining the adoption of new agendas and allocating the resources to operationalise them therefore the influences of union headquarters and the importance of resources and training is investigated.

There is evidence that unions may also understand the green agenda as one option for union renewal – a suitable vehicle for recruiting more members and activists (with whom it appears popular – see Chapters 4 and 5). Since union membership – and therefore income – is continuing to decline unions are likely to experiment with new agendas cautiously. The influence of membership trends on unions' environmental activism is therefore investigated and unions' views regarding the utility of the agenda as a recruitment tool – for various types of employees – is also assessed.

Chapters 4 and 5 investigated unions' relations with EMOs. Since the 1990s unions' social partnership agenda has prompted them to seek out strategic partners with whom to progress their social, political, economic and industrial objectives and in order to remain important civil society actors in the UK's public policymaking *milieu*. The influence of the presence (or absence) of such links on unions' engagement with the environmental agenda is therefore investigated.

How unions construct 'the environment' and the objectives behind their engagement may influence their willingness to engage with it. Although Chapter 3 investigated the charge that union interest in the environment has historically reflected industry-specific self-interest this was rejected as overly simplistic. But Chapter 4 does suggest a qualitatively different link between unions' engagement with the environment and self-interest – one based on membership renewal driven by a range of

'top-down' and 'bottom-up' endogenous factors (as well as exogenous stimuli). Additionally, Chapter 5 suggested that unions' green agenda is both technocentric and political. The key question is: which constructions of the environment and which objectives results in greater activism? Unions' attitudes to the environment – *why* they are engaging – are therefore explored.

Finally, it is important to account for the influence of employers' agendas and the behaviour of the environment negotiable. Unions claim that employers' exert relatively little influence over unions' green agenda, but this will almost certainly change as more unions seek to operationalise a (more radical) workplace greening agenda, particularly with employers that are anti-union, envirosceptic, or both – Chapter 4 shows that concern for the environment amongst businesses is by no means universal. Chapter 4 also shows that even when employers are concerned about their environmental performance they may not necessarily welcome union input and Chapter 5 describes how union branches already experience problems convincing employers to afford UGRs facility time even though much activity is concentrated in areas where unions have an established presence and where employee relations are good. The behaviour of the environment negotiable is investigated in greater detail in Chapter 7 but the influence of employers' agendas on unions' environmental activism is here accounted for and union beliefs regarding the utility of the environment as a vehicle for partnership is also addressed.

Variation in and Relationship of EAS, EMotS and Total Number of Environmental Categories on Which Union Spends 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time

Respondent unions' **EAS**, **EMotS** and **Total Number of Categories on Which Union Spends 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time '** scores are shown in Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 respectively and variation and fairly complex patterning is evident. Respondent unions were organised either across the UK, across Great Britain or just in Northern Ireland. There was slight geographical variation in mean **EAS**, with unions organised solely in Northern Ireland evidencing a lower score than unions organised across the UK and across Great Britain (8.27; 10.72 and 11.23 respectively).

Chapter 5 suggested unions appear to be operationalising the type of environmental agenda they want to. There is a significant, positive Pearson correlation between **EMotS** and **EAS** - $r = .548$, p (one- tailed) = <.01 - and between **Total Number of Categories on Which Union Spends 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time** and **EAS** - $r = .622$, p (one-tailed) = <.005. There is therefore a clear relationship between unions' overall environmental activism and both the number of environmental issues they are handling and their motivation to go green. Nevertheless, any gap between thought

(**EMotS**) and action (**Total Number of Categories on which Unions Spend 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time** and/or **EAS**) is problematic. A visual check of the scatterplot (Figure 6.4) indicates such gaps (it is more pronounced between **EMotS** and **Total Number of Categories on which Unions Spend 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time**[72] and is one of several highly motivated unions engaging with relatively few environmental categories). This gap may reflect the relative newness of unions' environmental activities and reinforces the argument presented in Chapter 5: unions exert control over and are relatively content with their current level of engagement but are capacity-building and intend to do more.

Figure 6.1: Respondent Unions' EAS

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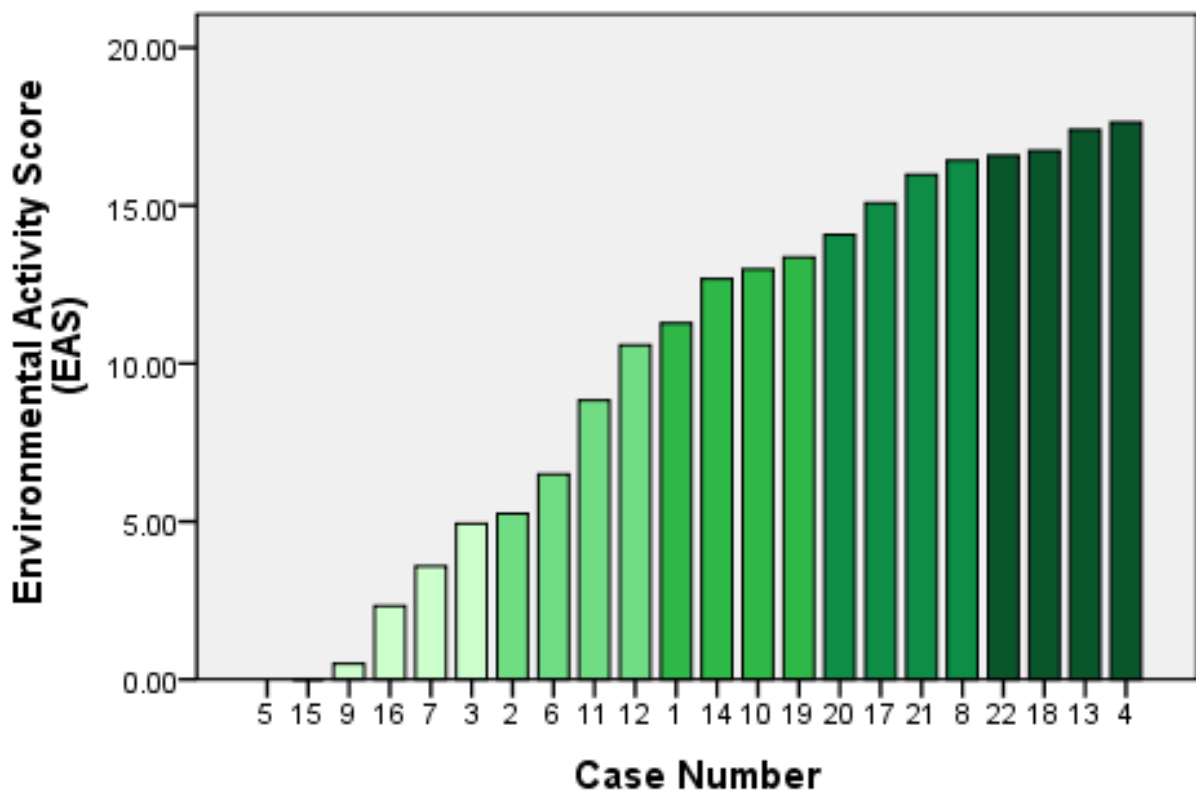
[72] Admittedly, this may also be attributable to the nature of the variables and how they measure activity. As a measure of union activism, **EAS** has a much finer level of resolution and 'points' dropped in one regard can be compensated for elsewhere. However, if a union is not engaging with a particular environmental category it cannot compensate for this e.g. by engaging twice as hard in another category! The point is lost forever.

Figure 6.2: Respondent Unions' Environmental Motivation Score
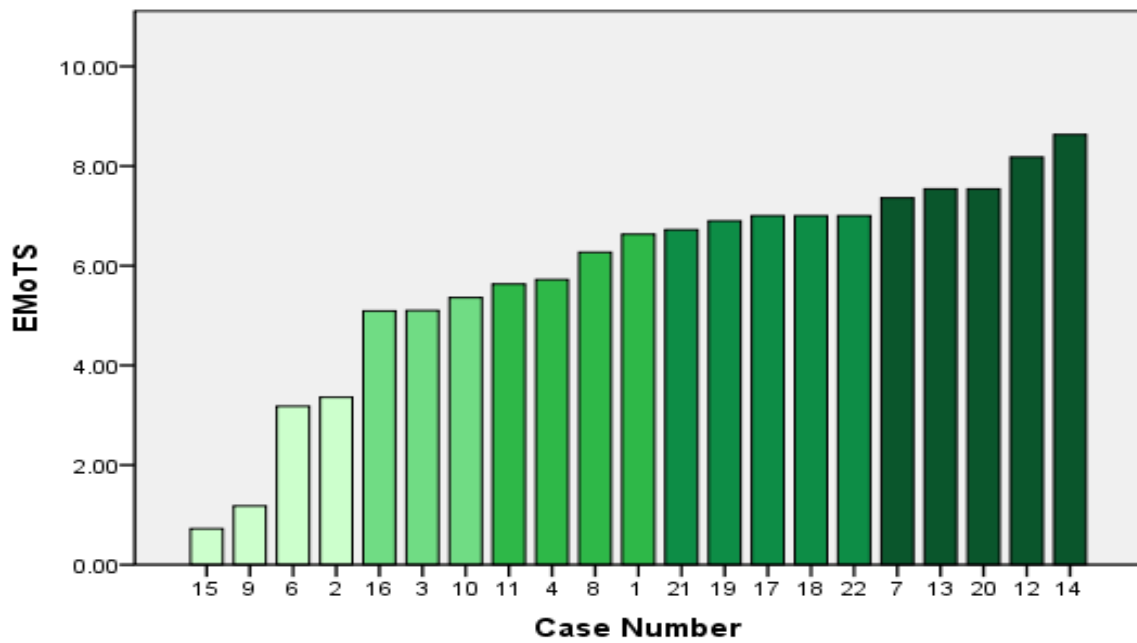
Figure 6.3: Number of Separate Environmental Categories Respondent Unions Spend 'Fair or Significant Amounts of Time On'.
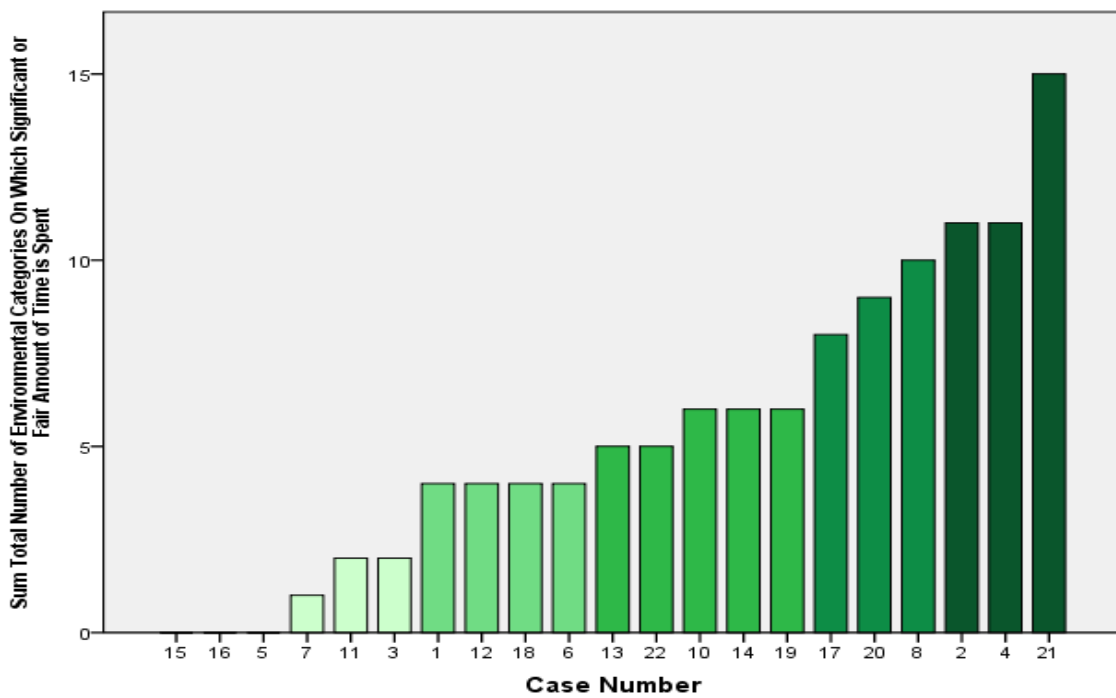
Figure 6.4: Relationship between Three Measures of Unions' Environmental Activism
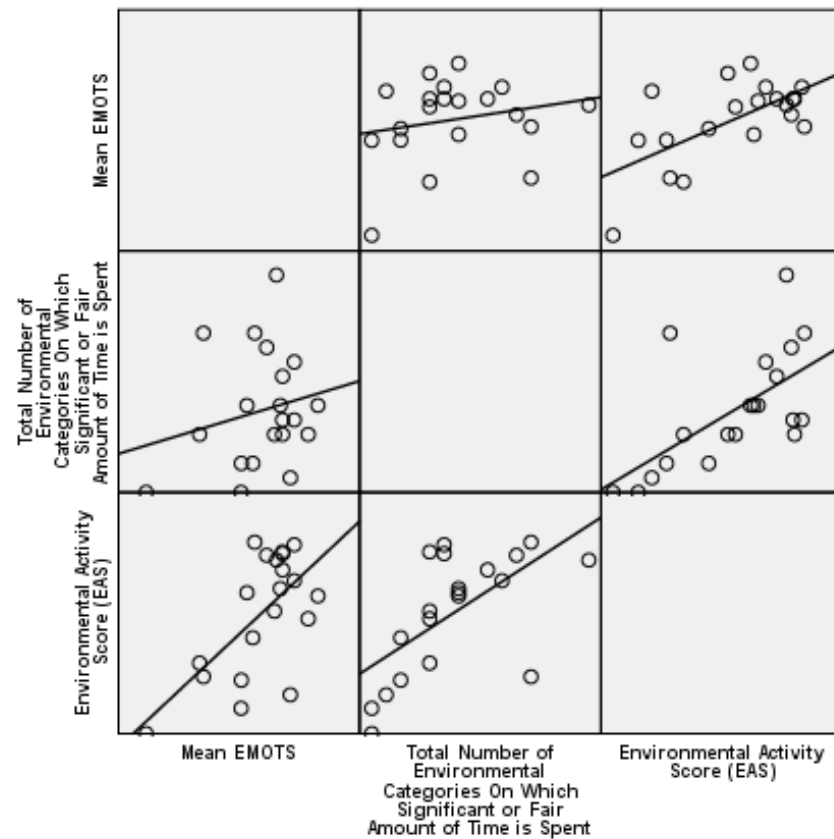
Institutional Determinants and Characteristics of Unions' Environmental Activism

Union Size and Membership Trend

Having briefly introduced the extent of variation in unions' environmental activism the rest of the chapter seeks to understand its causes and patterning in greater detail.

Table 6.1 shows the results of one-tailed Pearson and Spearman correlations for the variable **EAS** with **Total Membership** and **Membership Trend** respectively (see Appendix K). Spearman's correlation coefficient is used for the latter, as it is a non-parametric correlation suitable for ordinal data[73]. There is a strong positive correlation between **EAS** and **Total Membership**, ($r = .588$, p [one-

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[73] See Field (2009: 179).

tailed] significant at <.01), but R^2 (0.588^2 x 100) shows that **Total Membership** still only accounts for 34.5% of variation in **EAS** scores. **Membership Trend[74]** and **EAS** ($r_s = .064$) was *Ns* ($p > .05$)[75].

Chapter 4 posited that novel bargaining agendas may more easily emerge in larger and/or more diverse unions. Membership may also be important if unions' engagement in the green agenda forms part of a membership renewal strategy[76]. In fact larger unions do tend to be more environmentally active but there is no *prima facie* evidence that environmental activism is being embarked upon as a response to either increasing or decreasing membership size.

Sector - Public/Private

Chapter 3 demonstrated how private sector unions had replaced public sector unions as the main progenitors of TUC environmental policy. However, regarding unions' overall activism there is only a weak point-biserial correlation between **EAS** and **Public/Private Sector**[77]: $r_{pb} = .28$, *p* (one-tailed) > .05. In addition to being *Ns*, R^2 is 0.078, meaning unions' public or private sector status accounts for just 7.8% of variation in **EAS[78]**.

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[74] Ordinal data: 'Down'; 'Static' and 'Up'.

[75] The statistic is affected by two 'Super' unions each with a high EAS. When these two cases were excluded **EAS** and **Total Membership** showed a medium positive correlation ($r = .498$, *p* [one-tailed] significant at <.05) whilst **EAS** and **Membership Trend** remained *Ns* ($p > .05$).

[76] Union size and income are obviously related and unions' willingness and/or capacity to engage with the environmental agenda may be influenced by the financial resources available (see Appendix K) – so poorer unions are less likely to divert resources away from their core productivist agendas. This may be particularly true if unions are experimenting with the environmental agenda as part of a renewal strategy – resources are scarce (see Chapter 5) – rather than seeking to establish it as a core function. The survey asked unions to provide details of expenditure on their environmental work. Seven unions indicated that their 2009/10 environment budget had been frozen at 2008/09 levels and only eight unions described their environmental budget as "Sufficient" (three unions described their budget as "Insufficient" and ten unions did not answer).

Pearson correlations were run for the variables: **EAS**, **Size of Union Deficit/Surplus (£)** and **Size of Union Deficit/Surplus (% of Income)**. There is a medium negative correlation between **EAS** and **Size of Union Deficit/Surplus (£)** ($r = -.455$, *p* [one-tailed] significant at <0.05); however the statistic was affected by two outliers, without which the relationship is virtually non-existent. There is a medium negative correlation between **EAS** and **Size of Union Deficit/Surplus (% of Income)** ($r = -.467$, *p* [one-tailed] significant at <.05).

Higher **EAS** scores are therefore associated with union indebtedness, more so as a proportion of income. Given that the variable **Size of Union Deficit/Surplus (£)** is highly likely to also reflect union size, **Size of Union Deficit/Surplus (% of Income)** is probably most helpful. R^2 is 0.218 meaning that the size of union surplus/deficit can account for 21.8% of variation in **EAS** scores. Declining memberships *per se* are unrelated to unions' environmental activism but it remains possible that indebted unions are more willing to experiment (with novel bargaining and organisational agendas) for other reasons, e.g. to improve relations with employers. Nevertheless, the value of R^2 shows that almost 80% of variation in **EAS** cannot be accounted for by unions' financial status.

[77] Point-biserial correlation is used here and elsewhere for discrete dichotomous variables with two categories.

[78] N=18. Three unions were excluded from the analysis: two unions organised substantively in both public and private sectors and one union for which there was insufficient data to calculate **EAS**.

Table 6.1: Correlation between EAS, Total Membership and Membership Trend

Correlations			Total Membership	Recent Membership Trend: Down/Static/Up	Environmental Activity Score (EAS)
Pearson's *r*	Total Membership	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.118	.588**
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.602	.005
		N	22	22	21
Spearman's rho	Recent Membership Trend: Down/Static/Up	Correlation Coefficient	.118	1.000	.064
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.602	.	.784
		N	22	22	21
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).					

White Collar/Blue Collar and Skilled/Unskilled Unions

EAS has a weak point-biserial correlation with the variable **Blue Collar/White Collar** but the relationship is weak and *Ns* – r_{pb}= -.189, (one-tailed) p = > .05.). Point-biserial correlation was also run after categorising unions as either **Unskilled/Semi-skilled** or **Skilled/Professional** and the result was weaker (r_{pb}= -.098, [one-tailed] *Ns p* => .05). These weak results contradict the proposition in Chapter 4 that employers may be more willing to negotiate on developmental issues with unions representing skilled/professional workers. But **EAS** is a measure of unions' overall environmental activism, not merely of unions' engagement with employers, and therefore a blunt instrument for testing this. The results also challenge the argument that unions representing skilled and professional employees are more interested in the agenda. Both these issues are revisited in Chapter 7.

Total Number of Environmental Categories on which 'Significant' or 'Fair' Amount of Time is Spent

Unions that are regularly handling multiple environmental issues may therefore be more likely to display higher levels of overall environmental activism. Indeed, there is a strong, positive Pearson *r* correlation between **EAS** and **Total Number of Environmental Categories On Which 'Significant' or 'Fair' Amount of Time is Spent**, *r* = .622 (*p* [one-tailed] significant at < .005). R^2 is 0.387. This

indicates that current (and relatively high) levels of engagement with a wide range of environmental issues accounts for 38.7% of variation in unions' overall environmental activism. This may appear obvious: environmentally active unions are the most environmentally active! However, **EAS** is a measure of overall activism, within and beyond the workplace. This result shows that it is possible for a union to engage with a relatively limited number of environmental issues but still evidence high **EAS** and vice versa because 61.3% of variability in unions' environmental activism still does not readily associate with the number of environmental issues engaged with. It is possible that some relatively uninterested unions find it difficult to avoid the agenda in their workplaces/sectors but are free to eschew the agenda elsewhere - but this contradicts evidence presented in Chapter 5 regarding union autonomy. Conversely, unions seeking to do more in their sectors may be being constrained – this also contradicts the evidence regarding union autonomy but is at least consistent with the argument that unions are capacity building and have yet to develop the resources and activists needed to fully operationalise their aspirations. More simply, the 'gap' between **EAS** and the number of issues unions are engaging with reflects variations in individual unions' preferences and capacities *vis-a-vis* the diverse action *repertoire* now available to them, the choice of settings in which action can occur and the simple fact that some sectors present unions with a more extensive menu of environmental issues to both engage with and pick and choose from. This is examined further, below.

Industrial Patterning of Environmental Activism

It is not possible to produce a generalisable sectoral analysis of unions' environmental activism because of the small *n* in some sectors. Although descriptive results only are provided, the following 'makes sense' of them by evaluating them alongside the results for additional variables for which the sample is larger. Figure 6.5 shows how the respondent unions' overall environmental activism and the range of environmental issues they handle differ both from one another and across industrial sectors. Visually, both variables appear fairly similar across several sectors, with sectoral differences slightly more obvious in the number of environmental categories that unions deal with. Most unions are only seriously engaging in a handful of environmental issues in their sectors. 'General Union' (11.75) and 'Manufacturing' (9) unions encounter the most issues and 'Financial Services' (1) and 'Media and Creative' (0) the least. Tentatively, this helps to confirm large, multi-sector private sector/blue collar unions' engagement with greater numbers of environmental issues. However, in terms of overall activism the picture is complex. 'Local Government' (15.08), 'Manufacturing' (14.08), 'General Union' (13.82), 'Communications and IT' (13.66), 'Energy' (13.36), 'Education' (12.71) and 'Emergency Services' (12.68) all score highly. These sectors' respondent unions were a

mixture of public and private and contain micro, small, medium, large and super unions. 'Retail' (6.50), 'Financial Services' (3.58) and 'Media and 'Creative' (0) score the lowest – these sectors' unions were all in the private sector and comprise one large union and two micro unions.

Figure 6.5: Mean EAS and Mean Total Number of Environmental Categories on which Union Spends 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amounts of Time by Industrial Sector
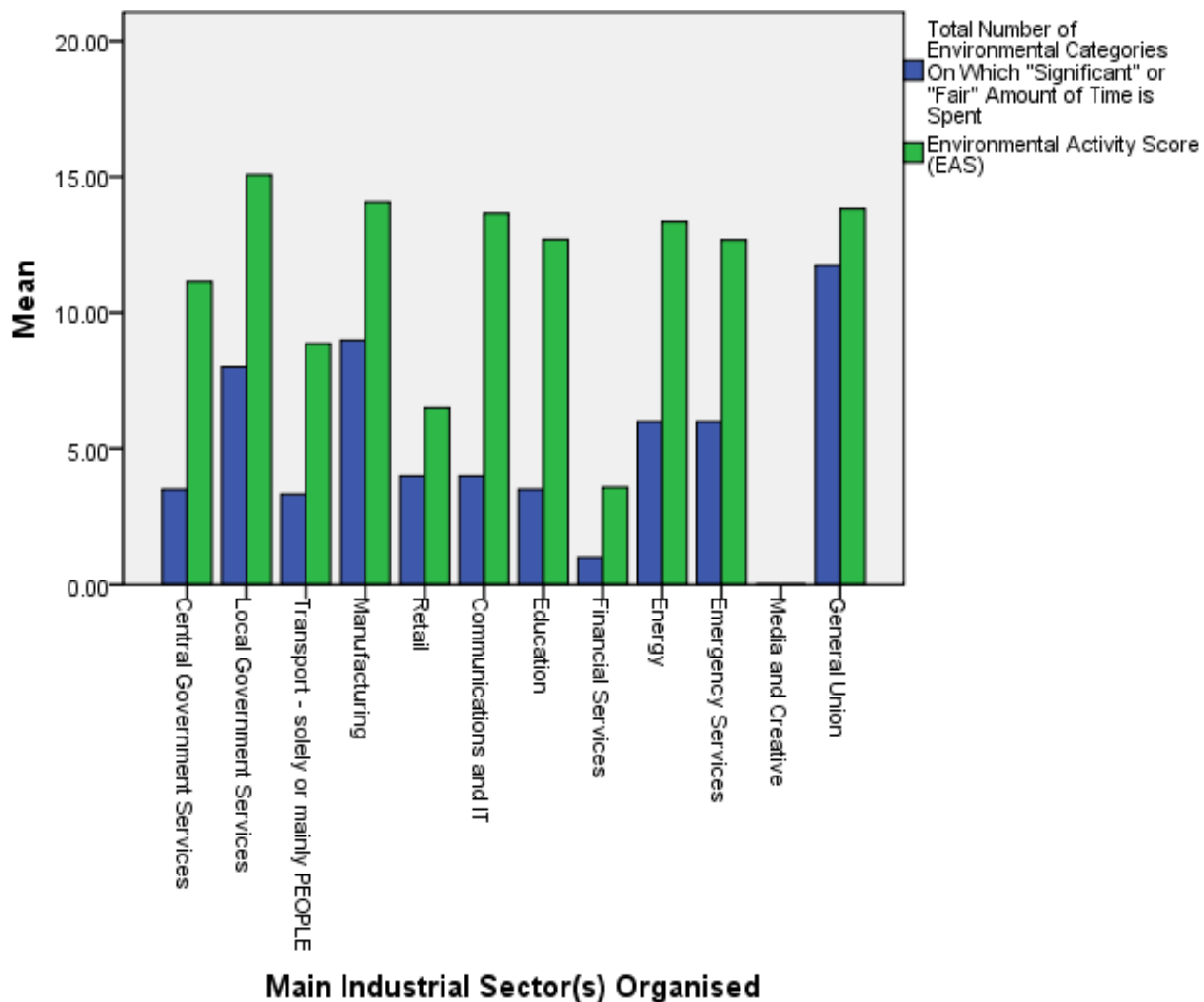
Figure 6.6: Mean Importance of Environmental Categories by Sector
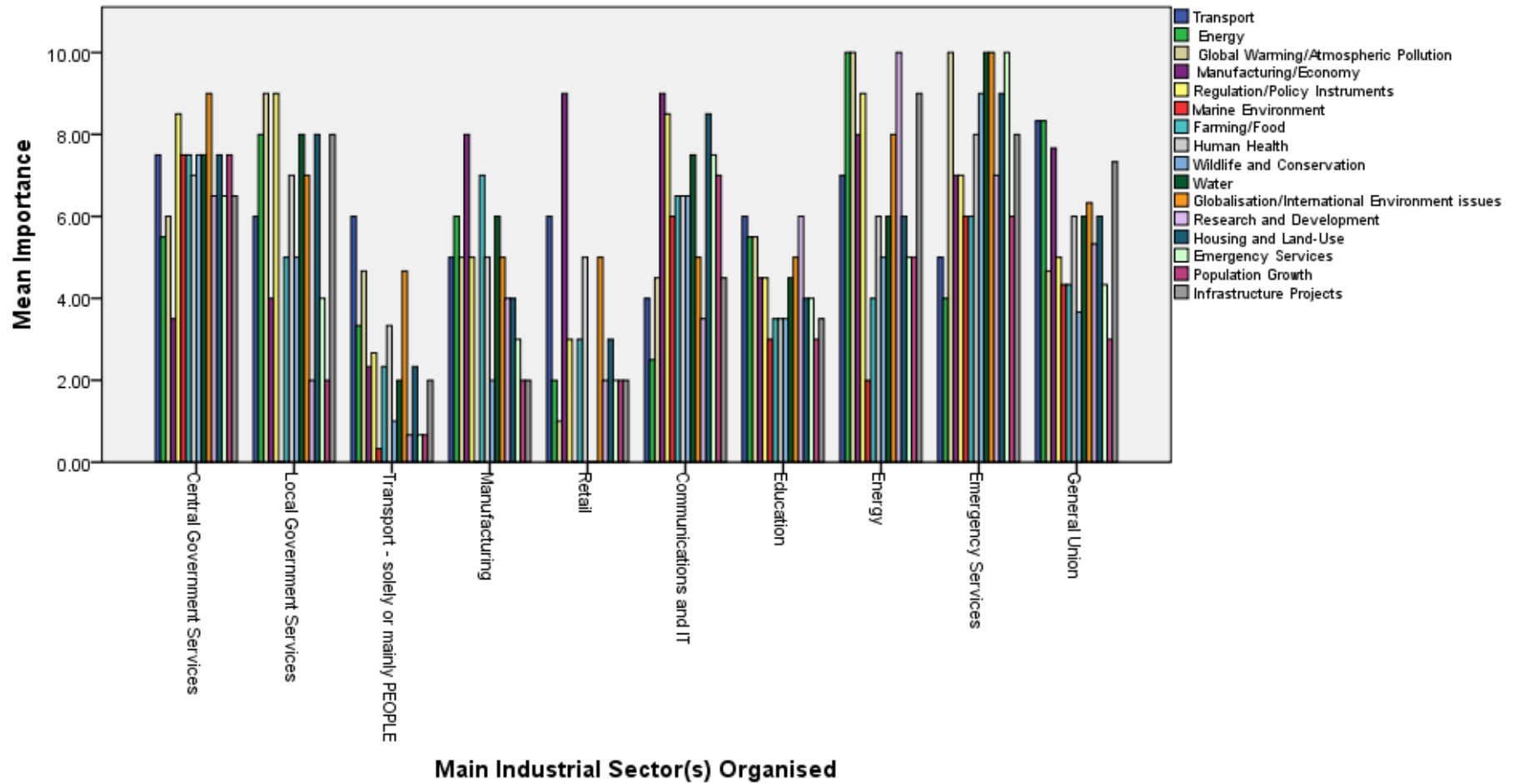
There may be a relationship between both union size and industrial sector and their environmental activism. Union size is partly determined by the industries in which they operate and the employees they seek to represent: a union that represents several occupations across more than one industry is likely to be bigger than a union whose membership is drawn from a small number of occupations and/or limits itself to a single industry (or even employer).

Such sectoral and organisational factors may be important because large multi-sector unions engaging with the most environmental issues are more likely to evidence greater overall engagement. Indeed, Pearson correlation of the variables **Total Membership** and **Total Number of Environmental Categories on Which 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time is Spent** show that these do correlate strongly and positively – r = .532, p (one-tailed) significant at < .01. There may be a quite simple dynamic at work: larger, more diverse unions encounter the most environmental issues and this fuels greater overall engagement. Those unions for whom a gap between **Total Number of Environmental Categories on Which 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time is Spent** and **EAS** persists may be capacity building, prioritising (Figure 6.6, above, shows the extent of variation in the importance that unions from different sectors can attach to particular issues) and/or exercising preferences *vis-a-vis* how, where (and how quickly) they should engage (see above). It is important to remember that this gap is more typical - **Total Number of Environmental Categories on Which 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time is Spent** cannot account for over 60% of **EAS** variability and **Total Membership** fails to account for over 65% of variation in **EAS**. Neither variable functions as an accurate predictor of unions' environmental activism.

Endogenous Characteristics and Determinants of Environmental Activism

Chapter 5 identified variation in union headquarters' resourcing of and commitment to their environmental agenda. This section investigates the relationship between unions' environmental activism and a limited number of endogenous characteristics in order to identify which, if any, are most closely associated with unions' environmental activism:

1. Does Your Union have one or more Staff with Environmental Policy Responsibility?
2. Provision of Environmental training and resources
3. External Contact Score (simply the number of external environmental organisations with which unions reported regular contact)
4. Percentage of branches that have allocated environmental responsibilities to one or more activists
5. Percentage of Branch Committees with an Environmental Representative on them

6. How often does the NEC discuss environmental matters?

7. How committed to Environmental agenda are union's most senior officials?

Table 6.2: Relationships Between Selected Organisational Characteristics and EAS

Correlations		
		Environmental Activity Score (EAS)
Does Your Union have One or More Staff with Environmental Policy Responsibility? (1)	Pearson Correlation	.730[*]
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	21
Does union produce specialist environmental resources and materials for activists and members? (2)	Pearson Correlation	.785[*]
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	21
External Contact Score (3)	Pearson Correlation	.870[*]
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000
	N	21
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).		

(1) Point-biserial correlation

(2) Point-biserial correlation

(3) Respondent unions were awarded a mark for each external environmental organisation they reported regular contact with

A combination of Pearson, Spearman and point-biserial correlations were run[79] (according to whether the independent variable was interval, ordinal or dichotomous) and the results are shown in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. Unions' environmental activism evidences significant medium and/or strong positive[80] relationships with the first, second, third, fourth and sixth variables. The employment of EPOs (capable of accounting for 53.29% of variation in **EAS**), the provision of specialist environmental resources (61.62%); external contacts (75.69%) and the extent of union's branch-

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[79] The variables '**Does Your Union have One or More Staff with Environmental Policy Responsibility?**' and '**Does union produce specialist environmental resources and materials for activists and members?**' are dichotomous and therefore point-biserial correlation was used. All dependent variables used in Spearman's rho are ordinal (see questionnaire for Likert scales/forced responses).

[80] Directionality of any relationship cannot be inferred from point-biserial correlation test results.

Table 6.3: Relationships Between Selected Organisational Characteristics and EAS

Correlations			
			Environmental Activity Score (EAS)
Spearman's rho	How often does the NEC discuss environmental matters?	Correlation Coefficient	.589[*]
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.003
		N	21
	How committed to Environmental agenda are union's most senior officials?	Correlation Coefficient	.346
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.067
		N	20
	Percentage of branches that have allocated environmental responsibilities to one or more activists	Correlation Coefficient	.727[*]
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.002
		N	14
	Percentage of Branch Committees with an Environmental rep on them	Correlation Coefficient	.131
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.402
		N	6
*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).			

based environmental function (52.85%) appear particularly influential[81]. The existence of UGRs appears to be more important than their formal presence on union branch committees (*Ns* [*p* >.05] and *n* is considerably smaller). This is, perhaps, further evidence of newness and capacity building – that, for now, environmentally active unions can be distinguished by the presence or absence of unfinished and adequate, rather than refined, sub-national activity/provision. Surprisingly perhaps, unions' environmental activism is only moderately related to the commitment of senior officials (which accounts for just 11.97% of variation in **EAS** and is at any rate *Ns*, *p* >.05), confirming EPO's views that SFTOs are not necessarily driving unions' environmental activism (see Chapter 5). This is surprising because union leaderships nevertheless exert significant control over their union's expenditure (and clearly the accompanying results suggest the provision of resources are important) and strategic direction (which undoubtedly includes whether or not to adopt new agendas). Alternatively, leaderships' moderate influence is a reminder that unions are polyarchic, democratic, member-led organisations with multiple 'centres' of power and decision-making. The ability to regularly discuss environmental issues in senior union fora appears more important than the support of senior officials *per se*, accounting for 34.6% of variation in **EAS**.

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[81] Derived from R^2 and $R_s^{\;2}$ as appropriate.

Several key endogenous variables therefore appear to possess greater explanatory power than union size, membership composition and sectoral considerations *vis-à-vis* the patterning of unions' environmental activism, but may themselves be the product of unions' environmental activism rather than the cause. But they do sketch out what an environmentally active union looks like: it employs (an) EPO/EPOs; discusses regularly the environment at senior policy-making levels; provides environmental resources to members and activists; has established UGRs in branches (even if they may remain peripheral actors) and is 'plugged-in' to the wider environmental policy community.

Employers' Agendas and Unions' Environmental Activism

Chapter 5 showed that unions themselves consider employers' agendas to exercise least influence on their environmental policies. This is shown in more detail in Figure 6.7 (which also helps to confirm unions' claims that their green agenda is driven by endogenous actors and institutions). If the influence of sub-national conferences is discounted (some unions do not organise these) employer's agendas associate most weakly with unions' environmental policy in six sectors (General/Multi; Emergency Services; Energy; Education; Manufacturing and Transport (People))[82]. In Central Government, employers' agendas are equally influential as National Union Officers and more influential than National Delegate Conference. In Local government (where sub-national structures *do* appear influential) employers' agendas are more influential than Branches and National Union Officers. In the Retail sector, employers' agendas are more influential than individual members and this may be due to the large number of small and medium-sized owner-managed firms, where proprietorial prerogative is strong and where employers' influence may be oriented towards excluding unions. In the case of Central and Local Government the high influence of employers' agendas may instead reflect the existence of formal systems of employee relations through which a green agenda is jointly prosecuted: high employer influence cannot therefore be simply interpreted as evidence of exclusion and weak trade unionism. Precisely *how* employers influence unions' environmental activities is therefore important. Unions were asked to assess the importance of four factors on their environmental agenda, each considered capable of shaping unions' environmental activities in the following ways – see figure 6.8:

1. **Employers' Attitudes towards Unions**: although it is possible that in those sectors and organisations where employee relations are poor the environment negotiable may function to unite unions and management there is no obvious reason to expect a relatively new

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[82] Once more, the small *N* and limited number of unions per sector cautions against generalisability.

Figure 6.7: Environmental Influences by Industrial Sector: Employers Agendas; Individual Members; Branches; Sub-national Conferences; National Conference; National Union Officers

Main Industrial Sector(s) Organised
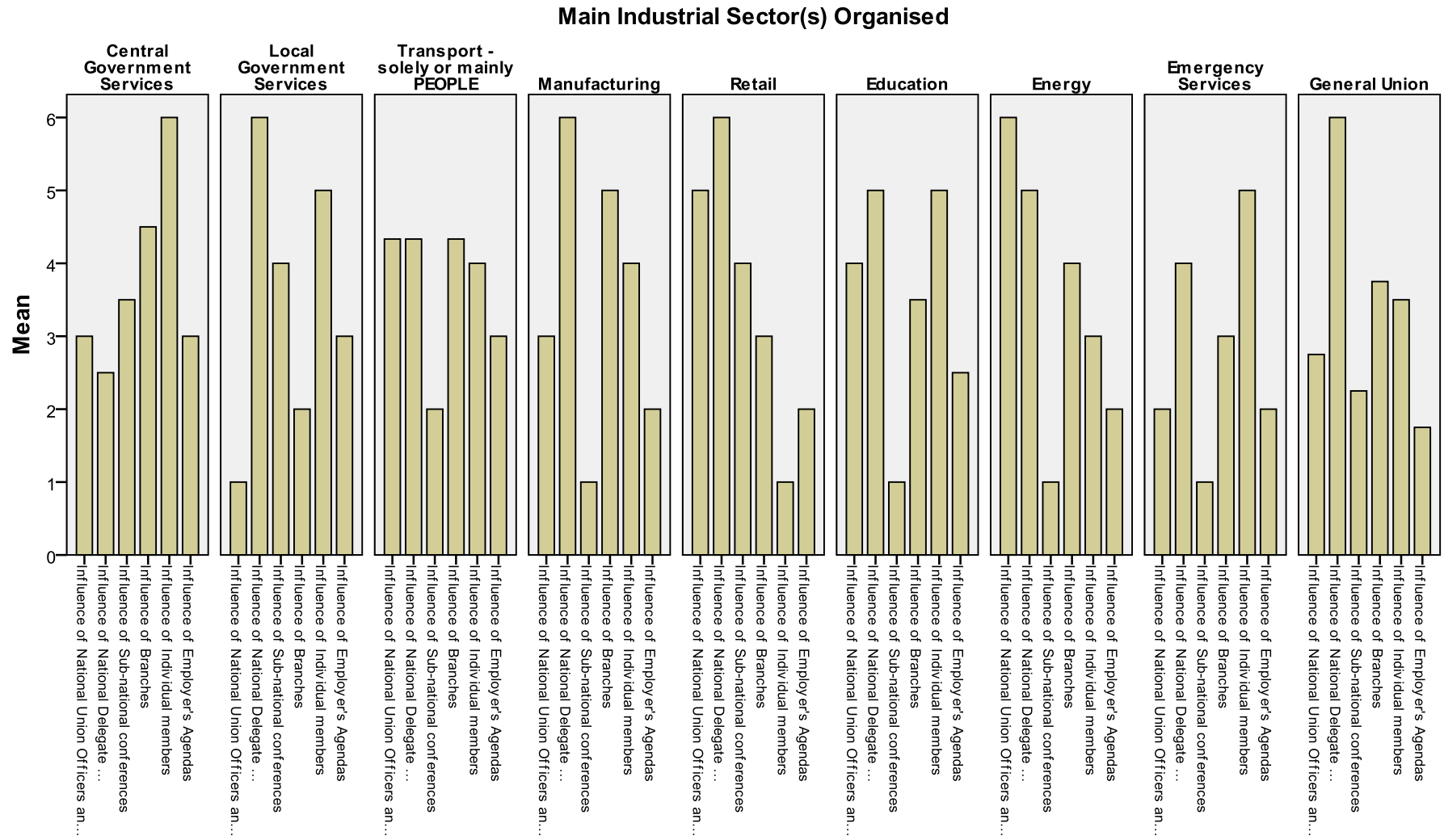
Figure 6.8: Influence of Employers' Agendas on Unions' Environmental Policies
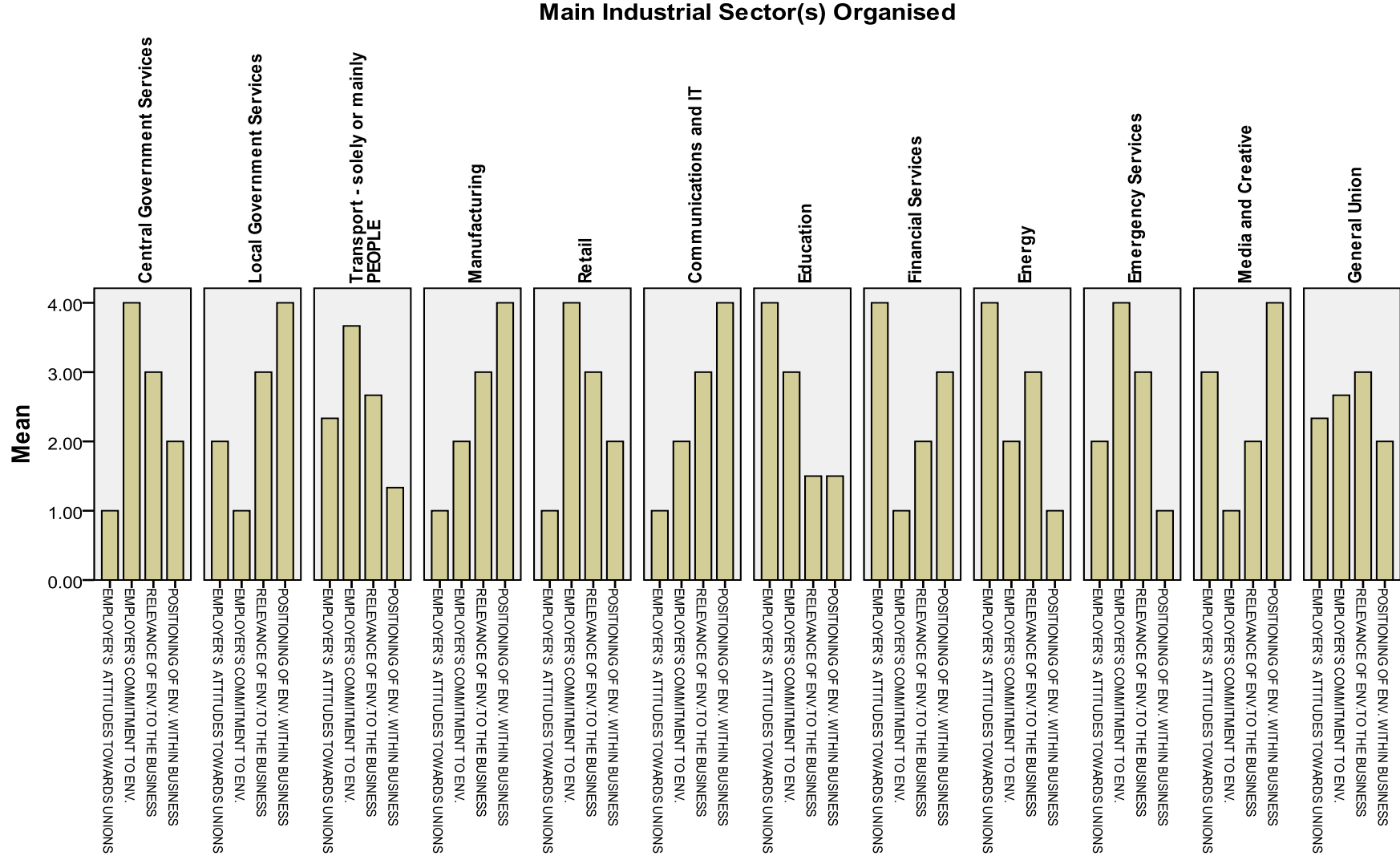
agenda such as greening to 'buck the trend'. Where good, extensive employee relations exist, however, it is certainly possible that green issues may be incorporated into unions' and employers' joint policy-making machinery. Merely subjecting 'the environment' to formal processes of employee relations does not, however, automatically generate favourable outcomes for unions;

2. **Employers' Commitment to the Environment**: where the employer is already committed to improving the organisation's environmental performance unions evidencing a similar commitment may be encouraged to contribute to the agenda. Conversely, employers may view union participation in the agenda as superfluous and/or there may only be a residual role for unions;

3. **Relevance of Environment to the Business**: 'the environment' presses harder on some firms and sectors than others. Environmental issues may therefore emerge more 'naturally' in some organisations, creating demand for and legitimising a green agenda which unions can easily adopt;

4. **Positioning of Environmental Issues within the Business**: the positioning of the environment as an operational (shopfloor)or strategic (boardroom) issue may affect the extent to which it is opened up to employee input, including its incorporation within extant formal and informal systems of employee relations and determining which groups of workers are considered 'worthy to speak' on it.

Figure 6.8 revealed variation in the influence of employers' behaviours and attitudes on unions' environmental activities. This is explored in greater detail in Table 6.4. Respondent unions were asked to score the influence of employers on unions' green agenda in the above four dimensions. Despite the aforementioned variation, employers' behaviours and attitudes correlate either weakly or not at all with unions' environmental activities (**EAS** and **Total number of Environmental Categories on Which Union Spends 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time**) – crucially, all are *Ns* ($p =$ > .05)[83]. Unions' environmental activism, therefore, does not appear to be overly conditioned –

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[83] Separate correlations were also run for the three sectors in which unions do report employers exerting considerable influence over unions' environmental policymaking – **Central Government**, **Local Government** and **Transport (People)** and for the remaining sectors. Here, too, employers' agendas fail to correlate significantly with **EAS** and the majority of coefficients are weak. The results can be summarised thus:

- **Employers' Attitudes towards Unions** and **EAS**: these correlate positively for unions reporting relatively strong influence of employers' agendas, and negatively for unions reporting weak influence of employers' agendas. In other words, unions' environmental activism increases in those sectors/workplaces where employers' general attitudes towards unions impinge on unions' environmental work. This suggests that these unions' environmental agendas are partly the product of negotiations with the employer and have favourable outcomes i.e. unions are considered 'worthy to speak' on environmental issues.

favourably or unfavourably - by employers' agendas. The relationship between employers' agendas and unions' environmental activism are weak and ungeneralisable, but overall:

- The negative relationship between **Employers' Attitudes Towards Unions** and unions' environmental activism suggests unions' green activities increase when the environmental negotiable is on the periphery of any formal system of employee relations. When employee relations influence unions' environmental activism it is more likely to limit it. Highly active unions' green agendas may therefore be ones not fully incorporated into broader employee relation structures and/or may be constructed as sufficiently apolitical, so that negative attitudes towards unions, by employers, do not necessarily spill over to also limit unions' environmental activism

- The negative relationship between **Employers' Commitment to the Environment** and unions' environmental activism suggests that unions' environmental activism can be a reaction to employers' behaviours. So where employers evidence little or no commitment unions will attempt to step-up their green bargaining and campaigning activities. Where employers do behave in an environmentally responsible manner union activity may be more modest

- **Relevance of Environment to the Business** correlated positively with unions' environmental activism. So unions are more environmentally active where green issues are already more salient

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- **Relevance of Environment to the Business** and **EAS**: these correlate negatively for unions reporting relatively strong influence of employers' agendas and positively for unions reporting weak influence of employers' agendas. In workplaces where employers' agendas are considered influential, therefore, the extent of unions' environmental activities is inversely related to the salience of 'the environment' to the business. Environmentally active unions may here be trying to assert the relevance of 'the environment' to the business. Where employers' agendas are considered less influential, unions' environmental activism is more likely to mirror the salience of 'the environment' to the business.
- **Employers' Commitment to the Environment** and **EAS**: these correlate negatively for unions reporting relatively strong influence of employers' agendas and positively for unions reporting weak influence of employers' agendas. So for the former, high levels of union activism may be an attempt to compensate for employer apathy, whilst low levels of activism suggest unions may occupy supernumerary roles. For the latter, their environmental activism will largely mirror that of the employers.
- **Positioning of the Environment within the Business** and **EAS**: these correlate positively for unions reporting relatively strong influence of employers' agendas and positively for unions reporting weak influence of employers' agendas. Whenever **Positioning of the Environment within the Business** is important unions are therefore likely to be considered 'worthy to speak' (and *vice versa*). However, by failing to discriminate between workplaces where employers' agendas are considered important and those where they are not, the result suggests the variable is not being used as a deliberate employer tactic to exclude or include unions.

- **Positioning of the Environment within the Business** correlated positively with **EAS**. This result suggests that wherever employers attempt to circumscribe who is and is not allowed to shape environmental policy, unions are likely to be regarded as 'insiders'

Table 6.4: Relationships Between Employers' Agendas and Unions' Environmental Activities

Correlations		EMPLOYER'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS UNIONS	EMPLOYER'S COMMITMENT TO ENV.	RELEVANCE OF ENV.TO THE BUSINESS	POSITIONING OF ENV. WITHIN BUSINESS
Total Number of Environmental Categories On Which "Significant" or "Fair" Amount of Time is Spent	Pearson Correlation	-.012	-.059	.168	-.078
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.481	.409	.253	.383
	N	18	18	18	17
Environmental Activity Score (EAS)	Pearson Correlation	-.154	-.092	.059	.189
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.271	.358	.409	.234
	N	18	18	18	17

A preponderance of weak and statistically *Ns* correlations, however, does not pose a sufficient challenge to the view that unions are largely operationalizing the sort of environmental agenda that is important to them. Chapter 5 posited that EPOs may have downplayed the influence of exogenous actors on their activities in order to emphasise that they are democratic member-led institutions; but employers do, indeed, appear to exert relatively little influence.

Given unions' natural terrain is the world of work and that workplace greening is at the centre of their environmental agenda these results *vis-à-vis* employers are surprising. It is possible that, whilst capacity building, unions may not be making widespread, regular and serious demands on employers, thereby not yet prompting substantive (negative or positive) responses from them. This is investigated further in Chapter 7.

Attitudinal Determinants of Union Environmental Activism

Unions' attitudes towards the environment are important not only because they influence the extent of unions' environmental activism but also because they may influence how unions construct 'the environment' and therefore the qualitative characteristics of their engagement. As previously noted, unions may view the agenda as a largely technical endeavour; a progressive and politically-charged agenda and/or as an explicit renewal opportunity.

Figure 6.9: Mean scores of Unions' Reasons for Getting Involved in the Environment

Figure 6.9: Mean scores of Unions' Reasons for Getting Involved in the Environment
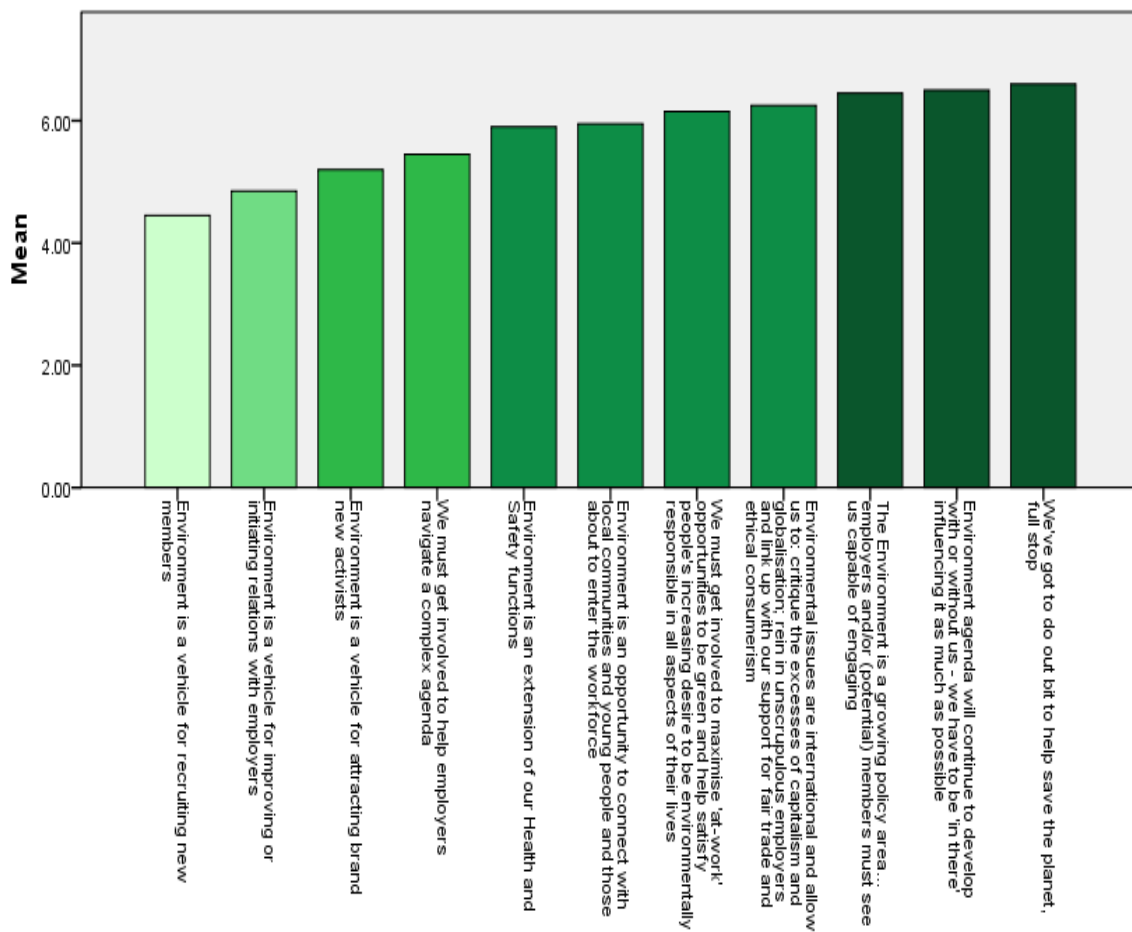
Assessing Individual Attitudes

EMotS is the product of unions' scores (0-10) to eleven statements or reasons for engaging with the

green agenda. Each attitude's mean score is shown in Figure 6.9. Something interesting happens,

however, when unions' reasons for going green are ordered according to how strongly they

correlate with their actual activism. Pearson correlations showing the relationships between each

variable and **EAS** are presented in Table 6.5. The highest and fourth-highest scoring attitudes in

Figure 6.9 **('We've got to do our bit to save the planet, full stop'** and **'Environmental issues are**

international and allow us to critique the excesses of capitalism and globalisation …') are

relegated. **'The Environment is an extension of our health and safety functions'** also becomes

relatively disassociated from unions' environmental activism. That the latter is decoupled from

unions' activism may suggest that although the environment is, by some, conceptualised as a health

Table 6.5: Relationships Between EAS and Attitudinal Variables

		EAS
The Environment is a growing policy area...employers and/or (potential) members must see us capable of engaging	Pearson Correlation	.584**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.003
	N	21
Environment agenda will continue to develop with or without us - we have to be 'in there' influencing it as much as possible	Pearson Correlation	.539**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.006
	N	21
Environment is a vehicle for recruiting new members	Pearson Correlation	.663**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.001
	N	21
Environment is a vehicle for improving or initiating relations with employers	Pearson Correlation	.454*
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.018
	N	21
Environment is a vehicle for attracting brand new activists	Pearson Correlation	.543**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.006
	N	21
Environment is an extension of our Health and Safety functions	Pearson Correlation	.209
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.190
	N	20
Environmental issues are international and allow us to: critique the excesses of capitalism and globalisation; rein in unscrupulous employers and link up with our support for fair trade and ethical consumerism	Pearson Correlation	.152
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.266
	N	20
We've got to do out bit to help save the planet, full stop	Pearson Correlation	.227
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.168
	N	20
We must get involved to help employers navigate a complex agenda	Pearson Correlation	.407*
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.035
	N	20
Environment is an opportunity to connect with local communities and young people and those about to enter the workforce	Pearson Correlation	.394*
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.042
	N	20
We must get involved to maximise 'at-work' opportunities to be green and help satisfy people's increasing desire to be environmentally responsible in all aspects of their lives	Pearson Correlation	.420*
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.028
	N	21

and safety issue, upon operationalization its unique characteristics emerge. Wishing to save the planet and curb the excesses of capitalism are laudable aspirations, but once unions become environmentally active the practical elements of the agenda are likely to come to the fore – although

this can equally be further evidence of newness and capacity building: a technocentric workplace greening agenda may be quicker to initiate than a wide-ranging political campaign. Additionally, the three lowest scoring – and explicitly instrumentalist - attitudes in Figure 6.9 all end up correlating particularly strongly with unions' **EAS**. Trade union environmental activism may reflect a progressive and even radical ideology, but unions may also pursue it for its distinctly practical benefits. Eight views, then – highlighted green in the table – are closely related to union environmental activism and all are significant ($p < .05$)[84]:

1. The Environment is a growing policy area...employers and/or (potential) members must see us capable of engaging – this accounts for 34.1% of variation in unions' **EAS**

2. Environment agenda will continue to develop with or without us - we have to be 'in there' influencing it as much as possible – this accounts for 29% of variation in unions' **EAS**

3. We must get involved to help employers navigate a complex agenda – this accounts for 16.5% of variation in unions' **EAS**

4. We must get involved to maximise 'at-work' opportunities to be green and help satisfy people's increasing desire to be environmentally responsible in all aspects of their lives – this accounts for 17.6% of variation in unions' **EAS**

5. Environment is an opportunity to connect with local communities and young people and those about to enter the workforce – this accounts for 15.5% of variation in unions' **EAS**

6. Environment is a vehicle for recruiting new members – this accounts for 43.9% of variation in unions' **EAS**

7. Environment is a vehicle for attracting brand new activists – this accounts for 29.4% of variation in unions' **EAS**

8. Environment is a vehicle for improving or initiating relations with employers – this accounts for 20.6% of variation in **EAS**

The first five views can be crudely categorised as 'fuzzy' or 'soft' instrumentalism. They are concerned with raising union profiles, asserting their relevance and/or are focused on what unions themselves can contribute to environmental practices and discourse. The first view is concerned with unions' need to be seen to be modern, professional and capable. The second view reflects unions' concerns to retain 'insider' status in the environmental policy domain. The third view reflects a unitarist, partnership approach to employee relations (see Chapter 4). The fourth view suggests unions are convinced of the popularity of the green agenda across society (and therefore their memberships) and the concept of the 'ethical employee' (see Chapter 4). The fifth view reflects

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[84] R^2.

unions' communitarianism and an ambition to extend their influence beyond the workplace (see Chapter 5).

In contrast, views six, seven and eight are examples of 'hard' instrumentalism: these are the concrete and more immediate gains unions expect from their environmental agendas.

Attitudes as Predictors of Union Environmental Activism

It should be possible to establish which, if any, of these eight attitudinal variables is most able to discriminate between lesser or greater environmental activism. Multiple Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was performed for which unions were divided into three groups: **Low EAS**; **Medium EAS** and **High EAS**. The *F*-ratio for all four multivariate tests is significant, suggesting attitudes may have a significant effect on which **EAS** Group unions belong to[85]. Using Pillais' Trace there was a statistically significant difference between **EAS** Group membership and attitudes, $V = 1.28$, $F(16, 22) = 2.42$, $p<.05$. Separate univariate ANOVAs on the outcome variable (**EAS** Group) revealed the following three attitudes to have a statistically significant effect on activism:

1. **The Environment is a growing policy area...employers and/or (potential) members must see us capable of engaging** – $F(2, 17) = 35.50$, $p=<.005$
2. **Environment agenda will continue to develop with or without us - we have to be 'in there' influencing it as much as possible** – $F(2, 17) = 34.72$, $p=<.005$
3. **Environment is a vehicle for recruiting new** members – $F(2, 17) = 32.79$, $p =<.005$

The above was followed-up with multiple comparisons (using Games-Howell procedure) yielding the following results:

1. **The Environment is a growing policy area...employers and/or (potential) members must see us capable of engaging**…: there was no significant difference between membership of the **Low EAS** Group and **Medium EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Low EAS** Group ($p >.05$). There is no significant difference between membership of the **Low EAS** Group and **High EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Low EAS** Group. There is no significant difference between membership of the **Medium EAS** Group and **High EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Medium EAS** Group ($p>.05$)

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[85] Although Levene's test of homogeneity of variance is not *Ns* for all attitudes, overall variance (1.81) does not exceed the critical value (7.5) for three variances with approximately 7 cases (unions) per group (Field, 2009): unequal variance should not cause a problem.

2. **Environment agenda will continue to develop with or without us - we have to be 'in there' influencing it as much as possible**: there was no significant difference between membership of the **Low EAS** Group and **Medium EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Low EAS** Group ($p > .05$). There is no significant difference between membership of the **Low EAS** Group and **High EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Low EAS** Group ($p > .05$). There is no significant difference between membership of the **Medium EAS** Group and **High EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Medium EAS** Group ($p > .05$)

3. **Environment is a vehicle for recruiting new members**: there was no significant difference between membership of the **Low EAS** Group and **Medium EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Low EAS** Group ($p > .05$). There is a significant difference between membership of the **Low EAS** Group and **High EAS** Group associated with belief in this statement, which is higher in the **High EAS** Group ($p < .05$). There is no significant difference between membership of the **Medium EAS** Group and the **High EAS** Group associated with a belief in this statement, although it is lower in the **Medium EAS** Group ($p > .05$)

The tests therefore reveal eight attitudes which correlate strongly and positively with activism; they are examples of 'hard' and 'soft' instrumentality rather than progressivism. Further analysis revealed three to be statistically significant in terms of their patterning across the **Low EAS Group**, **Medium EAS Group** and **High EAS Group**. How strongly individual unions believe in these three views - **The Environment is a growing policy area...employers and/or (potential) members must see us capable of engaging**; **Environment agenda will continue to develop with or without us - we have to be 'in there' influencing it as much as possible** and **Environment is a vehicle for recruiting new members** – can therefore function as an indicator of how environmentally active the union is likely to be. However, only the latter is capable of accurately discriminating between groups; and only then to differentiate between the least and most active unions.

The Environment and Union Renewal – Members and Activists

The final part of this chapter builds on unions' beliefs regarding the potential benefits of the green agenda and whether it can contribute to union resurgence. Respondent unions were asked to describe their experience of the agenda as a recruitment and retention tool and the results are presented in Tables 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8.

The tables show that many unions have no experience of using their environmental agenda as a recruitment and retention tool. Those that have found it to be of limited utility, albeit slightly more effective in recruiting new activists. This appears to contradict the earlier findings which suggested that unions viewed the environment as a vehicle for recruiting more members, although some of the difference might be explained by unions with no experience of using the environment as a recruitment tool anticipating its effectiveness. Alternatively, those that have tried and found it wanting may remain optimistic about its potential. The survey also asked unions with experience of using the environment as a recruitment tool to indicate which groups of non-members it most appeals to, and the results are shown in Figure 6.10.

Table 6.6: Effectiveness of 'The Environment' – Recruiting Members

How effective is the Environment in terms of recruiting new members?					
Ineffective	Neither Effective nor Ineffective	Effective	Very Effective	No Experience of This	no answer
Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
0	9	2	0	9	2

Table 6.7: Effectiveness of Environment – Retaining Members

How effective is the Environment in terms of retaining members?					
Ineffective	Neither Effective nor Ineffective	Effective	Very Effective	No Experience of This	No answer
Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
1	11	1	0	8	1

Table 6.8: Effectiveness of Environment – Recruiting Activists

How effective is the Environment in terms of recruiting new activists?					
Ineffective	Neither Effective nor Ineffective	Effective	Very Effective	No Experience of This	no answer
Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
1	9	6	0	5	1

Figure 6.10: Effectiveness of 'Environment' as a Recruitment Tool with different Types of Non-members
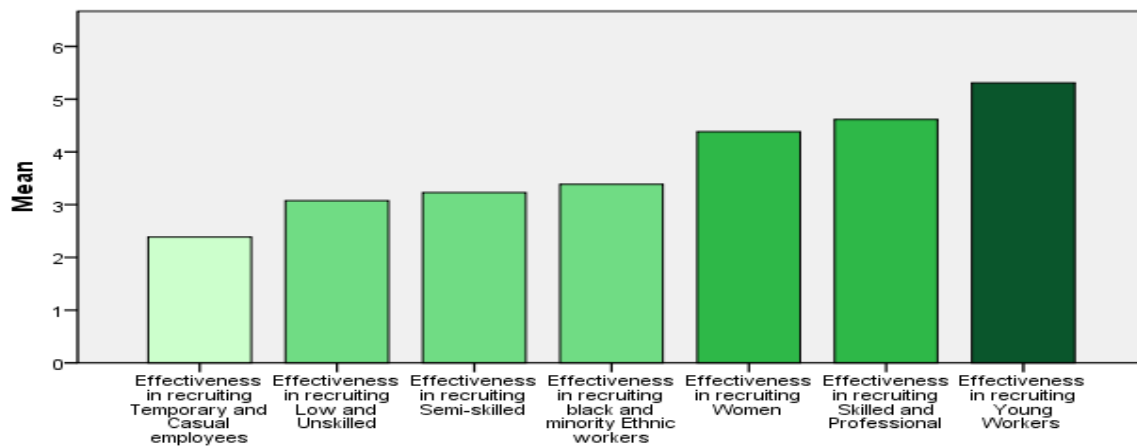
Respondent unions claimed that the environment appealed most to young workers, skilled and professional employees and women. These findings can be analysed from two directions. First, why according to unions, do young, professional and women members respond more positively to unions' environmental agendas? Secondly, are these the types of non-members that unions need to attract in order to grow?

Some essentialist ecofeminist discourses argue that women 'naturally' care more for the environment[86]. In contrast, young people may be considered more interested because they have grown up with the environmental agenda, whilst professional employees are considered most capable of understanding it. All three views are contested, but if unions really are reporting here what they have found (rather than repeating stereotypes) they are worthy of further investigation – both because the results challenge the view that environmental concern is relatively smoothly distributed across society (see Chapter 1) and because they do not align precisely with those presented earlier *vis-à-vis* differences in the agenda's popularity between unions representing unskilled/semi-skilled workers and those representing skilled/professional workers. It may be that industry and workplace specificities are acting to 'funnel' and focus different groups' interest towards or away from the environment. I have already suggested, in Chapter 4, that professional employees may be considered more 'worthy to speak' on environmental issues and so more

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[86] Typically linked to their roles as mothers and care providers. See Mary Mellor's 'Breaking the Boundaries' (1992) for a comprehensive but ultimately unsympathetic account of the arguments.

exposed to the agenda. And Sue Ferns, Prospect's Head of Research, believes that younger employees at the start of their careers enjoy greater freedom to experiment with agendas unrelated to their personal career development plans. Another popular view is that ethnic minorities and less well-off employees are less interested in the environment (see Chapter 1). The participation of various occupational groups in unions' green agenda is therefore investigated in greater detail in Chapter 7.

The issue at hand, however, is not so much *who* is interested in the environmental agenda, but, rather, can the development of a union green function convince them to join the union? For a trade union revival, unions really need to concentrate their recruitment activities on SMEs (see chapters 4 and 5), which do feature high concentrations of low-skilled and low-paid employees, including new entrants to the workforce, women and BMEs. However, not only are many SMEs resistant to union influence but they are also more likely to practice environmental rejectionism (see Chapter 4). Combined with unions' own appraisal it seems the environment's potential as a recruitment tool is, currently, a curate's egg.

And, frankly, the data suggests unions already know this. Unions were invited to award a mark (0 – 10) to 10 recruitment arguments and the mean scores are shown in Figure 6.11. It can be seen that unions consider environmental arguments to have extremely limited appeal to prospective members compared to a wide range of other reasons for joining. Not only does the environmental agenda trail unions' traditional economistic reasons for joining - those related to personal representation, health and safety, protecting jobs and pay – but it also lags behind their two most recent agendas: equality and diversity and learning and skills. Surprisingly, it is even considered to have less appeal than the provision of free or discounted social, financial and legal services. This is surprising because the explosion in these types of services in the early-to-mid-1990s is now largely understood as a desperate attempt by unions to stem membership loss and is associated with 'managerial' trade unionism in which members are cast as passive recipients of goods and services (see Chapters 1 and 4).

Unions report slightly more positive experiences *vis-à-vis* the agenda's ability to identify new activists. Without prejudice to the findings presented earlier showing that UGRs are actually extremely rare, there may be several reasons for this, including: as a brand new agenda it may appeal to existing union members hitherto unmoved by unions' traditional agendas and a technocentric environmental agenda may be particularly attractive to potential activists who prefer to avoid conflict (with employers). Additionally, union branches which choose to adopt the agenda

Figure 6.11: Most Effective Recruitment Arguments

Argument	Mean
"We can provide you with up-to-date information about important issues that may be of interest to you at work and beyond"	6.85
"We are an open and democratic union - you can get involved and contribute and help make/deliver our policies"	7.25
"We are able to campaign and argue against any changes to jobs or workplaces or organisation which may not be in your best interests"	8.25
"We offer personal representation and can help you if you encounter any difficulties at work"	8.80
"Union membership confers a range of legal and social and financial benefits and services"	7.15
"We are committed to equality and fairness in the workplace and work to ensure your employer is too"	7.90
"The Union is committed to the Environment and works to ensure that you can be green at work and that your employer is environmentally responsi…"	5.20
"We are able to help you with learning and skills, and work to ensure your employer takes these seriously too"	7.50
"We work on your behalf to ensure good health and safety practices are in place and adhered to"	8.20
"We work on your behalf to negotiate better pay and other conditions of employment"	8.95

Mean

may not have sufficient numbers of activists to handle it and so may make concerted efforts to identify new ones. These issues are explored in Chapter 7.

Unions describe their environmental agenda as member-driven and report finding the agenda popular amongst UK employees, but also that its appeal is differentiated. Crucially, Figure 6.11 shows that despite the agenda's popularity, it lacks power as a vehicle for encouraging membership - and this is explored in greater detail in Chapter 7. At the same time, these results confirm an

inchoate environmental agenda – it takes time to develop, implement and refine the training, resources, governance and operational methodologies required to exploit its effectiveness as a renewal strategy and for these to yield results. Additionally, as the investigation into unions' attitudes shows, it may not always or solely be embarked upon for 'hard' instrumentalist reasons anyway.

The Environment and Union Renewal – Influence with Employers

Findings presented earlier suggest that employers exercise little influence over unions' environmental activities and I posited that this may be because, for now, unions are making relatively   few demands of employers and/or may be prosecuting a largely technical and non-adversarial environmental agenda – typically focused on cutting energy bills - which employers are content with. But even though employers do not appear to be shaping unions' environmental agenda, unions clearly hope that their environmental agenda can enhance their relationship with employers (see earlier) and in Table 6.9 unions report fairly positive experiences of this. These results suggest that the environmental agenda may be useful for opening doors (to management) and/or consolidating and improving existing relationships. This may, in turn, be linked to a

Table 6.9: Effectiveness of the Environment in Employee Relations

How useful is your union's Environmental agenda in terms of contributing to the union's influence with employers?					
Ineffective	Neither Effective nor Ineffective	Effective	Very Effective	No Experience of This	no answer
Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
3	5	7	1	4	2

perception that the green agenda is a relatively uncontroversial agenda, suitable for partnership. In Chapter 5 Graham Petersen, the UCU's Environment Co-ordinator, described the environment as a radical agenda intent on changing the world. However, at a local level it may appeal because of its ability to facilitate effective joint working. This is confirmed in Figure 6.12, below. This may be interpreted as further confirmation that a conservative agenda is being pursued in workplaces, which contrasts with the slightly more radical tone of some unions' national environmental campaigning.

Figure 6.12: Employee Relations Negotiables and Conflict/Consensus
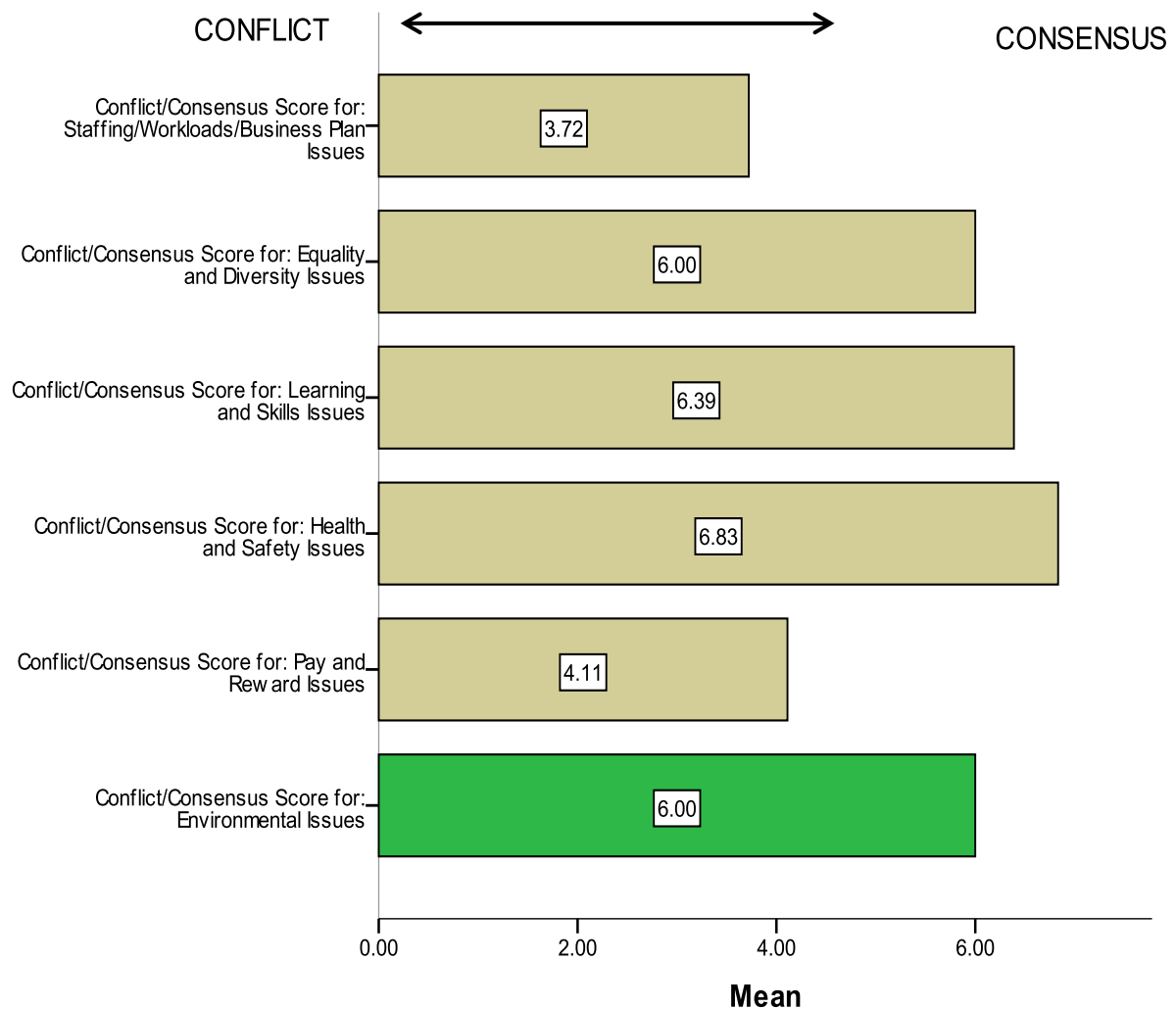
Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to identify the factors shaping unions' environmental activism. The data suggests that unions' environmental activism is generally unrelated to key institutional characteristics such as union finances and membership trend, although larger unions do tend to be more active. Neither is there a clear relationship between the sectors unions are organised in and their environmental activism, although unions in some sectors may inevitably encounter more industry-related environmental issues and it is possible that this stimulates wider activism. Very tentatively, the most environmentally active unions are likely to be larger, private sector, multi-sector unions representing blue collar workers – but effect sizes were generally small and *Ns*, and therefore ungeneralisable.

The analysis of unions' responses to the survey suggests, in fact, that it is a limited number of key attitudinal and organisational variables which correlate most strongly with and explain unions' overall activism. Unions' environmental activism may therefore be a product of how unions understand and construct the environment and their subsequent willingness to resource the function[87].

Certainly (and surprisingly) employers' agendas and employee relations exert very little influence on unions' environmental agendas, helping to confirm unions' claims that, for now, their environmental agenda is member-driven. It is unlikely that this is because unions are prosecuting a non-workplace (e.g. community-based) environmental agenda – chapter 5 confirmed these are rare. More likely unions are making relatively few demands on employers (see below) and/or are pursuing a largely technical, non-adversarial environmental agenda which employers are in agreement with or content to ignore. This seems to suit unions because they appear to enjoy more freedom to practice environmentalism when 'the environment' is on the periphery of formal systems of employee relations; although whenever employers do attempt to circumscribe who is and is not 'worthy to speak' and 'worthy to listen' on the environment, unions are generally regarded as 'insiders' anyway. There is also some evidence that unions' environmental activism is inversely related to employers' behaviour. Once more, these conclusions should be treated cautiously given the large number of *Ns* and weak effect sizes; but they are reported here to establish a discursive terrain for the empirical analysis in Chapter 7.

Several of the endogenous variables, including union headquarters' interest in the environment, the resources and support available to (prospective) UGRs and links with EMOs, correlate particularly strongly with unions' overall environmental activism. The adequacy or inadequacy of such

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[87] If there is merit in this we might expect to see stronger and positive correlations between various attitudes and organisational variables for highly active unions compared to those for less active unions. There is insufficient data for an analysis of the **Low EAS** Group, however a combination of Spearmans', point-biserial and Pearson's correlations were run for eight attitude variables and five organisational variables for the **Medium EAS** and **High EAS** Groups. In the **Medium EAS** Group the majority of coefficients are very strong, (positive) and significant, whereas the coefficients in the **High EAS** Group are generally weak-to-medium, (a mixture of positive and negative) and, crucially, almost all *Ns*. It may be that unions in the **Medium EAS** Group are in transition, and their activism is more dependent upon environmental arguments being 'won' in union headquarters and translated into resources and initiatives. In contrast, the environmental activism of unions in the **High EAS** Group is more established; those unions having largely resolved the arguments and secured the resources already which, once *in situ*, are less sensitive to headquarters-based politicking and/or not easy to dismantle.

resourcing and behaviour may, however, be a product of unions' environmental activism, not a cause of it. Unions' attitudes towards the environment were therefore also investigated.

Although the environmental agenda provides unions with a potential progressive campaigning and organising agenda (see Chapter 5) it is union support for a practical green agenda which associates most closely with their activism and the findings indicate that unions' environmental activism is more closely associated with self-interest. A mixture of 'hard' and 'soft' instrumentality correlates with unions' environmental activism, but no single attitude is deterministic. Although unions' adoption of the environmental agenda is unrelated to membership trend there is evidence that they are exploiting it as a recruitment tool (although this is something they prefer not to advertise) rather than a bargaining agenda (this also helps to explain why it is unaffected by employers' behaviours). Their experience thus far, however, suggests it has limited utility. Unions report slightly more positive results for the agenda *vis-à-vis* identifying activists; and of those unions which are engaging with employers a clear majority consider the agenda a useful vehicle for improving employee relations and engendering partnership.

Finally, if – as posited here - attitudes are seen as independent variables and organisational factors as dependent variables we are left with a 'transition' model in which unions' environmental function is seen as the product of a 'dialogue' between attitudes and resources. This reinforces the findings in Chapter 5, constituting further evidence that many unions' green agenda remains dynamic and vulnerable to renegotiation.

Chapter 7: The Case Studies

The Case Studies - Introduction

This chapter is focused on answering the third research question through an analysis of workplace greening, a genuinely new and understudied phenomenon. The first half of this chapter provides key contextual information for the three case studies: the type of workplace greening undertaken, the origins of each branch's greening activities and how greening is operationalised – *vis-à-vis*

Table 7.1: Case Studies: Organisation, Location, Main Business, Number of Employees and Union

Organisation	Location	Main Business	Employees (Approximate) (1)	Relevant Union (2)
British Telecom	Adastral Park, Ipswich	Telecommunications	3,500	Prospect (Connect Sector) (3) (4)
Great Ormond Street Hospital	London	Health	3,600	UNISON (5)
Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs	York,	Central Government	600	PCS (6)

(1) Refers to all staff employed by the organisation(s) in which the relevant union is recognised and/or with which it is an acknowledged employee relations actor, not just actual/potential members of the relevant union.

(2) Refers to the main union being investigated

(3) The case study coincided with Connect's merger with Prospect

(4) Connect/Prospect represent managerial and professional grades. CWU are also organised on the site and represent engineering grades

(5) GMB, UNITE, RCN, CSP, BDS and BMA are also organised in GOSH

(6) The York office is also the Headquarters of the Meat Hygiene Service, which recognises UNISON. The Pesticides Safety Directorate is also based at the York site and is part of the Health and Safety Executive. Specialist staff within the PSD are represented by Prospect, whilst administrative and managerial staff are represented by PCS. Several additional smaller units of the DEFRA 'family' are also present, including Natural England and the State Veterinary Service

employees, union members, activists and the employer. The scene is then set for the cross-case analysis in the second half, which is organised around a limited number of issues associated with the

environmental agenda's ability to function as a vehicle for union resurgence, measured by increased membership, activists and influence with employers. Details of the case studies are shown in Table 7.1. All quotes are from personal interviews unless stated otherwise.

British Telecom, Adastral Park, Ipswich

Introduction

Adastral Park is a large (41 hectares) science park located near the small village of Martlesham just outside the city of Ipswich in South East England.

The Adastral Park website describes the park as "one of the leading centres of technical innovation in the communication world" (Adastral Park website, 2011). There are approximately 40 different companies on site, including household names such as: O2; Nokia; Fujitsu and Ericsson. Several university teaching and research units are also located at Adastral Park, including University College London and the University of East Anglia. There has been a BT presence at Adastral Park since 1968 and they currently own the site and are the largest occupant, employing over 3,500 staff in the company's Global Innovation and Development Centres. BT also own 100 hectares of adjoining land. The site has developed incrementally and is a mixture of old and new buildings.

Many of the companies located at Adastral Park are members of 'Innovation Martlesham', a joint initiative by BT and the East of England Development Agency (EEDA) to attract more ICT companies to the park. The other companies at Adastral Park employ 500 staff and many are engaged in formal partnerships with BT to develop new products and services.

"A New Vision" for Adastral Park

'InnovationMartlesham' and BT's own plans to extend into parts of the site that are currently unused as well as adjoining land have been controversial not least because Adastral Park is contiguous to an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and close to several Sites of Special Scientific Interest. Local farmers also use the land. A campaign group – 'No to Adastral New Town' (NANT) – was created shortly after BT submitted its original development application to Suffolk Coastal District Council (SCDC) in 2008. This application was subsequently withdrawn and a revised planning application was submitted in April 2009, which included a proposal to build 2000 new houses next to the Park to accommodate an increased workforce and 60,000 m^2 additional employment floor space, as well as various community facilities (including a school; energy centre; hotel and public park) and significant

changes to the local road network[88]. The original consultation period for the application closed on 22 May 2009. It was then extended to 23 January 2011 but it was not until April 2012 that SCDC approved the development and, at the time of writing, the proposal has been sent to the Government Planning Inspector for further consideration. NANT maintain that the BT workforce is unlikely to increase significantly and that the proposed housing development is therefore unnecessary. NANT want the land surrounding Adastral Park to continue to be used for farming and/or be allowed to return to heathland.

BT argue that their plans constitute an integrated and sustainable regeneration of the Park and surrounding land and that it is good for business, local communities and the environment. The BT proposals feature 6 main 'components':

1. Jobs and Employment – creating more skilled and semi-skilled employment opportunities.
2. Education – attracting more world class research, especially from universities.
3. Homes – creating affordable housing for people working at Adastral Park.
4. Community and Leisure – providing brand new local amenities and investing in existing ones.
5. The Environment – BT will devise a Comprehensive Energy Strategy for the Park, conduct an ecological and environmental impact assessment and use sustainable materials and processes during construction.
6. Transport and Accessibility – local road networks will be reconfigured to enhance access to the new site and minimise disruption to local residents. New cycle and walking routes will be developed and the site will operate a Green Travel Plan to include better public transport links and car share/car pool arrangements.

The BT Global Innovation and Development Centres

'Global Services' and 'Innovate and Design' are two of BT's eight main lines of business and the majority of BT staff employed at Adastral Park work in one of these two business units. BT Global Services provides business communication solutions to multi-site organisations in the public and private sectors in the UK and internationally. BT Innovate & Design is responsible for the delivery and development of new systems and solutions and the research laboratories based at Adastral Park form the company's science and engineering base for the design and delivery of next-generation converged networks and services. In addition to specialist, technical and professional staff, a range of support, administrative and managerial grades are also employed by BT at Adastral Park.

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[88] Suffolk Coastal District Council Planning Application C/09/0555

BT Unions

BT recognises two main unions: the Connect Sector of Prospect and CWU. CWU represent clerical and engineering grades whilst Prospect (Connect Sector) represents managerial and professional staff. Although both unions work together on most employee relations issues, Prospect (Connect Sector) activists are the driving force behind the workplace greening that is occurring.

There are three Prospect (Connect Sector) (hereafter referred to as Prospect) branches at Adastral Park, each with approximately 350 members (total potential membership on site is approximately 2,000). Each branch has its own Branch Committee but these meet infrequently. Most union business is conducted by the Adastral Park Liaison Network which brings together the elected representatives of each Branch and meets monthly.

Employee Relations in BT

The traditional large organisation principle that issues should be dealt with at the lowest appropriate level applies. Pay and conditions of service for BT staff are negotiated nationally. In addition, each of BT's eight lines of business has its own Industrial Relations Committee on which union representatives elected by the entire (relevant) membership sit.

Employee relations in BT may appear to be centralised but management and unions at Adastral Park do meet to discuss site-specific issues. Much contact is informal and conducted by individual union representatives and relevant managers on a day-to-day basis. According to Martin Aylett, Prospect Branch Secretary: "Employee relations at Adastral Park are okayish. National relations tend to filter down and set the atmosphere but we talk and get on well here". Throughout 2001 and 2002 BT implemented a national programme of job cuts which resulted in "strained" local relations, but subsequently the employee relations climate has improved.

Union representatives in BT perform a wide range of functions including negotiating on issues such as staffing and resources and on matters associated with the implementation of policies that have been determined nationally. Branch representatives also handle members' personal cases.

Unions also participate in the Park's Residents' Forum. The Forum meets every 3 months and all organisations at Adastral Park are entitled to send 'representatives'. The Forum's powers are limited and it does not seek to make binding decisions on its members: the emphasis is on sharing information and providing updates. Although no formal negotiating occurs at the Forum, and although the unions are just one of many interests represented, CWU and Prospect use it as an opportunity to raise the profile of certain issues.

Because the main issue that links Forum participants is their presence at Adastral Park, common issues such as health and safety and accommodation are privileged; however, unions have in the past deliberately adopted a wide definition of health and safety and used the agenda to 'smuggle-in' environmental issues. The regeneration proposals are increasingly legitimising the environment as a Forum topic.

The Location Managers Forum (LMF) meets quarterly and is the main joint consultative body at Adastral Park, comprising senior managers and CWU and Prospect representatives from BT's main business units. LMF meetings are generally non-adversarial 'round-table' affairs and management and unions seek to work in partnership.

As with the Residents' Forum the unions have previously used the health and safety agenda to raise environmental issues at the LMF. But in 2010, Prospect's UGR – Andrew Cassy – was invited to sit on the Forum, *ex officio*, to lead on environmental issues and environmental and sustainability issues have been adopted as standing agenda items. As well as being a UGR Andrew Cassy is also BT's Environmental Champion and Travel Plan Manager and is line-managed by Phil Dance, the site's Managing Director – consequently Andrew describes his Forum role as "quasi-union".

The Environmental Agenda at Adastral Park

Environmental issues are increasing in importance and visibility at Adastral Park. These include strategic issues related to the regeneration as well as day-to-day matters pivoting around waste, energy and carbon management. According to the TUC (2010: 11):

> *Nationally, BT currently has an extensive, largely top-down approach to*
> *managing environmental issues. To complement this approach, it has set*
> *up a network of 'carbon clubs' that now have more than a thousand*
> *members. Some of these clubs are union-led. The clubs are aimed at*
> *"bringing colleagues together to discuss climate change issues and help*
> *make a difference" at work, at home and in the local community*

BT's redevelopment plans include proposals to construct an on-site renewable energy plant to provide heat and power. Adastral Park uses 75MKwH of electricity, producing 45,000 tonnes of CO_2 per year at an annual cost of £7m. The commutes of the Park's 3,500 employees are also a major source of GHG emissions. BT has a target to reduce CO_2 emissions by 80% compared to its 1996 levels. The Park's management have established a Corporate Social Responsibility and Sustainability Management Team and identified the following environmental priorities:

- Energy and carbon – looking at softphone deployment; solar photo-voltaic farms; desktop energy; building audits; smart metering; timer switches

- Fuel management and storage

- Sustainable procurement

- Product stewardship

- Waste and water – to include a clean sweep waste amnesty

- Emissions to air

- Community impacts

- Transport – the BT fleet; business travel; green travel plan

BT has outsourced cleaning, security, maintenance, power and infrastructure operations to the facilities management company Monteray. According to Monteray's Alan White BT is keen to make the site power-neutral and Monteray are currently conducting a site-wide audit of power usage. This involves acquiring a 'warts and all' understanding of how, why and when different parts of the site use/waste power and has necessitated extensive and occasionally fraught engagement with occupants: "it's a complex issue and there are sensitivities around it. For example, we want to know about 'unofficial' equipment. Discussions can also become very technical. We do have internal arguments". Progress is also difficult because the site is a mixture of old and new developments: "we have crazy infrastructure of old and new buildings. It's a problem trying to put new technology into a twenty or thirty year old heating and cooling system". Many of the meters on site are old and unreliable but too expensive to replace: "it comes down to being a cost issue".

Workplace Greening at Adastral Park

BT Adastral Park was part of the TUC's Green Workplaces Project (see Chapter 5):

> *Following extensive scoping to identify a project within the ICT sector, the GreenWorkplaces project at Adastral Park was kick-started in October 2009, providing an opportunity to extend staff engagement by offering trade union training to any member of staff keen enough to get involved* (TUC 2010:11)

The Project Manager then met with representatives from Prospect and CWU and with local management to discuss organising a green workplaces workshop and environment day. The workshop was attended by 11 union representatives and by Phil Dance the Managing Director at Adastral Park. Phil was keen to support union involvement in the agenda:

True sustainability is a team effort and cannot be achieved without the
active co-operation and interest of all. The unions have a strong history
of helping BT and its people. I'm pleased to see their active involvement
in the challenge of making a significant reduction in our carbon footprint

Union representatives at the workshop agreed there was a need to "formalise the environmental agenda to boost frontline employee involvement and to increase employee ownership through greater union participation" (TUC, 2010). Attendees agreed to support the BT carbon clubs but also to establish an Environmental Forum open to all staff. The first meeting of the Environmental Forum - known as the Adastral Green Team – was held in January 2010.

Prospect's Andrew Cassy has been a major driving force behind the agenda. Andrew is a longstanding hitherto inactive union member. Until 2005 he was employed by BT as a Technical Delivery Manager, but took time off work with stress. Whilst on sick absence Andrew began to develop an interest in environmental issues. When he returned to work in 2007 he signalled that he did not want to continue in his old role and organised an environmental awareness day. This roughly coincided with the publication of the redevelopment plans, and Andrew applied to become the Travel Manager responsible for developing 'Grass Routes' BT's Adastral Park green travel plan. Also around this time Prospect decided to create a network of UGRs and Andrew signalled his interest in this.

The Union's Green Structures

The Adastral Green Team meets regularly. Meetings are publicised on the BT intranet and via the unions own communications systems and all BT employees, regardless of union membership, are welcome to attend and/or encouraged to submit agenda items. There is a core of approximately seven regular attendees, the majority of whom are union members. Some members are also members of the BT Adastral Park Carbon Club and several are willing to describe themselves as environmental activists outside work. Brenda Cavanagh, for example, has been an environmental activist since the 1990s and is active in the Transition Town movement.

Green Team meetings are very informal: there is often no set agenda and they do not produce minutes in which action points can be recorded and tracked. Andrew Cassy is the BT Environmental Champion, Travel Manager and Prospect UGR and chairs most meetings. Because Andrew works directly for Phil Dance he is often in a position to provide other members of the Green Team with updates about environmental issues on site. Everyone is invited to participate and contribute ideas which are then, according to Andrew, "bounced around". No voting takes place but it is generally clear whether or not a consensus has formed. The matters discussed are fairly typical workplace

greening topics such as waste, energy and recycling. Some meetings have featured guest speakers and have an educative component[89].

Andrew is himself soft spoken, knowledgeable, modest about his achievements and keen to hear different points of view. Nevertheless, because of his 'insider' status Andrew 'punches above his weight' and exerts significant influence over the discussions. He handles environmental issues in his official work and so has considerable technical knowledge. He knows the 'management line'. And most Green Team policies and ideas are passed to him to raise with senior management and/or to pursue in his official role:

> *I'm the filter with senior management. I'm in a very good position to*
> *feed ideas in and that's clearly been an advantage. I don't know what it*
> *would have been like trying to get things moving from the 'outside'.*

The informality of Green Team meetings makes it difficult for members to establish precisely what progress is being made on particular issues, although Andrew does provide updates in-between meetings.

Generally, those lay representatives who are not active in the union's workplace greening function - including 'senior' officers such as Branch Secretaries and Branch Chairs – have little exposure to the union's environmental activities and instead remain focused on their traditional responsibilities. According to Jim Tasker, Branch Secretary, UGRs are afforded significant autonomy, but senior lay officers do like to receive updates. Similarly, Andrew Cassy admits "I don't really know what else is going on in the union. I'm just focused on the environmental work". The Green Team is on the periphery of the union's structures (see Figure 7.1).

Activities Undertaken

Union-led workplace greening at Adastral Park commenced with an 'Environment Day' in November 2009. This was held in The Hub, a large restaurant and meeting space, and was open to all Park employees. The Energy Saving Trust (EST) and Connect Carbon Club stalls provided a wide range of environmental resources and attendees were able to consult EST 'energy doctors' to receive one-to-one energy saving advice. Visitors could also test their eco-driving skills on a driving simulator.

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[89] For example, Alan White, from facilities management firm Monteray, gave a presentation on energy use at Adastral Park. And GEO, an Oxford-based green energy company manufacturing energy metering and monitoring hardware and software, attended one meeting to demonstrate their products.

One of the earliest union initiatives was to replace 59 bottled water units with plumbed-in tap water chillers, avoiding the need to produce, deliver, store and transport over 3,500 18 litre bottles per year.

In November 2010 Prospect organised a major union awareness day and recruitment drive. As part of this UGRs arranged for a senior manager from the BT Group Energy and Carbon team to give a public talk about BT's energy use and the company's national wind turbine and solar photovoltaic plans (including a possible major installation at Adastral Park).

The Green Team are also conducting floor-by-floor energy audits at Adastral Park, although this is a time-consuming and resource intensive activity and cannot be completed quickly. The results of the audits are then sent to the senior managers in the relevant business unit for action.

The Green Team's main achievement is arguably its ability to generate ideas and relatively effortlessly table these with senior management. However, the informality which characterises Green Team meetings makes it difficult to monitor progress and clearly distinguish between policy initiatives attributable to the union and those which may have happened anyway.

Membership, Activists and Workplace Greening

According to Andrew Cassy, union members are "pleasantly surprised" to see their union involved in environmental issues. Harry Elstob, Branch Chair, believes that the union's green function is definitely attracting new members. According to Harry: "we have an educated membership. They understand the science and aren't put-off by the technical aspects of it. They're interested". Parenthetically, the union has attempted to open up Green Team meetings to employees from other companies on site, who are probably just as highly educated, but there has been virtually no interest.

There is actually no evidence that the union's green function is increasing membership, but it remains to be properly exploited as a recruitment tool. For now non-members are welcomed. According to Andrew Cassy "we don't want it to be overtly union-led. This is about the environment". But according to Harry Elstob this may change:

> *We're consolidating, it's early days. But I see this as part of the union's*
> *organisational and renewal strategy. This may become a way of*
> *getting people to join. We hope they do see what we're doing and like*
> *it and join. Over time we* **(the union)** *would definitely want to claim*
> *ownership*

Andrew Cassy is one example of someone for whom the green agenda has provided an opportunity to become an active member: as Martin Aylett noted "he's gone from being relatively inactive to being evangelical about the environment and the union's role in it". Workplace greening (and the union-led carbon club) also provided Brenda Cavanagh with an opportunity to operationalize her longstanding environmental interests at work and through the union. Martin Aylett sees the green agenda as a new jumping-in point for prospective activists:

> *We're creating new options and ways for people to get involved, let people choose what they want to do. We have health and safety and we have ULRs[90] and now we have green stuff. We think the environment could be really good at bringing people in and getting people active*

The Green Agenda and Employee Relations

Senior management have welcomed the union's participation in making the site more sustainable. They have encouraged BT employees to get involved by agreeing that attendance at union greening events could be registered as an official BT volunteering activity. Senior management's support suggests they recognise Prospect as stakeholders in the company's sustainability and site redevelopment agendas. In an interview early in the case study Andrew Cassy observed:

> *This isn't surprising. There's no conflict of interest here. We share the same aspirations. BT needs to do things and individual employees can help. We have to work together*

But the support has limitations - according to Harry Elstob:

> *Nationally, we're trying to get BT to recognise Environmental Representatives, and the corporate responsibility side of BT is fairly keen on this. But we haven't got it here, although we are exerting pressure*

Harry also believes that as a negotiable the environment remains inchoate:

> *It's a bit fragile and it's also not very sharp. The differences of opinion which you need unions to resolve through negotiations aren't present as much. That may change as the agenda widens.*

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[90] Union Learning Reps

Figure 7.1: Key Prospect Relationships, the Green Team and Negotiating 'Pathways'
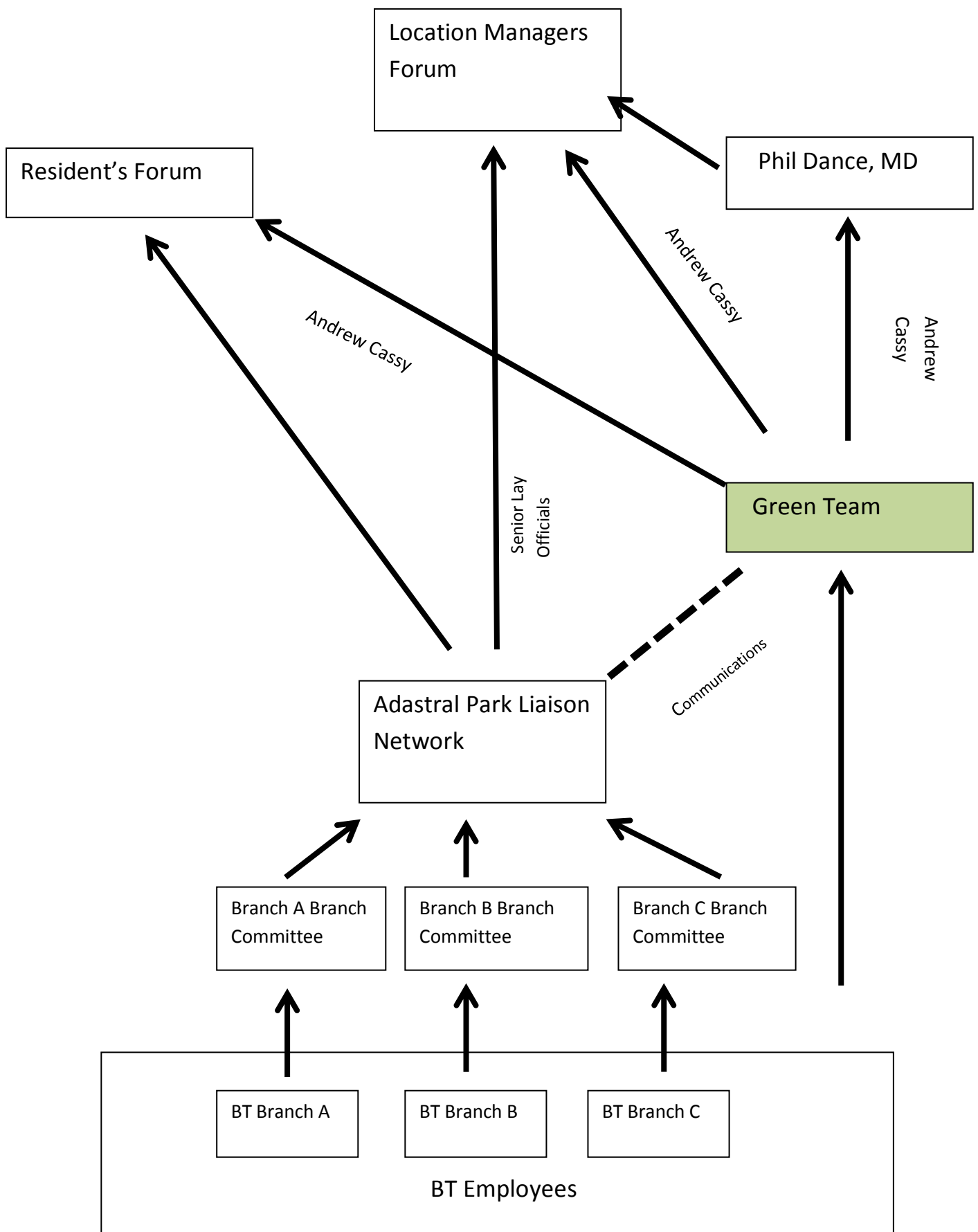
It is possible, therefore, to interpret management's support as contingent – dependent on the union's continuing ability to use its resources and influence with the BT workforce to assist BT to achieve its sustainability targets (particularly those that require behavioural change on the part of employees). According to Phil Dance:

> *I've always supported the role of trade unions… we value the role that unions are playing in generating ideas and keeping things moving. I see this as the type of issue where we need as many people, as many groups, as possible to contribute and unions should be welcomed as key actors in this … having the union involved gives us a way of democratising the process*

Harry observes:

> *There's no doubt that this helps the company, it's part of BT's agenda as well. It will help BT's bottom-line. Anything we can do that can help reduce BT's energy consumption is important to BT*

By asking for 'the environment' and 'sustainability' to be standing agenda items at LMFs and seeking formal recognition for UGRs Prospect appears to have recognised the need to safeguard and solidify its green function with management. Towards the end of the case study Andrew Cassy remarked:

> *We tried to keep things informal and open and that worked well. But as the agenda has expanded, over time, we've wanted to pitch things more formally. We wanted to get some governance*

This will undoubtedly have pleased one plain speaking TUC staffer who assisted with the Project:

> *We're not having people travelling hundreds of miles around the fucking country to speak to non-union members about how they can reduce their employer's electricity bills. I'll not do it. This is about capacity building and increasing the influence of unions in the workplace in a growing agenda*

Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs, Kings Pool, York

Introduction

The York DEFRA – formerly Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF) - office opened in 1994 and was a new build. The office brought together staff from various MAFF business units from

around the country (notably London and Guildford) and was part of the Government's policy to relocate jobs out of the South East and rationalize the Government estate.

The Kings Pool site comprises of two adjacent buildings: Foss House and Mallard House. Mallard House is occupied by The Pesticides Safety Directorate (PSD) which employs approximately 100 people and was an Executive Agency of DEFRA until 2007 when it became part of the Health and Safety Executive. Foss House is occupied by approximately 350 DEFRA employees in various business units, the largest being DEFRA's Shared Services Organisation which provides key back-office functions to the core-Department and most of its agencies. The Headquarters of The Meat Hygiene Service (MHS), an Executive Agency of the Department of Health, is also located in Foss House and employs approximately 150 staff. The vast majority of DEFRA employees at Kings Pool are managers and administrators although there are some specialist grades including accountants, accounting technicians, auditors and statisticians.

The Kings Pool site is one of the largest providers of jobs in the City of York and one of the most desirable places to work - DEFRA staff are very well paid compared to comparable office jobs in York, the site is within easy walking distance of the city centre and facilities include free on-site parking, a staff restaurant, gym and on-site nursery.

In 2004, in anticipation of a relocation of up to 160 jobs to York from London, DEFRA announced a major refresh of the Kings Pool site in order to maximize space. The refresh commenced in 2005 and was completed in 2009. During this period the Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS) DEFRA York Branch participated in the first (2006-07) tranche of the TUC's Green Workplaces Project.

DEFRA

DEFRA was formed in June 2001 when MAFF merged with part of the DETR and with a small part of the Home Office. The core-Department and its executive agencies employ approximately 10,000 people, mainly in England and Wales.

The Refresh

The site refresh commenced in 2005 and was prompted by an internal review of the DEFRA estate – which had as its main objective the need to reduce the number of buildings DEFRA occupied in order to save money – and the Lyons Review, an independent study into the scope for relocating a substantial number of public sector activities from London and South East England to other parts of the United Kingdom.

Andy Durrant (since retired) was the Accommodation Officer at Kings Pool and notes:

> *Unsurprisingly, DEFRA was seen as the benchmark for new government builds and refurbishments, so right from the start the refurbishment had a remit to do whatever it took to make it as green as possible. I wouldn't say it was a case of 'no expenses spared' but it came close. We had to get those BREEAM[91] 'excellent' ratings*

The first step was to require the MHS to move off-site in order to create some decant space: the work was generally conducted floor-by-floor with those affected moving into the 'spare' accommodation so that they could continue working undisturbed.

The refurbishment changed radically the internal layout of the building, generally removing single-occupancy offices and increasing the amount of open-plan office space. Business units tended to possess their own meeting rooms, but the plans concentrated all meetings rooms on the ground floor. A new reception area was built, with improved security and access/egress. The staff restaurant on the fourth floor was converted to office space and a brand new café bar-style restaurant (with a 'living roof') was built in the grounds, linked to Foss House by a covered walkway. To achieve high BREEAM ratings particular attention was paid to heating, lighting, ventilation and water usage. According to Andy Durrant, Kings Pool's carbon footprint reduced significantly after the refurbishment. The refurbishment was originally estimated to cost £12m – £15m, but the final cost was £30m.

The Unions

Several unions are recognized on the Kings Pool site:

- PCS: the largest union on site, representing staff in DEFRA and PSD. PCS represents administrative and support staff as well as managerial grades up to and including Grade 7, i.e. Executive Officers, Higher Executive Officers, Senior Executive Officers and Grade 7s

- FDA: represents senior managers in DEFRA, i.e. Grade 6 and above. FDA also represent statisticians

- Prospect: represents scientific and technical staff employed in PSD

- UNISON: represents administrative and managerial staff and Meat Inspectors in the MHS

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[91] BREEAM is the leading and most widely used environmental assessment method for buildings. It sets the standard for best practice in sustainable design and has become the *de facto* measure used to describe a building's environmental performance.

The senior branch officials of all four unions interact fairly regularly together to form the Kings Pool Trade Union Side (TUS) which used to meet at least formally once a year – usually in advance of the Kings Pool Whitley (see below). However, the TUS has fallen into disuse and most inter-union contact is now informal and *ad hoc*. The PCS and Prospect branches in particular are highly visible and active and have a long history of collaborating. In contrast, FDA generally maintains a low profile: its membership at York is very small, however, their members undoubtedly exert significant influence with senior management. UNISON members in the MHS frequently complain that UNISON is focused too much on representing the MHS Meat Inspectors (who form the bulk of UNISON's MHS members but are off-site) and ignore the Kings Pool staff - density is low.

The case study is focused on the PCS Union. PCS have approximately 200 members at King's Pool – this excludes PCS members in PSD who left the PCS DEFRA York Branch when PSD became part of the HSE. During the refresh the PCS DEFRA Branch Committee contained two extremely experienced, well-connected and longstanding officials: Branch Chair Les Pearson (since retired), a former Vice President of the PCS DEFRA Group Executive Committee[92]; and Assistant Branch Secretary Graham Bowers, concurrently the Group Assistant Secretary of the PCS DEFRA Group Executive Committee. The PCS DEFRA York Branch is also in receipt of a large allocation of Facility Time from the employer, the majority of which is held by the Branch Chair and Secretary.

Employee Relations

The Kings Pool Whitley Committee – the main forum for industrial relations at York - was established in 1995 and until 2005 met annually. The Official Side (OS) comprises senior managers from the different business units on site, and the TUS comprises the senior branch lay officials from the unions on site. The Committee is chaired by the most senior manager on site (historically the Chief Executive of PSD) and the TUS provides the Deputy Chair.

The Whitley Committee still exists on paper but, like the TUS, it has fallen into disuse and the majority of contact between unions and management is now conducted on a day-to-day and issue-by-issue basis. It is difficult to identify with precision why the TUS and the Whitley Committee no longer function. One possible answer is that successive waves of organizational change in DEFRA loosened the ties felt by all staff, regardless of which part of DEFRA they worked in – the centre of gravity of industrial relations shifted to individual business units, undermining the legitimacy of overarching bodies such as the TUS and Whitley. The handful of genuinely common issues left – such

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[92] The Group Executive Committee has a DEFRA-wide remit and conducts Departmental negotiations with DEFRA's senior management.

as health and safety (and the refresh) – could simply be covered on an issue-by-issue basis using bespoke arrangements.

Nevertheless, employee relations at York are relatively good, although PCS maintain that certain business units are more problematic and some are more content to consult and negotiate than others.

Initial Attitude of PCS to the Refresh

The refresh presented the PCS DEFRA York Branch with a dilemma. According to Les Pearson, PCS had for many years argued that any *new* jobs should be located in York because the site had evolved into a promotion cul-de-sac. But the jobs associated with the refresh were existing jobs from London. The initial negotiating position of the PCS York Branch was to oppose any mass transfer of work because of the job losses it would cause in London (a staff survey had revealed that very few London employees intended to follow the work). But by late 2004 the PCS DEFRA London Branch had still to initiate any kind of campaign to prevent the transfer - PCS York simply tired of defending London jobs and embraced the opportunities on offer.

Nevertheless, PCS remained concerned about the cost of the refresh, maintaining that the Kings Pool site was still in good condition and that there were better things on which to spend £12m. Once the refresh was underway, however, these concerns remained largely unarticulated.

PCS Workplace Greening Activities

The last three years of the refresh coincided with PCS' participation in the first TUC Green Workplaces Project – which provided a ready-made and expansive sustainability agenda in which the union could become involved.

The origins of PCS' participation in the Green Workplaces project are complex but Graham Bowers was clearly instrumental. Graham joined MAFF in the late-1970s in Guildford after a brief career as an engineer in the nuclear industry where he acquired a keen interest in environmental issues. In the late 1980s and early 1990s he attempted to develop a union green agenda at MAFF Guildford but did not get much support. Outside the workplace he tries to lead an ethical lifestyle. Graham followed his job to York in 1995.

In 2005 the TUC were seeking union branches to participate in the first Green Workplaces Project and Graham volunteered the PCS DEFRA York Branch:

We were one of the most active branches in DEFRA, a key branch. We had a good reputation. A few years earlier we had run with the ULR work and made a success of it. And at our AGM in 2004 we had created a new Branch Officership – a Community Liaison Officer - and held a really popular fair trade awareness day. So we knew we could take new things on. We were a rather ambitious outward-looking branch.

Graham Bowers and Les Pearson met with the TUC's Green Workplaces Project Team in 2006 to discuss York's participation. The Branch issued an all-members survey in the autumn to establish members' interest in the green agenda and received a positive response[93]. There was a further meeting with the Green Workplaces Project Team and in May2007 the project was launched via a one-day 'Greening the Workplace Awareness Day' (Appendix L) run by the TUC. DEFRA management supported the event and agreed that a full day's Facility Time would be granted to any union members who attended. The awareness day attracted over 50 staff and was followed by a Green Representatives Training Workshop for union members interested in learning more about the union's role in workplace greening.

PCS participation in the Green Workplaces Project was largely focused on reducing the Kings Pool carbon footprint by making staff aware of different ways in which they could save energy. This issue was already being examined in the context of the refresh. One of the earliest PCS acts was to request details of the amount of gas, electricity and water consumed on site and it was soon apparent that serious improvements had to be made: for example, electricity usage in Kings Pool in 2005-06 was 136kW per m^2 of office space, against a government benchmark of 92kW per m^2 .

PCS Green Structures

The PCS Branch Committee agreed that Les Pearson and Graham Bowers would be the lead negotiators on the refresh. Until his retirement in 2007 Les did most of the work and was afforded significant autonomy by the BEC. After Les retired Graham took the lead and a special environmental sub-committee was also established (Figure 7.2). Graham recalls:

We set up a committee, independent from the BEC, but which reported to the BEC and TUS. That would help identify issues and send the right signals and help maintain momentum. Outside this we also held formal and informal meetings with affected parties

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[93] Unfortunately the Branch had mislaid both the questionnaire and the responses.

Membership of the sub-committee was open to any PCS member – it peaked at 12 - and was chaired by Graham. The sub-committee met on an *ad hoc* basis during the refresh but its members communicated fairly frequently using email. Members of the sub-committee were drawn from various DEFRA business units, so they had a role in identifying problems 'on the ground'. However, the main purpose of the sub-committee was to identify resources, conduct web-based research and generate ideas that could be passed to Graham and the BEC and which could inform the union's workplace greening agenda and be tabled with management.

During the latter stages of the refresh, in 2009, one particularly enthusiastic member of the sub-committee volunteered to be the Branch UGR and it was agreed that she would be coopted onto the BEC. However, she became ill shortly afterwards and at the time of writing remains on long-term sick absence. No-one else has volunteered to take her place.

Membership, Activists and Workplace Greening

A relatively large number of staff attended the 'Green Workplaces Awareness Day' suggesting that the development of a branch-based environmental function might be popular with members. But Les Pearson recalls:

> *I never saw green issues as a way of energizing the branch. I don't see issues* per se *as a way of activating the membership. What gets people interested in the union and involved? It's having good, effective local officials that people trust to take forward the issues. It doesn't matter what the issue is.*

But by 2008 the BEC had identified 'the environment' as part of the Branch Action Plan designed to reinvigorate the branch and stem declining membership and for Bowers 'the environment' represented "a new way of raising the profile of the union on site".

But although the BEC is considered to have handled the refresh well with management, and despite a prominent environmental agenda on site, membership continued to decline during this period, and the members' interest in environmental issues failed to live up to the early expectations.

According to BEC member Emma Jones: "it just doesn't come up as an issue amongst the membership". Individual BEC members seem to differ in opinion regarding the members' relative apathy to environmental issues. Mary Pope – another very experienced union representative – notes:

A lot of people are afraid of it. It's a complicated agenda, a bit scientific at times. But it's also an individual issue, not just a collective one, and individuals can do some of it themselves - we all need to take a role, you have to do your own bit. What the union is good at is letting people know what they can do

Emma Jones wonders whether the environment can ever form a core trade union issue: "unions are about jobs and pensions and employment rights. Learning is a big thing now, but still supplemental". Like Mary, Emma believes that environmental issues can be viewed as a personal responsibility:

The thing with the environment is no-one is sure who should be doing it – the Government on a big scale or employers or individuals doing their own little bit.

Declining interest in the union's green agenda may be linked to the completion of the Kings Pool refresh – as Emma observes: "we don't necessarily think about it now unless something comes up … activity needs to be triggered by an actual event". But Emma also believes that the union needed to do more to promote a robust unionized green agenda amongst the membership:

the membership probably would have responded more if we were more proactive, like they did with learning … we've not had the time or the resources to do anything new

Helen Adkins, the Branch Health and Safety Officer, concurs:

Because we're not really pushing it the members aren't really showing much enthusiasm, at least not enough for us to have to really do something. Sometimes the members set the agenda. But sometimes it has to be the Committee and activists who take the lead and we're not doing that on this issue

According to Helen the branch currently lacks "a committed individual to drive this forward" and 'the environment' could therefore not 'compete' successfully with other negotiables. The unions considered civil servants' pay and pensions to be under attack for most of the last decade, and although these issues are negotiated at departmental level or with the Cabinet Office they

Figure 7.2: Key PCS DEFRA Branch Relationships and negotiating 'pathways' during the refresh

Individual senior managers/business units

York Refresh Project Team

Kings Pool Whitley Council – largely defunct

Andy Durrant (Accommodation Manager)

Les Pearson (Branch Chair) and/or Graham Bowers (Branch Assistant Secretary)

PCS Environment Sub-Committee – 2007 onwards

TUS – largely defunct

Other Unions (day-to-day contact)

PCS Branch Executive Committee

PCS DEFRA York Branch Members

DEFRA Staff at Kings Pool

dominated many branch discussions. Certain organisational changes and contentious reforms to key HR policies also exercised the membership. According to Helen:

> *The environment, going green, is a good idea, but I don't know if there was ever enough people or willingness pushing it forward. People are too bothered about common issues. Pay is one and pensions is another, which directly affect their standard of living. We've done a lot of work around these*

One anonymous BEC member also maintains the environmental agenda has to 'compete' with key officers' pet interests:

> *Because we struggle for members we might be classed as a struggling branch, and we've not gone out to the members to develop this. Some of our local officials aren't really interested, and want us to focus on union learning more than anything else*

Graham Bowers is disappointed:

> *It's in our Branch Action Plan, it's on our 'wish list', and it occasionally features in "WiDEFRAme"[94] but that's about it for now. It's been parked. It's a shame really. But we will return to it.*

Although the BEC found it difficult to sustain members' interest in the environment there is evidence that it played a role in encouraging activism. The Green Workplaces Project enabled Graham to operationalize a longstanding interest, and he has since become involved in PCS' national environmental agenda, helping to organize green training events for the union's UGRs. Graham has also attended TUC green conferences and chaired some of the workshops. The Environmental Sub-committee was, of course, a brand new union body and attracted a mixture of first-time activists and branch stalwarts. The former included Lesley Young who went on to become Branch Secretary. Finally, the Branch successfully identified its own UGR (but see above regarding her inactivity).

The Green Agenda and Employee Relations

According to Graham:

> *A lot of issues are dealt with further up the line, like pay and pensions. The refurbishment was a fairly big and genuinely local issue which we could get*

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[94] The PCS DEFRA Branch Newsletter

> *involved with and were expected to handle. The members expect us to be able*
>
> *to deal with things like this*

The Branch was keen to work in partnership with the employer. According to Graham: "we wanted to work with management. We wanted to share data on gas and water and electricity consumption and be recognised as stakeholders". Branch activists had built-up good working relationships with key local managers over many years and particularly with Andy Durrant, the Kings Pool Accommodation Manager, with whom they regularly discussed health and safety. Management and unions alike believe they worked well together. Graham observes:

> *There was fairly good industrial relations on the site. A lot of the changes*
> *associated with the refurbishment were accommodation changes. The*
> *York office is a big office and we were used to accommodation changes.*
> *Our health and safety reps would often deal with these issues and they*
> *had a good relationship with management, built-up over years. So there*
> *was a bit of a consultation culture, even if it wasn't as good as it had*
> *been*

Andy Durrant recalls: "they really did engage and they were definitely crucial to getting people on side and keeping them on side during a long and very disruptive process". This suggests that management viewed the support of the unions as part of a strategy of minimising opposition and complaints. In fact Andy believes the union struggled with the environmental content of the refresh and never really prioritised it in the first place:

> *The unions weren't crucial to the process, to be honest I don't think they*
> *had enough technical knowledge, not compared to the people we*
> *brought in to do it all. That's not a criticism, it wasn't their usual subject.*
> *So the unions were interested but I wouldn't say they saw it as 'key'.*
> *They were always more interested in things within the agenda that*
> *affected staff*

In addition to speaking face-to-face with Andy Durrant the unions also participated in the York Refresh Project Team (YRPT). The YRPT met every two months and although membership was open to anyone who felt they had something useful to contribute it comprised mainly of union representatives, Andy Durrant, middle and senior managers from various business units and the consultants managing the refresh.

Because the YRPT was theoretically open to anyone it did not feel or function like a formal management-union encounter. Les recalls being quite outspoken on health and safety issues at the YRPT:

> *I tried to pull them into areas they didn't want to go, especially on health and safety. We'd been arguing for more pedestrianisation on-site for ages, and the original plans didn't address this. But we got it built-in. They weren't going to refresh the nursery either, but we got them to do this*

However, Les left environmental issues to others:

> *There was one guy, a long term member, a manager in Plant Health Division, who had never been active, and he had turned up to the Awareness Day and he was clearly very interested and very knowledgeable. And he attended the Refresh meetings, partly representing his Division and partly because he had something to offer and say. This didn't cause me any problems. It was an open house and he knew far more than I did.*

On the possibility of the union claiming ownership of the environmental agenda Les comments:

> *We couldn't take ownership of these issues; I couldn't be 'the big union man', partly because the whole thing was set-up as a whole-site issue, not a union/management one, and partly because we didn't have the knowledge. We would have looked stupid. How can we talk authoritatively to specialists and not sound stupid? None of us really had much of an idea!*

Great Ormond Street Hospital

Introduction

Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children (GOSH) is an internationally renowned provider of specialist children's healthcare in the centre of London employing approximately 3,600 people. It is also the UK's only biomedical research centre specialising in paediatrics. The hospital opened in 1852 and had just 10 beds. Victorian philanthropy raised sufficient funds to enable the hospital to expand and move into new purpose-built premises and offer a wider range of services to a greater number of patients: during the 1870s GOSH was treating 691 in-patients per year and 12,221 outpatients per

year. Expansion over the next 140 years has enabled the hospital now to treat 170,000 children annually.

GOSH is part of the UK's National Health Service (NHS) and is a specialist tertiary care provider – referrals to GOSH typically originate from local hospitals whenever they are unable to provide the specialist services required. As part of the NHS GOSH receives strategic direction from the Department of Health.

The Sustainability Agenda at GOSH

In 2008 GOSH received planning consent for the development of a Children's Medical Centre, comprising one new clinical building, and the radical rebuilding and refurbishment of the hospital's Cardiac wing: in effect, two linked, brand new buildings totalling more than 30,000 m^2 at a cost of £321m.

The new buildings – to include wards, operating theatres, imaging facilities, playrooms, offices and a new restaurant – were intended to "set new standards for green hospital design" (GOSH, February 2008). The new amenities would be linked by a central circulation hub and constructed consecutively to allow the hospital to remain operational throughout.

According to architect Coenraad Botha:

> *A key design challenge was to combine optimum functional flexibility with architectural elements of delight - to present a 'friendly face' as well as provide a sustainable design solution… we designed the building in line with the client's desire for a deep green sustainable development. The development is estimated to offset in excess of 20,000 tonnes of CO² annually, the equivalent to the typical yearly carbon footprint of around 2,000 people living in the UK*

Despite the highly technical functions of the new buildings and the restricted, brownfield nature of the site, the project achieved the highest forecast 'BREEAM Excellent' rating using the NHS Environmental Assessment Tool. Green features include:

- Maximum natural ventilation and On site CCHP (Combined Cooling Heating & Power) Plant
- Green (sedum) roofs
- Optimising natural daylight
- Energy saving off-site manufacturing

- High quality façade to reduce energy

- Specification of recycled materials Use of concrete for thermal mass with reduced cement and recycled granular slag

- Partitions of recycled paper and recycled gypsum

- Timber from sustainable sources

- Use of natural paints without toxic chemicals, natural biodegradable linoleum and water saving devices

More generally, in accordance with the NHS carbon management programme the Trust was committed to achieving a 15% reduction in its carbon emissions between 2008 –2012. Peter Woolaston, a senior manager in the Trust's Corporate Facilities Department, notes that "the NHS has to follow very strict guidelines on carbon management and reduction" and Bill McGill, Head of Redevelopment and Chair of the Sustainable Development Group at GOSH describes regulation as "possibly the most important driver".

The Unions

Several TUC-affiliated unions are organised in GOSH:

- UNISON: represents administrative and managerial grades and support staff such as porters

- Unite: represents industrial grades

- GMB: represents industrial grades

- British Dietetic Association: represents dieticians and acts as the profession's professional body

- Chartered Society of Physiotherapy: represents physiotherapists and acts as the profession's professional body

There are two non-TUC affiliated professional bodies in GOSH:

- Royal College of Nursing: represents nurses, student nurses and healthcare support workers

- British Medical Association: represents doctors

This case study is focused on UNISON, which has approximately 480 members in GOSH. Sarah Lewis, the Branch Secretary, describes the branch as "active" although the Branch Committee rarely meets – most issues are dealt with via email but emergency meetings are sometimes held. The branch deals with a traditional range of issues including disputed staff reports, cases of bullying and harassment, health and safety and accommodation matters, but Sarah performs the vast majority: "any issues to raise with management or work to be carried forward is all done by me … I have a team of dedicated reps but often they do not want to get involved in strategic roles". None of the

officials is in receipt of significant amounts of facility time but neither do they experience difficulties securing time-off for union work. Relations between the various unions'/professional bodies' officials are positive but contact is typically limited to preparing for the Staff Involvement Forum (SIF) – the chief joint negotiating body at GOSH. Although UNISON's original workplace greening proposals received support from all the unions and professional bodies, their participation has been sporadic.

Employee Relations

Relations between UNISON and senior Trust management are generally positive. According to Bill McGill:

> *Unions vary widely in strength in the NHS. They may be stronger, especially in the north. But in London they're not very strong. They don't have a particularly high amount of involvement in day-to-day management decisions. Here, we have a good relationship though.*

Sarah Lewis agrees:

> *I suppose we get on quite well with management. We have a good relationship with the Chief Executive, which is important, because that's the top. I think management understand and are supportive of our role in the hospital, our contribution*

There appears to be a consultation culture at the hospital:

> *If there are any big changes that are approaching, often the CEO will meet with us to discuss issues beforehand and keep us in the loop. We don't always see eye-to-eye, however we do have a strong relationship which helps us to negotiate and work in partnership. I am always informed of any significant issues regarding a department or the hospital as a whole and consulted.*

SIF is the main joint negotiating body and meets approximately every four weeks. Membership comprises of unions and professional bodies and senior Trust managers representing all the major hospital's departments.

The Origins of UNISON's Workplace Greening

According to the TUC (2010: 13):

> *The … project was instigated at the request of the UNISON branch … where union members identified the potential for a more systematic approach to energy saving and cutting resource use in the workplace*

Sarah Lewis was – and remains – a key figure. According to Sarah:

> *I was the former National Vice Chair of UNISON's Young Members. When I was chairing a Young Members' Conference I happened to express a general interest in green issues. That's when Dave Arnold* **(UNISON FTO)** *got involved and spoke to me with Sarah Pearce* **(TUC Green Workplaces Project Manager)** *and it went on from there. We're an active branch. We can take on projects like this*

In March 2009 the UNISON branch submitted a project brief to the SIF which was endorsed by senior management and other unions and professional bodies. In April 2009 UNISON collaborated with the Trust's Environmental Services Manager to design and administer a staff survey to assess staff awareness of the Trust's existing environmental policies, including views on an extant network of environmental 'prefects'. 90 % of respondents expressed an interest in becoming environmentally active and approximately two-thirds of respondents were critical of the Trust's and/or individual department's existing environmental policies. The 'prefect' system was introduced by management in 2007 but according to Sarah it was "poorly led and soon fizzled out". The survey results therefore suggested that many staff were keen to learn how they could be greener at work. Coupled with the building of the new Children's Medical Centre this was enough to convince the branch that there was a substantive underdeveloped workplace greening agenda at GOSH.

The survey was followed by a Green Fair, featuring keynote speeches from the Chief Executive, Jane Collins, and UNISON General Secretary, Dave Prentis. Other environmental organisations – including The Energy Saving Trust – were also involved. Over 100 employees attended the event.

In August 2009 the TUC Green Workplaces Project organised an environmental workshop for UNISON reps and the Trust's senior managers. The workshop recommended that a joint environment committee (JEC) should be established involving union reps and senior managers from across the Trust as well as ordinary employees. The first JEC was held in early 2010 and it has met on a regular basis ever since (see below).

The JEC organised a second awareness day in 2010 for staff, patients and visitors. The day featured keynote speeches from Jane Collins, Dave Arnold and Sarah Pearce. The winners of a children's' competition to design logos and posters for the JEC were announced (Figure 7.3), an exhibition of

the resultant artwork was held and an environmental quiz was organised. The JEC even has its own mascot: a six foot furry, green elephant called 'Envirolump'. The JEC seeks to popularise sustainability issues by incorporating highly accessible creative, fun and educative components into its activities.

Figure 7.3: GOSH Joint Environmental Committee Logo

The Joint Environmental Committee

Most activity is routed through the JEC (Figure 7.4). The JEC is not, of course, a union body but it is chaired by Sarah and utilises resources produced by UNISON and the TUC – UNISON's centrality to the Trust's sustainability agenda is generally acknowledged across the site although the union itself does not labour the point (see below). Approximately 40% of the committee are UNISON members but a fair proportion of the remainder may be members of a different union. The JEC meets bimonthly and its terms of reference are attached at Appendix M. The JEC has approximately 28 members, although very few attend the actual meetings. Instead, a significant amount of

Figure 7.4: Key UNISON GOSH Branch Relationships and Environmental Negotiating 'Pathways'

Staff Involvement Forum

Sarah Lewis in capacity as UNISON Branch Secretary

Individual Departments e.g. environmental audits

Key Departments and senior managers with explicit environmental remit e.g. Facilities Management

Joint Environmental Committee

GOSH Sustainability Group – comprises mainly of Senior Management – meets infrequently

GOSH Staff

Other unions and professional bodies

UNISON Members

communication and debate occurs via the staff intranet. Essentially, anyone can join the JEC and it is the absentees that cause Sarah most consternation:

> *We've tried to get it more representative but it's just not happening yet. Key managers turn up. But we'd like more nurses and doctors. If necessary we might 'name and shame' in 2011, let everyone know who's missing*

The JEC considers the environmental impacts of the Trust's operational policies and is interested in: energy conservation; waste management; pollution; sustainable procurement; re-use and recycling. According to Sarah:

> *Our managers tell us that the commodity markets for glass and tin etc have dropped, so there's less interest in recycling. Plus there are storage problems associated with recycled material on site. So the provision of recycling facilities is an issue and we're agreed that reducing waste is a priority*

The JEC is also committed to raising awareness of environmental issues generally and identifying and promoting simple energy saving and environmentally-friendly practices that individuals can easily adopt. According to UGR David Bones: "there's an awful lot that can be achieved by changing staff attitudes rather than relying on expensive schemes". JEC member Gary Elvin agrees: "we're looking at quick wins a lot. So screensavers with an environmental awareness message, and issuing guidance on how to do double-sided photocopying. A lot of people don't know how to use photocopiers to do that and so don't bother. That's so simple".

In addition to the above the JEC has also initiated a program of environmental audits conducted by its members utilising resources provided by the TUC. Auditors sweep the hospital paying attention to inadequate recycling facilities and lights and electronic equipment being kept on unnecessarily. GOSH is a large and extremely diverse complex comprising a wide range of environments (shops, wards, reception areas, waiting rooms, a school, laboratories etc) and progress has been slow. Sarah observes:

> *We've done about 50% of the hospital. We bring the results of the audit of each area to the attention of the appropriate general manager and senior clinicians and modern matrons. We go back after a few months to see if any recommendations in the report have been done. We're intending to analyse the audits and take them to the Management Board. We are*

becoming quite expert at environmental auditing, but progress has been slow, really. We need more reps to help

Membership, Activists and the Green Agenda

According to Sarah:

> *This is supposed to be a Trust-wide initiative and people would resent it if they were frozen out because they weren't union members. But some people are joining. I know of about 3 members who have joined recently as a result. What we really need is new activists … however, it is difficult to get everyone to sign up to every issue, especially if the issue may not directly impact them*

According to Sarah, neither members nor non-members want to see the environmental agenda restricted to just unions and management because the agenda requires mass support to continue to move forward:

> *UNISON should keep pushing the green agenda, but not with a policy which excludes non-members. This could put off potential members and existing members, whereas promoting the agenda and allowing the freedom of choice may encourage members to become part of the push forward*

Sarah Wimhurst is a GMB union member and also a member of the JEC:

> *I've been green at home for a long time and an ethical consumer. I'm interested in seasonability, food miles and fair trade.*

She enjoys her work on the JEC:

> *Since becoming involved I've found that I'm meeting people that I wouldn't normally meet or talk to. This gets you access to resources and skills and knowledge. People are generally very supportive. This could be seen as one way of getting people involved in the union but also in the Trust*

Sarah Lewis agrees. GOSH has to deliver year-on-year Cash Relief Efficiency Savings which put all departments under pressure: she considers it important that staff don't simply see themselves as passive recipients of top-down processes of corporate decision-making.

The JEC undoubtedly needs more activists in order to stay on top of its ambitious audit function. According to David Bones: "I've been a member of UNISON for a long time, but never got involved with the union until now. I'm keen on being green at home and it's good that I'm now able to do something at work". Gary Elvin is not a member of the union but is one of the JEC's most committed members. He too has always been interested in environmental issues and appreciates what UNISON has done to enable him to operationalize these concerns at work although he has no intention of joining UNISON:

> *I've never been made to feel awkward for not being in the union. We* **(non-members)** *aren't made to feel isolated or cut-off or not listened to. The environment is too important. There's a recognition that we've got to be one big group on this to make it work*

However, according to Gary: "I just don't think it's sustainable yet. We're still very reliant upon Sarah to hold it together".

The Green Agenda and Employee Relations

According to Dave Arnold, UNISON FTO:

> *We know the union can make a huge difference. You have to take staff with you on the environment if you want to make a difference that's sustainable*

Indeed, senior management appear supportive of both the union role and the JEC. Bill McGill notes: "the unions have come forward and been very proactive. It is the union that's done a lot of this so far. They're like a watchdog, making sure the hospital is meeting its obligations". This view is echoed by the Chief Executive Jane Collins: "our relationship with UNISON has produced a really helpful partnership". Although there is no formal link between the JEC and SIF, senior management are committed to actioning JEC recommendations. According to Jane:

> *Having a standing committee helps us ensure we are thinking about the environment in everything we do. The Management Team and Management Board are committed to taking forward things that the JEC identify*

Similarly, Peter Woolaston, Head of Corporate Facilities notes:

> *The NHS has to follow very strict guidelines on carbon reduction. If people want to help by getting involved then the JEC is a great place to start … what we're doing is a no-brainer in terms of getting people involved*

UNISON's workplace greening activities have been supported by the national union and by the TUC 'Green Workplaces' Project Team. George Waldron, a TUC tutor enlisted to help evaluate the project, believes the JEC is working well: "it's a partnership approach, with top-down management meeting a bottom-up frontline workforce to work together on the environmental agenda" (TUC, 2010:14). This view is confirmed by Sarah Lewis:

> *What we have works well. The environment successfully competes for attention with other agendas now. The hospital had been tackling this at the 'top end' of the spectrum and were not sending clear messages to the entire hospital population, nor asking people to get involved. Staff awareness and engagement has been increased which would not have happened without the JEC*

Cross-case Analysis - Introduction

This section compares and contrasts findings from the three case studies to answer the question: 'how and why are trade unions engaging with the environmental agenda and can the environmental agenda function as a vehicle for union resurgence?' All three cases were part of the TUC's Green Workplaces Project, and the section utilises case study data to test the TUC's evaluation and understanding of workplace greening and key employee relations theories to 'make sense' of the case studies themselves and assess workplace greening's efficacy *vis-a-vis* union renewal.

A confident evaluation of workplace greening based on my case studies is difficult for several reasons. First, all three workplaces contain large populations of well-educated, professional and semi-professional white collar employees who are not necessarily typical of the wider workforce. Secondly, none of the organisations is associated with activities considered particularly harmful to the environment – their workforces are therefore unlikely to view the environment as problematic in the way that it may be perceived in the construction, energy, aviation, chemicals and extractive sectors etc. However, the TUC cites evidence of similarly high levels of interest in all workplaces participating in the project and in several that were not, including United Utilities, Argos Distribution and Heathrow Airport for whom environmental issues are more central. Third, all three

organisations were committed to ambitious carbon reduction targets and were in the middle of, or about to initiate, extensive infrastructure projects with a considerable emphasis on sustainability – environmental issues therefore already had a high profile. Fourth, the TUC-led awareness days were well-organised flagship events featuring a range of external guest organisations. They were marketed to all employees and senior management buy-in was obtained in order to maximise attendance. Fifth, the TUC 'screened' potential projects to assess whether or not they were suitable, and it is sensible to assume that those that were chosen (including all three case studies) were anticipated to respond positively to the agenda. Sixth, in all three organisations employee relations were widely regarded as relatively good. Finally, all three case studies featured national unions that were committed to workplace greening and an active local branch with which to operationalize it. In other words, the conditions for the emergence and development of a workplace greening bargaining agenda were almost perfect.

The full range of benefits of workplace greening (extrapolated from the TUC's own Project Reports) were presented in Chapter 5. The focus here is mainly on understanding and testing benefit clusters 1 (for the union) and 4 (for employee relations) and these are presented again, below. The other benefits (for the employer; for the environmental policymaking process; and for policy itself) are addressed, but in less detail.

<u>Benefits for the Union</u>

1. Enhanced levels of staff engagement from members and non-members compared to other agendas
2. A new, expansive agenda around which to recruit new members
3. A new, expansive agenda around which to recruit new activists
4. A new, expansive agenda around which to improve branch organisation

<u>Benefits for Employee Relations</u>

5. The creation of new bargaining structures with which to prosecute a green agenda more effectively
6. A boost to extant levels of communication and consultation (between management, unions and staff) generally
7. New opportunities for staff to contribute to their organisation's environmental policies
8. Opportunities for staff who had never contributed before to participate in their organisation's activities
9. Consensual approach to policymaking

Individualisation, Collectivism and Partnership

Individualisation and Collectivism

The weakening of unions' collective bargaining arrangements has been accompanied by the debut or increased importance of developmental issues including the environment (Chapter 4). These issues are qualitatively different from productivist issues because they confound adversarial bargaining strategies, feature a strong quality-at-work element and supposedly lend themselves well to partnership. Chapter 4 used key employee relations theories – notably those related to partnership – to chart the emergence of unions' developmental agendas. The following analysis applies employee relations theory to establish whether one such agenda – the environment – can promote collectivism and to establish its compatibility with the partnership model of employee relations.

Unions' new agendas may have undermined collectivism in two main ways. First, although they provide hitherto inactive individuals with new reasons for joining and outlets for activism (Wood and Moore, 2005) their activism may reflect individual values more so than union/collectivist values (Donnelly and Kiely, 2007; Mason, 1999). ; Moore (2011: 75) notes:

> *The main motivating factor for becoming a ULR was a commitment to education, albeit within the context of union activity. New activists appeared to be less motivated by political commitment and a belief in trade unionism than existing activists and some trade union officers expressed concern that new ULRs might be 'different' types of representatives*

Secondly, the agendas privilege personalised and time-consuming relationships between members and representatives. This is most obviously the case with union's equality and diversity agenda, where an individual member who is being discriminated against, for example, becomes a relatively passive recipient of expert union advice and advocacy. Harrod and O'Brien (2002) and Brown and Oxenbridge (2005) maintain that monitoring and upholding statutory individual employment rights may be replacing collective bargaining as unions' most important function. The decline of collective bargaining is most closely associated with the Thatcher and Major Governments of the 1980s and 1990s; but in refusing to repeal the Conservative Government's anti-union legislation and by instead compensating unions with successive waves of workplace rights-based legislation, New Labour continued the trend.

Workplace greening evolved at the precise time that individualisation was accelerating and can be broadly categorised as a developmental or 'soft' issue. The analysis will assess whether or not the

environment possesses any *suis general* characteristics that enable it to override the individualisation thesis.

Social Movement Theory and Union Growth

A complementary approach to understanding the environment's ability to function as a vehicle for union resurgence is to use social movement theory as adapted by Kelly (2005) to evaluate prospects for union growth. According to Kelly unions will attract new members and activists under the following conditions:

1. There is a perceived injustice
2. The injustice is experienced by a relatively large number of employees
3. The injustice is considered to be serious
4. There is an identifiable source of redress (typically senior management)
5. The union is perceived to possess the resources and skills etc. to remove the injustice

Social movement theory therefore forces us to also confront the *behaviour* of the environment as an employee relations negotiable and not just something that employees may or may not be interested in.

Partnership

Chapter 4 showed that the environment is typically conceived as a partnership issue; but partnership does not always deliver for trade unions and there is wide variation in interpretation and implementation. The following analysis examines the behaviour of the environment negotiable and its ability to enhance unions' influence with employers.

The Workplace Environmental Agenda

Much of the agenda being operationalized on the ground is largely uncontroversial – it is focused on reduce/re-use/recycling and reducing carbon emissions and providing employers and employees with practical steps that they can take to reduce their carbon footprints at work (and at home). It is also concerned with securing 'buy-in' from senior management and from staff and subjecting the agenda to processes of governance and accountability. All three unions' activities can be understood as responses to the increasing day-to-day salience of environmental issues to each business. All three organisations were in the process of - or about to initiate - major modernisation programmes; but it was the standard agenda *within* the programmes, rather than the programmes *per se*, which

unions pursued. At DEFRA the union actually concentrated on a traditional agenda (health and safety and accommodation) even more than on the environment. None of the unions in the case studies was engaged in scrutinising the sustainability of their employer's modernisation, investment or procurement strategies.

Employee Interest in Workplace Greening

The popularity of environmental issues amongst employees is supported by the case study data. All three case studies have organised at least one relatively well-attended awareness day for employees. BT and GOSH employees generally support and understand the union's participation in their organisation's environmental agenda. Although staff interest in the environment at DEFRA petered out relatively quickly this may be because the union tried to claim a monopoly on it but failed to sustain it, thereby leaving a vacuum and/or because the agenda contracted upon completion of the refresh. There is no evidence of scepticism or active opposition to the development of a unionised workplace greening function.

The TUC's Caroline Molloy claims that the environment is popular amongst a cross section of workers – "from the cleaners to the curators" (see Chapter 5). There is vertical and horizontal diversity in the workforces of all three case studies. GOSH indicated a problem in attracting interest among particular groups (clinicians) but this was only in relation to membership of the JEC; and BT indicated problems convincing employees from other organisations on site to participate.

The potential for the complexity and technical elements of the agenda to act as a barrier to participation was referred to by union officials in both DEFRA and BT. One DEFRA official felt employees remained uncertain about whose responsibility the environment was and another cited the union's lack of specialist environmental knowledge as a reason for not seeking greater ownership. The BT official believed that his members were able to engage properly because they had scientific and technical backgrounds. The TUC are clearly aware of this potential problem and endorse a non-technical 'can-do' type of environmentalism.

Whilst there is clearly concern that some employees may find aspects of the agenda difficult to understand and off-putting the case study data does not suggest that interest in workplace greening is patterned according to occupational categories: clinicians may not be actively participating in the agenda but some did attend the open day(s). Many of the non-BT employees co-located at Adastral Park are in the same line of business as the BT staff, and their lack of interest may be attributable to their peripherality *vis-à-vis* BT's Adastral Park regeneration strategy. Additionally, neither the non-BT

employees nor the GOSH clinicians belonged to unions that were actively participating in the projects.

Overall, the TUC's claims that employees are supportive of workplace greening is validated by the case study data. There is no evidence suggesting interest is patterned according to occupational factors or of active opposition to unions positioning themselves as key actors in the greening process (although branches may not want to claim ownership – see below). However, the TUC invested considerable resources in each project's launch event and the projects themselves were carefully selected; and these factors may have contributed to the high levels of interest on display.

Workplace Greening, Recruitment and Collectivism

None of the branches in the case studies has made consistent attempts to recruit non-members using their workplace greening agenda. Events have been opened-up to non-members, and union literature has been made available; but the emphasis has always been on raising environmental awareness and showcasing the union's growing interest in the green agenda, rather than citing this work as a reason to join the union. Officials at BT and GOSH believe that the agenda has convinced a small number of non-members to join but can only provide anecdotal evidence. Non-members at DEFRA appear completely unmoved by PCS' green activities.

Unions are membership organisations and depend on membership subscriptions to fund their activities. Union membership, nationally, is still declining and on-going recruitment and organisation activities are a priority. Union density at all three sites remains uncomfortably low. But despite the lack of hard evidence that workplace greening can function as an argument to join the union, two out of the three unions (Prospect and UNISON) remain committed to it. PCS have 'parked' it, but have incorporated greening into their Branch Plan and intend to reinvigorate it in the future.

One particularly experienced PCS Official believes that issues, *per se*, do not attract new members. Rather, non-members will join if they perceive the union's officials to be professional and influential with management generally. The view that the local union should be visible and competent was expressed by another experienced PCS Official and by the UNISON Branch Secretary in GOSH. PCS and UNISON felt both able *and obliged* to make themselves relevant to – rather than essential to - an agenda which management were themselves committed to pursuing with or without union involvement. 'Ownership' of the environmental agenda *vis-à-vis* employee relations is discussed below.

Individual concern for the environment may reflect personal values and beliefs. The individualisation thesis can be stretched to include a trend for unions to be increasingly drawn into operationalizing personal values rather than collective ones (although clearly if the values are strongly felt and widely shared they may be operationalized via collective means). Generally, however, workplace greening does not appear to contribute to individualisation because personal representation is not central - individuals are unlikely to have an environmental grievance. It is far more likely that groups of staff, particular business units and/or the site/organisation as a whole, have the problem, and seen this way workplace greening resembles health and safety. Unions can and do organise around health and safety quite effectively, particularly in those sectors where risks are great (such as construction, agriculture and mining) and in specific firms and industries where health and safety practices are inadequate and/or resisted by employers. *Environmental equivalents of such workplaces undoubtedly exist* but my case studies are not examples.

Also, if we think of campaigning as shopfloor activities designed to exert pressure on the employer to do something which they don't want to do - which union officers attempt simultaneously to advance in negotiations – then this is not really happening. The standard agenda pursued by unions in each of the case studies enjoys almost universal support and has not provided unions with much to agitate for. The shopfloor activities are endorsed by senior management; they take the form of awareness-raising activities and invite employees to submit ideas. The environmental audits conducted at BT and GOSH do identify issues, but these are then simply brought to the attention of a grateful senior management. The standard agenda in the case studies is characterised by unusual consensus so that it appeared incapable of generating differences of opinion (between management and staff) such to mobilise the members. *Again, workplaces undoubtedly exist where unions may wish to develop a more radical greening agenda opposed by the employer*.

Despite the popularity of workplace greening the case studies offer only limited evidence of its usefulness as either a recruitment tool or a potential source of collective action. At the same time, however, environmental issues do not involve busy union officials in low-key, time consuming, one-to-one activities. UGRs may also be extremely visible, especially during audits, and so too are any changes in the workplace that they agree with management. Workplace greening does not promote collectivism, but neither does it erode it.

Injustice and the effectiveness of the local union are central to understanding social movement theory. Regrettably, the case studies suggest workplace greening is failing to meet the aforementioned criteria of social movement theory. 'Going green' at work is popular, but does poor environmental practice constitute an injustice? An example where this might be the case is if

environmental neglect, by management, is considered sufficient to jeopardise the organisation's future and its employees' jobs. There are obviously certain firms and industries where environmental considerations associated with particular processes and products are such that transgression may result in reputational harm, fines and even closure. The environmental issues covered by workplace greening in the organisations investigated were not of comparable significance. The case studies also featured remarkable consensus and good will, rendering the effectiveness of the union *vis-à-vis* its influence with the employer almost invisible. Further, in all three case studies management were neither cast as the 'bad guys' nor, because improved environmental performance was constructed as requiring employee-wide behavioural change and co-operation, were senior managers alone considered capable of solving any problems.

The Environment as a Vehicle for Recruiting New Activists

Union branches constantly seek new activists and the workplace greening agenda appears to be effective at attracting them. Environmental activists in all three workplaces were a mix of established and first-time representatives occupying different roles. In BT and GOSH several green

Table 7.2: New and Established Activists – 'Balance of Power' and Environmental Roles

Organisation	Balance of Power between Established Reps and New Green Reps					
	Scoping/identifying problems		Conducting Environmental Audits		Negotiations	
	Established	New	Established	New	Established	New
BT	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
DEFRA	Balanced		High	Low	High*	Low
GOSH	Balanced		Balanced		High	Low

*Although the union deferred to particularly knowledgeable employees in some joint fora

representatives described themselves as committed environmentalists outside work and they appreciated being able to operationalize their concerns at work. One UGR at GOSH enjoyed the job because it provided opportunities to engage with colleagues from outside her immediate work area. She therefore acquired a deeper understanding of the work of the Trust and her position within it.

In DEFRA hitherto relatively inactive ordinary members participated in the union's new Environmental Sub-committee and were asked to generate ideas and act as the union's eyes and

ears on the ground. In BT and GOSH previously relatively inactive members joined the Green Team and assisted with environmental auditing. Although the lead BT UGR was a new activist he was also the main negotiator with senior management. However, in both DEFRA and GOSH key negotiating roles were reserved for established Branch Officers. These arrangements are summarised in Table 7.2.

We can understand this distribution of power and division of responsibility through an understanding of how the green function relates to each workplace's existing union and employee relations base structures. Prospect's green agenda in BT relied heavily on new activists and was on the periphery of Prospect's established structures – senior Branch Officers kept a 'watching brief' only and union members on the Green Team were not involved in wider branch matters. Prospect UGRs therefore enjoyed significant autonomy across the function – from identifying problems to negotiating solutions with the employer (the latter role undoubtedly linked to the lead UGR's official job). In DEFRA, PCS attempted to claim a degree of 'ownership' of the agenda. An Environmental Sub-committee was established but it reported directly to the Branch Committee. Although the Sub-committee comprised of several new activists, its activities were overseen by an established Branch Officer. Issues raised by members of the Sub-committee were passed over to established Branch Officers to be handled in one-to-one meetings with management. New representatives therefore occupied limited scoping roles only and established officials retained responsibility for engaging with management. The GOSH UNISON Branch has a shortage of activists and a redundant Branch Committee: established and new representatives therefore shared scoping and auditing responsibilities. However, established officers once more dominated negotiating roles.

Additionally, the inclusivity and newness of the three unions' workplace greening agenda seemed to justify a less formal approach to the identification and appointment of UGRs. Established representatives sitting on union's established committees with traditional responsibilities could not easily absorb the extra work and might not even be interested. Kelly's (2005: 165) study of UNISON's new learning and skills agenda, for example, concluded that: "a challenge to either the content or process of trade unionism may not be welcome to established branch officers … many key players have an interest in retaining the *status quo*". UGRs were more likely to be drawn from the pool of largely inactive ordinary members and it was made easy for them to become green representatives – generally, anyone who expressed an interest was appointed, sidestepping the traditional route to union 'office' of competing in elections for a limited number of branch committee vacancies and/or 'making a name' for oneself.

There is no evidence that non-members who become active in workplace greening are subsequently joining the union, even though they are working alongside UGRs and are fully aware – and appreciative - of the key role played by the union in the agenda. Crucially, UNISON and Prospect both welcome the participation of non-members and do not apply pressure on them to join. The inclusive approach adopted in GOSH and BT prevents unions from acting as gatekeepers to active green roles. Nevertheless, the unions do have a vested interest in making the agenda work and so have been actively involved in populating the structures specially created to take the agenda forward. The typical first 'ports of call' may be known, competent ordinary union members with an interest in the agenda: the type of ordinary member who regularly attends member's meetings, speaks out at AGMs and helps organise union events[95].

These findings echo those of Norton's (2004) study of the LER in Australia (Chapter 4): the environmental agenda's ability to provide new opportunities for first-time activists is not solely related to the inherent appeal of the agenda but also with how it is accommodated into existing union and joint structures. And crudely, its positioning appears to reflect: the current capabilities and priorities of the branch (GOSH and DEFRA), the availability of specialist environmental expertise within the branch (BT and DEFRA); the extent of established union hierarchies' interest in it (BT, GOSH and DEFRA) and institutional legacies. Norton also argues that unions with diverse memberships are more likely to adopt new agendas because members with minority interests are able to interact with one another to generate ideas and create opportunities for action. All three case studies featured diverse memberships occupying various job-types. Having posited that successful operationalization of the agenda is related to the porosity of unions' existing structures to new agendas, it is no surprise that DEFRA featured the least robust greening agenda. PCS practiced an exclusive member-only, union-owned approach but key officials lacked focus and enthusiasm and the UGR went on long term sick absence shortly after appointment.

Hitherto inactive union members are therefore prime candidates to become UGRs. Are they examples of a 'new breed' of union representative? Putting aside the fact that they may have been specifically targeted to take on the job (for the reasons given above) these are members who previously felt insufficiently motivated to become active in any other capacity/agenda. Although they are clearly interested in environmental issues, they are unlikely to be *just* interested in environmental issues – they will have been exposed to and engaged with the full range of unions' productivist and developmental agendas, from pay and pension entitlements to health and safety and learning and skills. It is difficult to see how a 'new breed' of activist can emerge from this.

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[95] Not everyone would be comfortable walking around a workplace with a clipboard telling senior managers to "do things differently".

Nonetheless, in addition to being passionate about the environment, UGRs may be attracted to the job because it does not involve them leading on conflict. This is less likely in workplaces where unions are attempting to assert a radical green agenda and are encountering managerial resistance. Moderate union members and activists are not, however, a 'new breed'. The case studies suggest that a conservative environmental agenda can provide moderate (unitarist) union members with opportunities to become active. But they do not provide evidence of moderate trade unionists – or even non-members - constructing an environmental agenda substantively different from that desired by established union actors in traditional roles or the wider membership (and which may potentially be determined by a range of much more influential workplace/firm/sector-specific factors).

Simms and Holgate (2010) argue that many unions are unclear about the objectives of organising. Most unions see it as about recruiting new members and activists and deploy a range of techniques to achieve this. This 'toolbox' approach obscures the real purpose of union organising which, according to Simms and Holgate (2010: 165), must be concerned with "delivering sustainable increases in workplace *power* for unions and workers". Increasing and maintaining union density and identifying new activists is certainly a valid objective, but others include: consolidating union influence on one or more specific bargaining agendas of particular importance to members; extending union influence into new bargaining agendas; increasing the capacity of union branches to self-organise; improving the union's participation and representation structures and processes; enhancing inter-union collaboration at multi-union sites; and improving unions' capacity to campaign around issues of social justice.

There is little evidence that any of the three case study unions conducted a robust evaluation of their organising priorities prior to choosing to adopt the greening agenda. Workplace greening was typically embarked upon because there was a site-specific trigger/extant agenda; it was being promoted by the TUC and the national union; a few key individuals were known to be passionate about the environment; and the branch felt almost obliged to send a clear message to members that it was capable of dealing with big new issues.

The Environment and Employee Relations

Trade unionists critical of partnership argue that few employers are genuinely committed to empowering unions and treating them as equals. Rather, employers view unions as an important vehicle through which to engender support for managerial policies: in workplaces where union

density is low the employer is unlikely to enter into partnership arrangements because the union has nothing to offer them.

An additional 'threat' associated with an agenda that requires widescale behavioural change and knowledge of what is happening on the shopfloor is that of direct employee participation. As Pendleton notes (2001: 106):

> *… employee participation is extremely common in the employment relationship because of the difficulties of specifying 'complete' labour contracts and because of the need to enlist co-operation to turn labour power into work outcomes*

There is evidence that direct employee involvement is more useful than indirect employee relations as a way of increasing productivity and meeting objectives which require knowledge of what is happening on the shopfloor and shopfloor 'buy-in'; but this is an advantage for the employer and does not necessarily improve employee relations (Fernie and Metcalf, 1995); even though direct participation most frequently occurs in unionised workplaces - because it is either used to undermine union strength or is itself a manifestation of a 'consultation culture' which valorises representative arrangements (Edwards and Wacjman, 2005). Direct consultation between management and employees can take several forms including: surveys, staff suggestion schemes, quality circles and even the creation of rival/parallel joint consultation committees.

All three unions were in a position to claim ownership, with all three organisations featuring established processes of indirect employee relations. However, only PCS DEFRA attempted this (and rather inconsistently) – the others were content to be cast as *key* actors in an inclusive process. PCS cited the agenda's site-wide dimension and their own lack of expertise as the main obstacles to ownership. These arguments apply to all three case study unions and so cannot be seen as decisive. Faced with a new issue unions can respond in one of three main ways: ignore it; claim ownership of it or be recognised as just one actor in it (albeit a key actor). DEFRA management rarely practiced direct consultation and PCS and its senior local officials enjoyed sole negotiating rights which they largely tried to continue *vis-à-vis* workplace greening. Prospect were also used to being consulted and negotiated with by BT management, but from the outset the workplace greening agenda was derogated to relatively new union activists who instead developed a union-*led* approach. In contrast, UNISON's inclusive approach may have been a learned reaction against a previous unsuccessful management-led initiative.

UNISON was especially adamant that members and non-members alike wanted to see the agenda transcend traditional modes of policy-making. This reflects the belief that environmental problems

cannot be solved within an adversarial system or via well-meaning committees that meet infrequently and comprise of elected staff representatives and senior managers only (but a pay deal could): environmental improvements require widescale behavioural changes, on-going monitoring and enforcement and it is therefore correct that environmental responsibility is delegated and dispersed across the workforce.

There is also a belief that employees are more likely to trust and comply with initiatives if they are seen to have union approval. Phil Dance, MD at Adastral Park, believes that union involvement helps to "democratise the agenda" through the creation of structures and processes which promote accountability and representation. This in turn generates better policies.

In DEFRA and GOSH new bespoke structures were established to discuss environmental issues and formulate policy (but membership was not limited to union representatives and management). Nevertheless, established fora and/or modes of consultation and negotiation were maintained. In GOSH, the JEC's recommendations were passed 'up the line' to the Trust's peak union/management forum. In DEFRA the site Whitley Committee was redundant (making the York Refresh Project Team the only site-wide 'negotiating' fora at Kings Pool) but the union maintained extensive day-to-day contact with key managers with whom, over many years, they had developed excellent relationships. No bespoke joint machinery was created in BT; the need in part obviated by the privileged access to management enjoyed by the lead UGR. By the end of the case study Prospect recognised that this was a fragile arrangement and had commenced formally tabling environmental issues at the peak union/management forum.

A combination of new and extant, formal and informal modes of communication, consultation and negotiation was therefore used to formulate and implement policy.

As a negotiable, the environment was not expected to function like pay: unions and management did not adopt positions. Rather, meetings were informal, exploratory and emphasised joint problem-solving. One Prospect official cited the ease with which consensus was co-constructed as one reason why workplace greening would never become a 'bread and butter' trade union issue – unions exist primarily to assert their member's interests when they differ from the employer's; but on the environment they are often in alignment.

In fact unions and management in all three case studies evidenced a unitarist approach to the handling of environmental interests and much was conducted along partnership lines.

There is no evidence of management seeking to use the environmental agenda to circumvent the unions in any of the case studies. Even in BT and GOSH – where the unions themselves were

vigorously promoting a wholly inclusive all-staff approach – the unions easily maintained privileged co-ordinating, auditing and negotiating roles respected by the employer.

But all three organisations were compelled to reduce their carbon footprints and managers from all three organisations clearly saw practical advantages associated with enlisting the support of unions. In BT, the Managing Director saw union involvement as a means of crediting BT's sustainability strategy with popular credibility and legitimacy; in DEFRA the Accommodation Manager saw union support as a way of countering opposition to a disruptive process and in GOSH the Chair of the Sustainable Development Group saw the union as an environmental "watchdog". Management saw the unions' main roles, therefore, to be those of securing employee buy-in, harvesting ideas, and – via environmental auditing – enforcing policy. Although unions were allowed to negotiate on policy in practice this often took the form of exploratory discussions. Prospect requested facility time to undertake the work but this was refused by senior management. Ultimately, the high level of agreement associated with the standard environmental agenda does not generate sufficient disagreement with which to 'interrogate' the nature and extent of the partnerships and the distribution of power therein.

Just because casting the union as an environmental "watchdog" yields tangible savings for the employer (which unions do not yet feel comfortable arguing should be converted into benefits for the workforce) is not, by itself, a reason for unions to withdraw support. So have these partnerships delivered for unions? They have certainly helped them to prosecute their workplace greening agenda. Senior management support provided the unions' environmental function with legitimacy, UGRs conducting environmental audits were able to act with authority and the absence of conflict *may* have helped to attract new activists. All three workplaces have also succeeded in meeting or exceeding their carbon management targets and so at the very least unions can claim association with an apparently successful initiative.

There is no evidence, however, that partnership on the environment is functioning to convince non-members that the union, generally, wields real power *across the board* and is therefore worth joining. But neither is there evidence of anyone actually criticising the way the unions are engaging with the employer on the environment – genuinely novel in both BT and GOSH. Unions' proximity to

Table 7.3: Case Studies – Key Characteristics

	Active Branch? (Density %)	Employee Relations - Generally	Pre-existing 'management' environmental agenda?	Union's green agenda	Union's green structures	Main union actors	Joint environmental structures/negotiating	Employee Relations - environment	Members' Attitudes to union's green function	Current and future status of union's green agenda
BT Adastral Park	YES – Branch Executive meets regularly and is visible. Adequate numbers of activists (52%)	Good. Pay and conditions of service determined nationally, but local negotiations take place around implementation	YES – redevelopment of site + BT's national carbon management strategy	Extensive environmental auditing and scoping focused on reducing the site's carbon footprint and raising staff awareness of environmental issues	Union activists are key players in inclusive new 'Green Team'. Informal links between the 'Green Team's' union members and union branches/officials	'Lead' Union Green Rep (new activist) + union and non-union Green Reps + any member of staff interested in the issue	No specialist joint structures. The 'lead' union Green Rep/Green Team Chair works directly to the site's MD and feeds issues in. Environmental issues also raised at site-wide Location Manager's Forum	Very good. Union input highly valued as a way of raising staff awareness and support and generating ideas and identifying problems	Generally supportive	Active. Planning to seek 'ownership' in medium-to-long term
DEFRA York	YES – Branch Executive meets regularly and is visible. Struggles to find sufficient numbers of activists (50%)	Fair to Good. Pay etc. determined nationally but local negotiations take place around implementation. Relations very poor with several business units	YES – site refresh + DEFRA's national carbon management targets and reputation	Limited scoping focused on reducing the site's carbon footprint. Primary emphasis on managing implementation processes	Exclusive (union members only) Environmental Sub-Committee established reporting directly to Branch Committee and chaired by senior Branch Officials	Existing Senior Branch Officers + ordinary union members with an interest in the issue. Environmental Rep eventually appointed but unable to take up duties due to illness	One-to-one negotiations with Accommodation Manager. Senior Branch Officials also raise environmental issues at the 'open house' York Refresh Project Team set up for the duration of the refresh	Very good. Union seen as important partner with which to secure the staffs' on-going patience/support	Initial enthusiasm has given way to complete disinterest	Dormant. Would definitely seek 'ownership' when reactivated
GOSH	YES – but Branch Executive rarely meets. Most work performed by Chair and Secretary only (30% excluding nurses)	Very Good. Pay and conditions negotiated at Trust level	YES – new builds + NHS carbon management targets	Extensive environmental auditing and scoping focused on reducing the site's carbon footprint. Increasing staff awareness of environmental issues	Union activists are key players in inclusive new Joint Environmental Committee (JEC). JEC Chair is the union Branch Secretary	Branch Secretary in dual role + union and non-union Green Reps + any member of staff interested in the issue	JEC doubles as a joint forum, but also feeds into GOSH' peak consultative/negotiating forum - SIF	Very Good. Union input highly valued as a way of raising staff awareness and support and generating ideas and identifying problems	Generally supportive	Active. Resistant to seeking 'ownership'

management therefore does not appear to be interpreted either positively or negatively by non-members. It is far more likely that non-members simply do not interpret the agenda, currently constituted, as an indicator of union strength or weakness. Such judgements are probably restricted to evaluations of union success in their 'core' productivist agendas and/or those characterised by more or less orthogonal union-management interests. However, Roche and Geary (2004) sound a note of caution for unions. Their study of employee relations in Ireland concluded that partnership was more effective at engendering dual commitment than convincing non-members to join a union – too close relations with the employer and too much consensus actually disincentivises membership because, *inter alia*, the union is perceived to be in the employer's pockets.

All three workplaces already featured relatively good employee relations and the transformational potential of workplace greening – its ability to act as a catalyst to improve relations on other agendas - is therefore difficult to identify. Many of the most contentious issues affecting staff in all three organisations are negotiated at a national/company level by different actors, and are largely insensitive to the conduct of local bargaining. Further, the environmental agenda is just as likely to see unions negotiate with middle and senior ranking managers with whom they have had previous dealings as they are with managers in roles who were hitherto infrequent participants in local industrial relations. And, as previously noted, established union officials are likely to retain key negotiating roles. This means that negotiations around the environment often feature established actors and pivot around a small number of prominent individuals and relationships – workplace greening may be new, but it is not being superimposed onto a blank canvas . Where established relationships and processes associated with other agendas are good it is likely that the relationships and processes associated with workplace greening will be too, and vice versa.

Conclusion

The key characteristics of each case study's workplace greening activities described above are summarised in Table 7.3, above. The benefits of workplace greening are summarised in the scorecard Tables 7.4; 7.5 and 7.6.

Overall, the benefits of workplace greening for unions are mixed. The agenda is clearly popular and regarded as a legitimate union function, but there is also evidence that outside focusing and trigger events the agenda is relatively low key and interest can quickly wane. Workplace greening clearly has some utility in recruiting new activists, but this may have just

as much to do with its newness and the current capabilities of the branch than with any inherent characteristics of the green agenda itself (although a non-controversial standard agenda may be particularly attractive to first-time activists.

Table 7.4: The Benefits of Workplace Greening: for the Union

	Benefit	'Score' – Green = largely met; Amber = mixed results; Red = largely unmet	Comment
For the Union	**Enhanced levels of staff engagement from members and non-members compared to other agendas**	🟠	Initial enthusiasm but the standard agenda is inherently both complex and low key - difficult to sustain interest on a day-to-day basis and beyond trigger events.
	A new, expansive agenda around which to recruit new members	🟠	Little evidence of new members joining as a consequence of unions' workplace greening. But neither have the unions mounted recruitment campaigns explicitly focused on the agenda
	A new, expansive agenda around which to recruit new activists	🟢	First-time activists are involved, although this often reflects unions' organisational legacies and exigencies
	A new, expansive agenda around which to improve branch organisation	🔴	No real evidence of the agenda being used to contribute to strategic objectives to enhance union power

The transformational potential of workplace greening is difficult to assess because the environment negotiable is largely superimposed onto – or at least encounters very quickly – established joint machinery populated by established actors. But senior management in all three case studies were content to submit the environmental agenda to wider employee scrutiny and appeared to value the role of the union. It is possible to argue that management saw the unions as watchdogs and 'harvesters' (of new ideas) more so than co-decision makers and a more radical union green agenda would have tested the 'type' of partnership on display. Nevertheless, any new agenda in which employers eschew 'quiet authoritarianism' and instead promote union participation is noteworthy.

Table 7.5: The Benefits of Workplace Greening: for Employee Relations

	Benefit	'Score' – Green = largely met; Amber = mixed results; Red = largely unmet	Comment
For Employee Relations	The creation of new bargaining structures with which to prosecute a green agenda more effectively	🟠	New and established structures can exist (and interrelate) reflecting custom and practice and legacy
	New opportunities for staff to contribute to their organisation's environmental policies	🟢	Porous all-staff approach, although union actors retain key negotiating *de jure* and *de facto* roles. Managerial prerogatives not asserted. Ethical employees feel empowered
	Consensual approach to policymaking	🟠	Partnership valorised, but unions cast as 'watchdog', 'co-ordinator' and 'troubleshooter' more so than co-decisionmakers. Persistent asymmetry of specialist knowledge. Conservative agenda naturally minimises dissent and may mask asymmetry of bargaining power
	A boost to extant levels of communication and consultation (between management, unions and staff) generally	🔴	Transformational opportunities limited due to already good relationships elsewhere and/or absence of genuinely new key actors as a dynamic

Unions' workplace greening activities appear to contribute most effectively to environmental policy and policymaking. Unions were able to deploy resources and provide institutional opportunities, additional to those provided by the employer, to raise awareness of environmental issues amongst employees and engender support for behavioural change.

The unions in the case studies have not enmeshed themselves in more individual/rights based work – the trend elsewhere – but instead are co-constructing and maintaining a largely apolitical, non-technical and inclusive venture. Even so, there is little evidence here

Table 7.6: The Benefits of Workplace Greening: For the Employer; Environmental Policymaking and Environmental Policy

Benefit		'Score' – Green = largely met; Amber = mixed results; Red = largely unmet	Comment
For the Employer	**Raised appreciation of the organisation's commitment to environmental best practice**	🟢	Some evidence that ethical employees appreciate the opportunity to contribute to environmental policy and learn about their organisation's environmental challenges etc.
For Environmental Policymaking Process	**Higher level of staff engagement associated with union involvement, compared to those led solely by management**	🟢	Union provides additional resources and organises high-profile and innovative events to promote the agenda amongst employees
	A more robust environmental agenda underpinned by defined policymaking processes and structures	🟠	Informal *de facto* processes and structures still operate pivoting around key – and potentially transient – relationships. The agenda can be low key and if not asserted may become neglected
	Raised awareness of environmental issues	🟢	Unions help to generate creative solutions to environmental problems (but within a strict ecological modernisation framework) and activities include innovative and educative components
For Environmental Policy	**Managements made to measure and report on environmental performance for the first time**	🟠	Management generally content to share key data and increasingly obliged to anyway as a requirement of the environmental regulatory regimes/targets relevant to their business
	Measurable reductions in energy use	🟢	All three organisations report meeting or exceeding key sustainability targets
	Smart, practical policies, reflecting the participation of a wide range of employees	🟠	All-staff approach helps to ensure that all parts of the organisation can theoretically contribute to policy. Environmental audits provide a 'bottom-up'/shopfloor dimension. But audits are time-consuming and labour intensive and there is no guarantee that an all-staff approach based on volunteering will represent all interests. Ordinary employees also lack specialist knowledge

that workplace greening can function successfully as a source of collective action. Members do not regard the environment as a core trade union issue, so unions' performance on it does not affect strongly members' propensity to collectivise. Further, unions have largely co-operated in constructing environmental problems as matters of personal responsibility and individual behaviour (as opposed to problems which management could largely solve if only they could be persuaded to reorient their business and investment strategies), hence it is difficult to cast employers as 'the bad guys'. Significantly, the standard environmental agenda on show here does not generate sufficient differences

between management and unions around which employee-specific interests – channelled through the union – can coalesce. The case study evidence suggests a unionised workplace greening agenda is relatively easy to initiate with the members and the employer; has tangible benefits for environmental policy and policymaking; but is difficult to sustain and guarantees very little for the union by way of membership growth or increased influence with employers. If growth and influence are the priority, union branches may want to think much harder about where to allocate their sparse resources and/or what type of workplace green agenda they wish to pursue.

Chapter 8: Conclusion - Trade Unions and the Environment since 1970: Re-evaluating and Understanding Unions' Environmental Activism

Introduction

Against a backcloth of increasing environmental degradation and growing public concern about the environment, this thesis has explored trade union engagement with the green agenda by attempting to understand it from the unions' point of view – from when they were at their most influential, through years of decline and during their (on-going) years of rehabilitation. The first main contribution of this thesis has been to demonstrate the extent of UK unions' interest in 'the environment' and to attribute their historical inactivity and a strained LER to the POS and poor coalitional opportunities (as opposed to just ideological, class-based and programmatic differences). The second contribution has been to link unions' growing interest in the environment with unions' endogenous reform and renewal agenda(s) – alas (for unions) there is little evidence that 'the environment' functions especially well in this respect. This conclusion summarises the main findings from each chapter, interweaving the answers to the main research questions and their implications for the trade union movement, the LER and suggestions for further research.

A New Narrative

Union Strength and Weakness, Political Opportunity Structures and the LER in the 1970s and 1980s

The thesis argues we are currently in a *suis general* moment, where the UK's two largest social movements – those of the environment and organised labour – are co-operating more than ever on tackling continued environmental degradation. Orthodox accounts of the LER have presented unions as the weak link, to be cajoled and incentivised to participate in the LER, and have drawn on differences in composition, public tensions between the elites of both movements and a range of ideological and programmatic differences to support this view. Chapters 1 and 3 have challenged this account in several ways by showing that unions have dabbled extensively and positively in 'the environment' since at least the late-1960s, nationally and sub-nationally, formally and informally. Indeed, the main puzzle is: how did the UK trade union movement sustain for so long an arms-length only relationship with 'the

environment' (and EMOs) when union members and activists were just as interested in it as everyone else and despite regular national policy pronouncements and initiatives and *ad hoc* workplace, town and community level grass roots activity?

It may indeed be true that EMOs emerged in the late 1960s because the UK's traditional political actors – including unions – were not taking the environment seriously, and certainly the normative conserver future imagined by the deep greens had little appeal for trade unions, which instead focused on economic growth as the main way of improving their members' lives. It may also be true that many green activists were (and remain) members of the New Middle Class (NMC) whilst the UK trade union movement continued to prioritise the industrial interests of mainly blue-collar workers. Unions were powerful in the 1970s, focused on their traditional audience and under no pressure to co-operate with exogenous actors to advance novel agendas.

The environmental movement grew exponentially during the 1970s and 1980s whilst unions commenced a long period of decline in the 1980s from which they have not yet fully recovered (and appear unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future[96]). But the changed fortunes of both movements did not encourage collaboration. NSM EMOs were having some success in accessing the polity in the 1980s and although limited it was not sufficiently bad to force them to seek alliances with the Government's *bête noire*. Even if they had tried, UK unions were simply too busy trying (unsuccessfully) to hold on to their political and industrial influence and their memberships to engage fully with an agenda which they still regarded as awkward and peripheral.

Union Modernisation, Social Partnership and Partnership in the 1990s

The UK's political opportunity structures have therefore shaped both the fortunes of unions and EMOs and, in turn, both unions' engagement with the environmental agenda and the LER. Chapters 1, 3 and 4 argue that these processes continued during the 1990s, when EMOs' membership and influence with the polity appeared to plateau and when unions' decline in popularity slowed. EMOs actively and openly courted unions which had largely come to terms with their weakened state and were much more interested in social dialogues with other groups. Unions were modernising internally too, seeking to empower their memberships and represent them better and to create and latch on to new concerns (or

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[96] Membership of TUC affiliated unions fell to less than 6 million in 2012.

reconfigure old ones), which could be tabled with employers within a fashionably new partnership approach to employee relations.

Several new bargaining agendas emerged during this time, including learning and skills, equality and diversity and 'the environment', and they have moved at different speeds. The first two agendas received powerful stimuli: unions' learning and skills agenda was co-funded by the Government and unions' equality and diversity agenda was underpinned by a plethora of new legislation, making it an agenda that unions could succeed on. By contrast, although increasing legislation has compelled employers to pay greater attention to the environmental impact of their practices and products and has increased their propensity to expose the agenda to wider employee scrutiny, the legislation does not automatically provide unions with *de jure* or *de facto* powers in the workplace such as those associated with equalities and diversity, learning and skills and health and safety. Neither has the union environmental agenda attracted much Government funding. Although the developmental elements of the green agenda lent themselves well to the partnership model unions' green agenda therefore evolved slowly; but eventually a range of practical workplace applications were developed so that 'the environment' could emerge as a union specialism, whilst at a national level unions adopted 'Just Transition' for tabling with industrial and political elites, which combined light-green ecologism with just enough social reformism to satisfy the movement's progressive instincts.

Unions' Contemporary Environmental Activities

All of this has occurred, of course, against continuing environmental degradation and growing awareness of the consequences of 'business as usual'. But it has also been accompanied and fuelled by new environmental discourses, actors, regulation and research. Thanks to the latter, most unions no longer believe that environmentalism costs jobs. Nevertheless, as Chapters 5 and 6 have shown, unions are still only slowly engaging with the green agenda. The TUC has identified 'the environment' as a strategic priority but many unions – a majority of the TUC's affiliates – are yet to engage and of those that have done so very few (if any) can legitimately argue that their environmental function is widespread and/or stable. But this is an agenda in transition. In 1972 the Robens Report on unions' health and safety role concluded that: "there is no legitimate scope for 'bargaining' on safety and health issues, but much scope for constructive discussion, joint inspection and participation in working out solutions" (Elliott *et al*, 1978). Health and safety is now a core bargaining agenda item. Most unions anticipate that their environmental agenda will expand

Table 8.1: Green Union Typology

TYPE	APPROACH	KEY ACTORS - WHO?	WHERE?	MAIN CHARACTERISTICS
Type 1	Top-Down 'Headquarters'	Nominated Senior Officials, EPO's	'Corridors of Power' and peak organisations, policy networks and communities	High level strategic negotiations between SFTO's with designated environmental responsibilities and government and peak organisation equivalents. May be routed via TUC. Formal and informal contact between union and EMO's and other green groups. Summitry.
Type 2	Bottom-Up Employer Focused	Branch Activists and Committees	Workplaces - Employers	Concerted efforts to establish and/or maintain formal environmental bargaining agenda with employers.
Type 3	Bottom-Up Employee Focused	Branch Activists and union and non-union employees	Workplaces - Employees	Union branch/members may be a key player or just one of several in a coalition of workplace (union and non-union) interests trying to green the workplace and make it easier for people to be green. Informal, voluntary and may or may not have backing from a benevolent management. The coalition is responsible for implementing initiatives amongst employees directly and communicates and explores, rather than negotiates, with the employer.
Type 4	Rejuvenated Grass Roots Red- Green Coalitions	Branch Activists	Civil Society, town and city-level, communities	Senior branch and/ or 'very keen' union grass roots activists participating in various red-green formal and informal, temporary and permanent campaigning and lobbying.
Type 5	'Sceptics'	Senior FTOs and Lay Officials	-	Overall 'tone' is set by unions' senior officials, but they are unlikely to be genuine enviro-sceptics: relative inactivity more likely to stem from, a) the green function is particularly inchoate; b) a belief that the environment is not a core trade union agenda item for them; c) perceptions of an already crowded (traditional) bargaining agenda.

in the future and it remains to be seen whether it will mirror the success of health and safety or unions' equality and learning agendas.

The thesis has newly identified several 'types' of union environmental activism and a particular division of responsibility (Chapters 3 and 5), comprising national lobbying and summitry by the TUC, workplace greening by individual unions and more politicised informal campaigning by networks of eco-socialists (summarised in Table 8.1). Crucially, although unions now have frequent contact with certain EMOs – a key indicator of their activism (see Chapter 5) – the thesis proposes that unions now see themselves as environmental actors in their own right, with their own activists, dedicated theatres of operation and negotiating fora. Understanding unions' environmental activism no longer strictly requires evaluating their relations with EMOs.

The contemporary patterning of union engagement in 'the environment' is difficult to establish with any precision (Chapter 6). Generally, a majority of UK unions appear interested – there is no active opposition – but they vary in their activism. Private sector unions are now the main progenitors of TUC environmental policy, but both the private and public sectors contain environmentally active unions. Membership trends, industrial sector and union finances all fail to associate with environmental activism to any large extent. Larger, multi-sector unions are, arguably, the most active; but this may be because they tend to encounter a greater number of environmental issues and so are more easily drawn in to the agenda. Evidence from Congress and interview data suggests that different 'jumping-in' points exist for different unions. Health and safety has been an important one, but so too have issues around fair trade, food safety, public health and international solidarity – reinforcing the probability that unions' environmental activism reflects individual union specificities. Most unions have a pro-environmental outlook, but positive attitudes towards the environment by themselves do not determine activism. The thesis reveals a very clear link, however, between environmental activism and the resources made available to it by union headquarters', suggesting that union headquarters retain key powers of initiative, despite both unions insisting that members are 'in the driving seat' and the organisational reforms introduced in the 1990s to empower branches.

Workplace greening is at the heart of unions' environmental agendas, and for most unions this has coalesced around a rather conservative carbon management agenda capable of being operationalized within a partnership approach to employee relations. Workplace greening appears to be popular with union memberships, and the TUC remains convinced

that the agenda can function as a recruitment tool. However, unions for now appear sceptical (see Chapter 6), so those that are environmentally active are either behaving altruistically or remain optimistic regarding the agenda's potential. The case studies (Chapter 7) suggest that their scepticism is justified: non-members do not consider unions' green activities – even when prosecuted successfully with employers - as a reason for joining, and although it has attracted new activists this may reflect the newness of the agenda and extant branch capabilities just as much as – or even rather than - any inherent appeal. Unions are, however, slightly more convinced of the agenda's ability to function as a vehicle for improving relations with employers. There is certainly evidence that unions and employers can collaborate effectively on environmental issues, but 'the environment' negotiable does not buck the range of traditional concerns associated with partnership, including the charge that the approach tricks unions into equating 'dialogue' with 'power'. Neither is there much evidence of 'spillover' - of good employee relations on 'the environment' leading to improvements in employee relations on other (core) agendas.

Answers to the Research Questions

Why are UK Trade Unions Engaging with the Environmental Agenda?

The thesis shows that unions have a long history of adopting pro-environmental policies, but they are inconsistent in operationalising them. This challenges the orthodox view that their inactivity was attributable to ideological differences (between ecologism and socialism) and/or class differences (between ecologists and union memberships) (Ryle, 1988; Weston, 1986; Carter, 1992: 126; Wallace and Jenkins, 1995: 98; Milani, 2000: 203; Dobson, 2005: 29; Norton, 2007: 96). Chapters 1 and 4 propose an alternative narrative which focuses instead on a complex set of endogenous and exogenous factors facilitating and constraining unions' environmental activism including the UK's POS, the fortunes of unions and EMOs and historically-specific coalition opportunities. POS and coalition theory (Hojnacki, 1997; Obach, 2002: 82) are endorsed as capable of explaining UK unions' environmental activism.

At the same time, unions have not viewed 'the environment' as a 'core' issue, and it has variously been ignored; operationalized informally (outside employee relations); bundled-up with other agendas (notably health and safety); placed in the 'too hard' box; or relegated – when strong (in the 1970s), when the going got tough (in the 1980s and early 1990s) and even in anticipation of a pre-Thatcher-style revival under New Labour.

However, this is an aggregated summary. As Chapter 3 shows, unions have consistently debated 'the environment' – not so much 'wrestling' *with* the agenda (although there has been quite a lot of that) as 'wrestling' with ways of *incorporating it* into both their day-to-day work and unionism's *raison d' être*. The waxing and waning of unions' environmental activism may relate to unions' own shifting fortunes and priorities, but it is simplistic to conclude that their interest in the environment is inversely related to their effectiveness in their traditional agendas. Unions have sustained their interest in 'the environment' across their good, bad and in-between years, and their environmental policymaking and activism has generally increased, with both growing numbers of unions and large and strategically important industrial sectors participating. Besides, no unions – not even environmentally active ones – are currently ignoring their productivist agendas. This has not been a zero-sum game in which unions must choose between agendas. Rather, their agendas have expanded – and incorporation of 'the environment' has been tempered and/or facilitated by a range of endogenous and exogenous factors. Exogenous influences include continuing environmental degradation; new environmental discourses; a growing regulatory regime (pressing hard on UK employers) and a growing attentive public – many of whom are union members.

Orthodox accounts of unions' environmental activism have frequently treated unions as a homogenous movement; that of organised labour. The research has therefore attempted to present a nuanced account of UK unions' environmental activism, recognising the diversity of organised labours' representative institutions (just as there is diversity in the environmental movement). The impact of the environmental agenda on certain industries has undoubtedly caused relevant unions some difficulties; for example those organised in the extractive sectors, aviation and heavy manufacturing. Unions organised elsewhere, however, have found it easier to associate opportunities with going green. General unions, organised across multiple sectors, may perceive both risks and opportunities. Union self-interest and/or doubt regarding the environmental agenda's compatibility with the union's main line of business may explain some variation in engagement (alongside already crowded negotiating agendas) and the speed with which the agenda has been adopted. But it is not the whole story: several unions, including the GMB, Prospect and Unite, are able to provide evidence of engaging positively with the environment in industries and workplaces where there is a *prima facie* conflict of interest. What is clear is that the search for instrumentality has prompted unions to interpret and operationalise 'environmentalism' selectively and creatively - extending environmental perspectives into their day-to-day agendas to help tip

the balance in key negotiations and public debates, thereby contributing to a general widening and deepening of the green agenda (Chapter 3).

This thesis also represents the first explicit attempt to link growing union interest in the environment with union modernisation in the 1990s - a common practice *vis-à-vis* unions' other developmental agendas. Endogenous influences suggest that self-interest has influenced unions' environmental activism. Chapter 1 argued that union members and activists were, if anything, more interested in the environment than the population at large, whilst Chapter 4 described the emergence of the ethical employee and the rise of developmental bargaining agendas in UK workplaces. Unions were keen to identify, adopt and respond positively to new agendas in the 1990s in order to attract, retain and better represent their members. Unions' social partnership agenda was also embarked upon to ensure that unions retained their status as important civil society and industrial/political actors. Unions' adoption of the partnership approach to employee relations is also relevant, with 'the environment' slowly emerging as a suitable vehicle for reconfiguring unions' relations with employers. The thesis argues that unions' modernisation policies in the 1990s therefore intersected with the aforementioned exogenous forces creating coalitional opportunities with EMOs, a nascent joint bargaining agenda and enhanced opportunities for more diverse memberships to influence their unions' developmental agendas.

It is difficult to establish with precision whether unions' memberships or leaderships were behind unions' uptake of 'the environment'. Unions currently insist that their memberships are in the driving seat, but it is clear that union elites play key roles in allocating resources and creating structures which function to activate and deactivate memberships (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). Unions are polyarchic organisations, with multiple centres of decision-making and, unsurprisingly, there is evidence of variation in how different union actors conceptualise the environmental policy domain and reasons for participating in it. For example, some EPOs have constructed workplace greening as an issue around which unions can recruit, organise and campaign. The TUC concurs, but is keen to emphasise that it is primarily about improving organisations' environmental performance and the fight against global warming. In contrast, some UGRs see it as a technical matter which employers need assistance with and where union input would be undermined if viewed (by employees and employers) as the cynical exploitation of an important agenda merely to recruit new members/activists. 'On the ground', UGRs also considered it important to be acknowledged as key actors in what they felt would be an ongoing process and frequent topic of water-

cooler conversation – 'self-interest' here is centred on unions' legitimacy and reputation (Chapter 7).

Chapter 6 inspected unions' motivations for adopting a green agenda with the results confirming the continuing relevance of Flanders' "sword of justice and vested interest" dichotomy (1970: 15). But the chapter also reveals an underlying mixture of 'hard' and 'soft' instrumentality at work, of which the former appears most influential. Nevertheless, genuine environmental concern also permeates unions' environmental activities. For example few, if any, unions are currently prosecuting an economistic green bargaining agenda (e.g. converting money saved by cutting energy bills into pay bonuses, generating a tangible benefit for members) and unions generally do not (yet) evidence distress at the agenda's failure thus far to generate substantive benefits *vis-à-vis* union growth: if 'hard' instrumentality is the main or sole motivation for unions' adoption of the green agenda unions are disguising it rather well and appear to be playing the 'long game'.

As a negotiable, although unions see 'the environment' as a largely technical endeavour it clearly has potential as a vehicle for a much wider set of demands. As a campaigning agenda it also appears capable of accommodating both technocentric and political demands and it is clear that some trade unionists view it as a new progressive agenda. Chapter 1 outlined the difficulties associated with categorising 'the environment' as either a left-wing or right-wing issue. In the 1970s and 1980s Marxist trade unionists considered 'the environment' a distraction from class politics; but the nuclear question and support from the NUM – one of the UK's most powerful and left-wing unions – muddied the waters (Chapter 3). In the 1990s, as a ('soft') developmental issue, often with no immediate and tangible benefits for union members, traditionalists within the trade union movement may also have considered 'the environment' to be a matter for trade union *fashionistas* and/or moderates. The fact that the GMB, a right-wing union, was one of the keenest supporters of both the environmental agenda and union modernisation possibly reinforced this perception. More recently, however, there is evidence that left-wing trade unionists - dissatisfied with the modest aims of 'Just Transition' and often operating outwith unions' formal structures - are revisiting the agenda's potential as a vehicle for advancing radical sub-national, national and international economic and industrial arguments. In sum, the environmental bargaining and campaigning agendas alike currently appear to offer something to both left- and right-wing trade unions/unionists and both interpretations currently coexist.

How are UK Trade Unions Engaging with the Environmental Agenda?

The TUC now believes that 'the environment' should be a strategic priority but even in the 1970s and 1980s it is clear that the TUC General Council felt that environmental considerations should be factored-in to British trade unionism's activities and the UK's industrial and economic strategy and they were meticulous in their efforts to ensure it featured in Congress' agendas. Nevertheless, for most of the 1970s and 1980s remarkably few TUC affiliates were prepared to consistently operationalize environmental agendas within their own spheres of influence – with a few notable exceptions (informal town and city-level red-green alliances; 'green bans' and Lucas Aerospace stand out) 'the environment' was a Cinderella subject in the 1970s and simply not a priority in the 1980s. More favourable conditions emerged in the 1990s, however, prompting and enabling unions to engage more consistently and imaginatively.

There has therefore been a discernible increase in the extent and intensity of unions' environmental activities (Chapter 3) and the confidence with which they are engaging with environmentalism - but it is difficult to caricature this as a gradual shift away from an underdeveloped and ideologically-driven conceptualisation of 'the environment' towards a more active but technocentric one. Ideological differences between both movements were more prominent in the 1970s and 1980s. But by themselves these fail to explain unions' arms-length relationship with the environmental movement, and in addition inter-movement tensions persist - there is also recent evidence of limited intra-union ideological disagreement too (Chapter 5). Similarly, whilst it is true that 'Just Transition' and workplace greening both largely adhere to a technocentric paradigm, unions' emphasis on practical policies is hardly new (see Chapter 3).

The clearest shift in unions' environmental thought and action has arguably been that of their increased ability to assimilate environmental discourses and identify ever more practical applications for them within their traditional theatres of operation and agendas. Union interest has coalesced around a limited number of policy issues – including global warming, transport and the transition to a low carbon economy – and the thesis has identified four main types of union engagement (Chapter 3). First, unions have engaged with key environmental arguments and campaigns, helping them to acquire legitimacy and traction. Second, unions have used environmental arguments to boost certain traditional union demands. Third, unions have attempted to inject an environmental component into a

range of additional policy domains. Finally, unions have sought to inject collectivist values and practices into the environmental agenda itself.

There is certainly evidence that unions are in the process of constructing 'the environment' as a growing specialism and the TUC and individual unions have developed a range of specialist materials and training. Union activism now encompasses a diverse *repertoire* including: workplace greening; lobbying; campaigning; awareness-raising; summitry; social networking and collective bargaining. Unions are also operationalising their environmental agendas in a range of theatres: inside the union; with employers; with strategic partners; within purpose-built and existing institutions and within communities. However, as Chapter 5 showed, the agenda remains a minority pursuit - discounting in-house greening, what activity there is occurs within large and/or public sector employers and unions' communitarian green agenda remains largely aspirational outside informal grass-roots activism. There is, however, considerable evidence suggesting that this is an agenda in transition and that unions are currently capacity-building (Chapters 5 and 6). Most unions anticipate increased participation and further qualitative and quantitative changes to their green campaigning and bargaining agendas and their theatres of operation appear highly likely (see above). The workplace environment negotiable, in particular, is porous to a wider potential set of productivist and distributional objectives.

Is the Environmental Agenda Capable of Functioning as a Vehicle for Trade Union Resurgence?

New Members

Danford and Richardson *et* al (2006: 11) identify three options for union renewal: dynamise existing members; recruit new employers and members in greenfield industries via the development of new bargaining agendas; and/or social unionism. Although Danford and Richardson *et* al concede that action in all three dimensions simultaneously is unlikely – because it is disruptive - there is no doubt that unions' environmental agenda can contribute to all three. The issues for unions are whether their environmental agendas are viewed by non-members as a reason for joining and whether those non-members receptive to a unionised environmental agenda are also those whom unions need to attract in order to grow. Even if the agenda can be used to recruit are unions actively exploiting its potential?

There is little doubt that employees and their representatives in certain sectors remain wary of the environmental agenda (and irritated by the tactics of some environmental activists)

because it is perceived as unfairly critical of their industry's activities. Generally, however, a union environmental function is being attempted in a growing number of different workplaces and industries, and therefore engaging with a wide range of occupational groups and employee-types, and it appears to be popular in all of them. The science and technical aspects associated with climate change and workplace greening may have deterred less educated employees from becoming involved at DEFRA, but at GOSH junior and administrative employees were generally more interested than clinicians, whilst non-BT professionals at Adastral Park were less interested than their BT peers. Neither the GOSH clinicians nor the non-BT professionals belonged to unions attempting to assert an on-site green agenda and thus variations in interest and activism may instead reflect variations in national unions' interest in the agenda and the resources they allocate to it – further confirmation of the continuing influence of headquarters elites even on new union strategies and policies in the era of the 'organising' model (Mason, 1999: 177; Yates, 2004: 349). Although Chapter 5 reveals variation here Chapter 6 confirms the link between unions' overall environmental activism and the extent to which a green function is supported by union headquarters.

The TUC remains convinced that workplace greening is a useful vehicle for recruiting new members. Individual unions believe their environmental agendas may appeal most to women and young people, but as Chapter 6 shows unions are yet to be convinced of the agenda's efficacy as a recruitment tool. Non-members (and members, of course) who attempt to lead ethical lives outside work are highly appreciative of the union's role in enabling them to behave ethically at work too - but the GOSH case study suggests ethical employees' appreciation does not automatically convert into union membership. Generally, few unions are able to cite persuasive evidence confirming the agenda's usefulness in this respect.

The case study data suggests unions are right not to get carried away. Employees are supportive of and intrigued by union-led workplace greening, but the initially high levels of interest quickly waned. In all three case studies 'the environment' was viewed both as a complex agenda which management needed help with and as a matter of personal responsibility. Although workplace greening does not undermine collectivism or promote individualisation (Harrod and O'Brien, 2002) 'the environment' does not appear to generate sufficiently sharp and serious conflicts of interest between staff and management which, non-members rationalise, can better be addressed by high-density unions (as argued by

Kelly, 2005). A qualitatively different union-led environmental agenda executed in a different type of workplace may generate different results. For example, an organisation in which environmental performance is crucial to success and containing a strongly pro-environmental workforce and an enviro-sceptic management may meet these criteria. Incorporating environment-related elements into unions' pay and reward bargaining agendas may also function to elevate the stakes associated with environmental performance, but is likely to be resisted by employers and may also be viewed as a contamination of unions' genuine environmental concern by parts of the workforce. For now, the vast majority of unions' workplace greening activity is focused on a conservative carbon management agenda, and overall there remains a tangible reluctance to exploit the environment's potential contribution to unions' pay and reward bargaining agenda.

The thesis is focused imprecisely on establishing whether or not those most receptive to a union-led green agenda are the types of workers in the types of industries/sectors/firms needed to achieve union growth. In fact the previous arguments largely obviate this question, but it is still worth developing a little. Unions need to grow most in the private sector, and particularly in SMEs. There is some evidence suggesting that large numbers of SMEs are either unable or unwilling to adopt good environmental practices, suggesting a 'ready-made' agenda for unions (Chapter 4). In SMEs with owner-managers who are keen to improve their firms' environmental performance, unions might be able to market themselves as key partners; whilst firms with enviro-sceptic owner-managers may provide unions with genuine campaigning opportunities. Opportunities for unions to capitalise on their environmental expertise may be greater in firms that are failing to secure important contracts because they cannot meet environment-related tender criteria. However, SME owner-managers are frequently hostile towards trade unions and because unions are weak (or non-existent) their employees are the least receptive union audience. And yet they need unions most – pay and conditions of service in SMEs is generally inferior compared to larger organisations and the public sector. Overall, it is hard to see workplace greening increasing significantly unions' penetration of SMEs, and the agenda is unlikely immediately to impress their employees. Despite this, it is important to remember that unions' environmental campaigning and bargaining agendas remain in transition and the sensitivities associated with using the agenda as a vehicle for union resurgence may not persist.

New Activists

The thesis presents evidence that in the 1980s and 1990s union activists were slightly more concerned about the environment than ordinary union members and non-members generally, although the possibility remains that some left-wing activists believed that 'the environment' was a distraction from class politics. Outside a technocentric, conservative workplace greening agenda 'the environment' offers potential opportunities for activists to become involved in a more politically-charged communitarian green agenda. Left-wing trade unionists, critical of 'Just Transition's' conservatism, appear particularly enthusiastic here, seeing opportunities to forge new progressive alliances and a more radical green agenda from the 'bottom-up'. However, much of this grass-roots activity – and for now it is very limited - occurs outside the trade union movement's formal representational and participatory structures (although this may change, with Trades Councils recently identifying 'the environment' as a campaigning priority) and much of it also continues to focus on awareness-raising and a tried-and-tested 'reduce, re-use and recycle' agenda directed at and prosecuted through established actors (e.g. local government and 'transition town' initiatives) which neither left-wing (nor right-wing) trade unionists can claim ownership of. As discussed above, the green agenda seems to offer something for everyone and it is therefore an exaggeration to argue that unions' environmental campaigning agenda constitutes an emerging ideological fault-line.

In terms of unions' formal and bargaining activities, the case study findings – particularly in DEFRA and BT - suggest that workplace greening does have some utility as a vehicle for attracting new activists and that UGRs are likely to be reliable, existing union members, well known to senior branch officials. Right-wing (or 'moderate') trade unionists can be just as active or inactive as left-wing trade unionists, so UGRs who were formally inactive cannot be assumed to be right-wing and inherently less committed to trade unionism generally. By extension, neither can this fact alone be used to label 'the environment' as a moderates' agenda – as discussed earlier, left-wing and right-wing trade unionists alike can support it. Nevertheless, the thesis argues that a conservative workplace greening agenda supported by a benevolent management may appeal to unitarists and those who prefer to avoid conflict. The case studies suggest that it is this characteristic of developmental agendas – just as much as the agendas *per se* – which explains their attraction to hitherto inactive members.

The newness of the agenda provides additional explanations for its association with first-time activists. All three unions were unable to operationalize 'the environment' using

existing resources and were therefore compelled to seek out new activists. Second, the process of identifying and appointing UGRs in DEFRA and BT was therefore made quick and informal. But as well as reflecting the newness of the agenda, this may reflect a belief that the agenda is less important than others – one that can be entrusted to inexperienced activists with no popular mandate whilst established and properly elected branch officials concentrate on pay and terms and conditions of service.

Overall, I propose that the ability of workplace greening to function as a vehicle for new activists appears temporally and contextually sensitive and may have less to do with the agendas' innate characteristics than with the type of greening being operationalized coupled with existing branch workloads, capabilities and priorities. Suggestions that the agenda is attracting a new 'breed' of trade unionists – or at least more right-wing ones (Donnelly and Kiely, 2007; Mason, 1999; Moore, 2011: 75) – are contested. Besides, the environment negotiable may not always pivot around a conservative, unitarist agenda of supposedly limited appeal to left-wing activists. Similarly, unions' environmental campaigning currently provides jumping-in points for both left-wing and right-wing trade unionists.

Enhancing Unions' Influence with Employers

Before the emergence of workplace greening there was only limited contact between unions and employers on 'the environment' – whilst unions were 'wrestling' with how to incorporate the green agenda UK businesses were busy practicing as much rejectionism as possible and neither side was therefore putting the other under significant pressure to talk. In the 1990s, once unions felt they had something resembling a credible environmental strategy they began to seek out ways to engage with employers. Initially this was achieved vicariously, via TUSDAC and Green Papers[97], but was followed by a gradual process of greening already established national and sub-national fora with which unions had well-developed formal or informal ties (such as Sector Skills Councils and Regional Development Agencies). Workplace greening added to the coverage by creating employer and even site-specific negotiating opportunities, to be prosecuted under a partnership approach to employee relations.

Chapter 6 suggests that unions' environmental activism is independent from that of management, but there is slight evidence that unions' environmentalism is more easily articulated when it is done so relatively informally, outside formal employee relations

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[97] UK Government consultation documents.

machinery. It might also be the case that unions' 'step-up' their activism in workplaces featuring enviro-sceptic managements. Employers, generally, appear willing to submit their organisations' environmental strategy to wider employee scrutiny but there is significant evidence suggesting that unions' current knowledge of the environmental agenda – particularly carbon management – compares poorly to that of managements' and/or the expertise that they buy in. This is likely to shift over time as increasing numbers of UGRs emerge and acquire relevant skills.

Unions themselves believe that 'the environment' may be an effective vehicle for consolidating their influence with employers. Stuart and Martinez Lucio (2005: 111) posit that partnership is particularly suited to developmental agendas. Workplace greening focused on carbon management does, indeed, appear capable of being conducted using the partnership approach, but not of dodging the various criticisms associated with partnership in the first place (Fernie and Metcalf, 1995) and there is considerable evidence that management value unions most as a resource with which to secure employee buy-in – in this case to environmental objectives which management, alone, might otherwise struggle to achieve. The net result – better environmental outcomes – is good for management (and the environment). Although according to Gennard and Judges (2006), by working collaboratively with employers unions can become important agents of change, widening and deepening their influence and thereby increasing their appeal to non-members, the case studies suggest that such relationships are not accompanied by a substantive pro-union shift in the aggregate distribution of power in the workplace. Neither, however, do the findings necessarily validate Roche and Geary's (2004) argument that a too-close relationship between management and unions disincentivises membership. Instead, it is the characteristics of the agenda itself – crucially, 'the environment's' inability to generate sharp differences between management and unions and keenly felt injustices – which seems to explain its quite dismal recruitment record. Again, a qualitatively different workplace greening agenda could theoretically generate different outcomes.

Overall, it is difficult to imagine any other union agenda on which unions could plausibly report employers exercising such little influence. This appears to be because most unions are not (yet) doing very much and because their demands are modest. Workplace greening forms the centrepiece of most unions' environmental activism, and it continues to pivot around a rather conservative energy-saving agenda which employers largely support and may even themselves have attempted (unsuccessfully) in the past. Additionally, as Chapter 4

shows, many employers remain uninterested in the agenda and may be content to let unions simply get on with it. Employers do not see the agenda functioning as one which can strengthen unions and certainly do not *want* the agenda to function in this way (i.e. generating sharp conflicts of interest which unions can capitalise on). As long as unions are also reluctant to exploit the agenda's potential as a vehicle for union resurgence, this situation is likely to persist.

Overall Assessment

The thesis proposes that self-interest is shaping unions' environmental activism but not determining it. This is for the best, because all three measures of union resurgence (new members; new activists and increased influence with employers) fail to associate unproblematically with unions' environmental agenda. Unions are largely aware of the agenda's limitations and their activism also reflects genuine environmental concern. Unions' environmental activism obviously uses resources which could be better targeted elsewhere to achieve growth, and there is some evidence that workplace greening is embarked upon with remarkably little thought regarding its contribution to branch plans.

But, rather than judging all three measures independently in order to reach a conclusion regarding the agenda's potential to facilitate union resurgence, it may be worth adopting an aggregated view to instead evaluate the agenda's contribution to the social, political and industrial *rehabilitation* of unions. Unions didn't just lose members in the 1980s and 1990s; they lost much of their status as key political and civil society actors. 'The environment' – and global warming in particular – presents unions with a huge cross-cutting policy *milieu* to engage with, in the world of work and beyond. Unions have spent almost two decades attempting to regain their status as 'worthy to listen' and 'worthy to speak' and it would be odd for them to fail to engage positively with arguably the greatest challenge of this generation. Viewed in isolation unions' environmental agenda may not constitute a 'magic bullet' for union growth. But it expands their field of competence, increases their relevance and confers legitimacy – helping, at least, to create and sustain the conditions within which growth might eventually occur even if this appears, for the time being, a long way off.

Implications for the Labour Environmentalist Relationship

Regarding the LER, mutual mistrust was undoubtedly an obstacle to collaboration in the 1970s, overshadowing substantial ideological and occasional programmatic overlap. Each

movement saw the other as comprising of and representing a wholly different set of (class) interests. However, although evidence from the early 1980s confirms that a relatively high proportion of the new middle class were environmental activists, class does not unambiguously determine environmentalism and class' influence (on environmental attitudes) was already waning. Further, there is considerable evidence to suggest that trade union members and activists – even non-NMC ones - were just as interested in the environment as everybody else. Unions' arm's length relations with EMOs are further complicated by unions' consistent (and largely pro-) environmental policymaking.

The new narrative presented in Chapter 1 maintains that the UK's POS trumped unions' pro-environmentalism (and the interests of pro-environmental memberships) in the 1970s and 1980s, shaping both the fortunes of each movement and the LER. The main obstacle to collaborative working in the 1970s was a combination of union strength and EMO weakness; formed, sustained and consolidated by the POS. In the 1980s it was union weakness coupled with EMOs' recently acquired (but still limited) influence, again sustained by a changed POS. The POS shaped and limited consistent and meaningful collaboration between both movements.

This shifted once more in the 1990s and as the fortunes and interests of both movements continued to alter and intersect. Chapter 5 shows there is now regular collaboration between EMOs, the TUC and those unions seeking to develop an environmental agenda. Key tensions historically associated with the LER have been resolved and/or put aside. In the UK, at least, approaches to understanding the labour environmentalist relationship as one comprising tension and mistrust must now be considered as rapidly approaching their sell-by date.

Currently, the most environmentally active unions tend also to be those reporting regular contact with (NSM) EMOs; but it is also apparent that unions are slowly emerging as environmental actors in their own right and shopfloors – unions' natural terrains – have become important sites of environmental intervention. If unions' workplace greening agenda continues to 'widen' and 'deepen'; if unions succeed in operationalising a cogent environmental communitarian agenda; if unions retain their influence on key bodies such as SSCs and if TUSDAC retains its status as a key joint negotiating and consulting body, then unions may emerge as leading - and even 'go to' - environmental actors. The active participation of organised labour in the environmental agenda would have serious

implications for environmental policy and, in turn, on the roles and responsibilities of the environment's traditional *dramatis personae*.

Finally, improvements to the LER occurred at the confluence of a range of exogenous and endogenous phenomena, including shifts in the fortunes of each movement. UK trade union membership is now at its lowest since 1937 (Salamon, 1992: 654), collective bargaining coverage continues to shrink and the UK Coalition Government continues to give unions short shrift. Crudely, unions failed to recover fully from the Conservative Government's attacks in the 1980s and 1990s, despite three relatively pro-union Labour Governments (1997 – 2010), and are now being actively pursued once more. Although unions sustained their environmental *policymaking* during their 'bad', 'good' and 'in-between' years, it is fanciful to imagine that continuing decline will not again impact their environmental *activism* (especially given its current fragility). Under attack in the 1980s unions concentrated on 'holding on' to what they already had in their traditional agendas and it was not until this failed that they attempted to widen their remit. 'The environment' has since, of course, penetrated much deeper into the labour movement; but it remains to be seen whether it is firmly locked-in and, if so, whether it is prosecuted on its own terms or as part of a renewal strategy (and if the latter, at a time of shrinking memberships and decreasing income it needs to perform better). Unions' experiences of the agenda now, inchoate as it is, may well end up determining the extent and texture of their future participation and the LER.

Implications for Trade Unions

The findings provide much food for thought for unions. Overall, unions can feel reasonably proud about their environmental activities – and not just their more recent ones. Unions' environmental activism and their greening of non-environmental agendas and fora may be consolidating their reinsertion into the UK's policymaking landscape and is certainly serving to establish unions' credibility as environmental actors in their own right. It is, however, too early to evaluate the long term impact of this process on unions' relations with EMOs and the LER (see above).

However, despite 'Just Transition's' claim to have resolved the 'jobs versus environment' debate, the environmental policy domain is likely to continue to present unions with a mixture of challenges and opportunities. There are opportunities associated with the expansion and development of the UK's nuclear and renewable energy sectors and domestic

energy efficiency programme, for example. However, although 'Just Transition' satisfies the movement's campaigning and progressive instincts some of its objectives are ideologically out-of-touch with the contemporary political agenda and their realisation requires an approach to industrial and environmental policymaking far more interventionist and co-ordinated than that currently practised. Thus it remains to be seen for how long unions are prepared to hold on to an environmental strategy that most other decision-makers are ignoring, especially in the midst of an economic recession under a Coalition Government that grants unions no favours and where their traditional agendas are under pressure.

Environmentalism is embedded in the TUC, but the majority of individual unions remain relatively uninterested. Those that are interested are operationalising their environmental agenda inconsistently and at sub-national levels the agenda may be fragile. If unions are serious about developing a green function their headquarters need to allocate more resources and provide UGRs with better and more training.

Unions embarking on workplace greening in particular need to be clear *why* they are doing so and *how* workplace greening contributes to their branch plans: just because unions' environmental activism is motivated by a genuine desire to protect the environment is no reason to approach the agenda uncritically and fail to seek benefits where they might exist. The agenda does not appear to possess much utility *vis-à-vis* recruiting new members, but any potential it does have needs to be teased out and exploited much more systematically, and may vary from sector-to-sector and even from firm-to-firm and workplace-to-workplace. Even so, a conservative carbon management agenda seems to promise remarkably little.

Workplace greening appears to possess more utility as a vehicle for recruiting new branch activists. Here, unions need to pay particular attention to ensuring that UGRs are trained. Workplace greening is partly designed to make it difficult for enviro-sceptical local senior managers to avoid engaging with the agenda. Similarly, unions must take steps to ensure that UGRs are not permitted to languish in union branches as peripheral actors (particularly crucial because shrinking memberships means less income which, in turn, means unions are likely to rely even more on lay officials). Unions should continue to press for statutory recognition of UGRs and strong consideration should be given to both the creation of UGR officerships and using national and sub-national conferences and AGMs to consolidate environmental policies, commitments and institutional arrangements.

As a negotiable, 'the environment' appears to lend itself well to partnership, and agendas on which unions can still win and look good remain valuable. But at a local level the thesis finds evidence that employers and managers are exploiting unions' influence over the workforce to achieve key environmental goals, with no reciprocal shift in unions' purchase over management. Those unions that are committed to partnership – or resigned to it – and for whom their organisation's environmental performance is the priority may be content with this arrangement - but should be aware that extensions to the agenda may provoke a less positive response from employers even as it presents unions with campaigning and renewal opportunities.

Methodological Implications and Limitations

This thesis presents the first detailed study of UK unions' contemporary environmental activism. It has also attempted to shed new light on how and why their environmental activism evolved and to evaluate its potential as a vehicle for union growth. To fulfil these three objectives a mixed-methods approach was adopted comprising qualitative and quantitative methods and primary and secondary data analysis (document analysis; interviews; survey questionnaire and case study).

The research was conducted under significant resource constraints and a range of additional limitations unrelated to resources were also encountered (see Table 8.2). The research is undoubtedly vulnerable to accusations of Anglo-centrism, but historical data from the STUC, Wales TUC and NIC were similar to those from the TUC. Additionally, the questionnaire respondents were mostly national officers of unions organised across the UK and their responses should therefore constitute a UK-wide perspective. Although less than a quarter of the TUC's affiliates responded, the respondent unions represent a significant majority of the UK's union membership, organised across

a range of industrial sectors. My research was, however, unable to provide ordinary union members with a voice. But local elites were encouraged to speak freely and permitted to do so off the record if desired – combined with their proximity to ordinary members there is no reason to believe that their analysis of ordinary members' attitudes towards unions' environmental agenda is seriously at odds with the reality. The full range of methodological problems and limitations are described more fully in Chapter 2 and in the relevant chapters themselves. Despite these limitations, the methods used and their sequencing generated significant amounts of relevant data which bled into and informed one or more phases of

the research. The research questions – and subsequent research design – therefore necessitated a mixed methods approach and both methodological and source-based triangulation. Most of the sources of data utilised are extremely common in organisational and trade union research. The two exceptions are (attending) important union events and union grey materials. Both generated considerable data, provided learning opportunities, signposted key debates and suggested potentially fruitful lines of enquiry. Smart and more extensive use of both is highly recommended.

Table 8.2: Research Limitations

Research Objective	Main Sources of Data	Limitations
How and Why Unions are Engaging with Environmental Agenda?	Congress Reports; Union Conference Agendas/Reports; Elite Interviews; Relevant Datasets (e.g. BSAS, WERS)	Representativeness of Congress data; Scottish and Northern Irish unions comparatively ignored (Anglo-centrism); reliance on elite's memory recall; absence of environment-related time-series data; limited number of individual unions' environment policies 'tracked'
Unions Contemporary Environmental Activism	Survey Questionnaire; Elite Interviews; Union Grey Materials; Observation/Conference Attendance	Low number of respondent unions; small sample created problems for data analysis
Can Unions' Environmental Activism Function as a Vehicle for Union Resurgence?	Union Grey Materials; Elite Interviews; Case Studies	Majority of interviews conducted with local elites only

Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis has attempted to construct a new narrative describing how and why unions started to engage with the agenda. But although it is a plausible narrative it is certainly not 'the last word'. The thesis also evaluates 'the environment's' contribution to union resurgence - but unions' environmental activism is dynamic and unfinished. Concern for the environment and the environmental agenda are more-or-less established features of the UK's political and industrial landscape but by no means stable. Currently, a majority of unions engaging with the agenda believe that they will engage even more in the future and it remains to be seen for how long environmentally inactive unions can sustain their non-participation. However, even environmentally active unions cannot describe their green work as stable and adequately resourced. The LER and unions' environmental activism therefore constitutes a rich, important and continuing target for research.

Additional research investigating unions' growing porosity to 'the environment' in the 1990s is recommended. This thesis views their porosity as a product of a range of endogenous and exogenous phenomena, particularly unions' modernisation strategies, boosted by a paradigm shift in the conduct and content of employee relations. Additional research to evaluate the relative contribution of individual phenomenon is warranted. Further, although unions' environmental activism increased during the 1990s it did so relatively slowly compared to their other emerging agendas, such as learning and skills and equality and diversity. This thesis argues that learning and skills and equality and diversity were boosted by supportive legislation and/or government funding, but this needs to be tested more rigorously.

Individual unions' environmental policies since the 1970s should also be examined in greater detail. This could be used to construct a more comprehensive picture of unions' attitudes towards the environment than one based on TUC data alone and to identify variations in the attitudes of different unions (e.g. left wing/right wing; public sector/private sector; services/manufacturing; strong/weak) and the origins of their activism. A detailed investigation of environmentally inactive unions focused on explaining their passivity is also highly recommended.

An evaluation of the contemporary LER is also due in light of UK unions' emergence as environmental actors in their own right. As noted previously, unions are presently engaged in greening non-environmental agendas and established joint fora, and the extent and

success of this strategy needs auditing. Unions' community-based environmental activities should also be investigated.

Workplace greening provides exceptionally fertile opportunities for researchers. First, unions' contributions to improved environmental performance should be investigated further and substantiated. Secondly, the potential benefits of different types of workplace greening agendas – operationalised in different types of workplaces - should be evaluated. Thirdly, ordinary union members and non-members attitudes towards a union green function should be identified. Finally, employers' attitudes, and the behaviour of 'the environment' negotiable, should be more accurately assessed.

Appendix A

Alphabetical list of Interviewees (excluding case studies)

Name	Organisation(s)	Role(s)/Relevance	Date Interviewed
David BOOMER	Institute of Directors	Environment Policy Officer	October 2008
John EDMONDS	Visiting Research Fellow, Kings College London, formerly GMB and TUSDAC	Former General Secretary of the GMB and first co-Chair of TUSDAC	October 2008
Matthew FARROW	CBI	Policy Officer: Energy, Transport and Planning	August 2009
Sue FERNS	Prospect Union	Head of Research	July 2009
Nick ILLINGWORTH	Groundwork	Regional Development Manager, Yorkshire and Humberside	July 2008
Tim JENKINS	Friends of the Earth	Chief Economist	October 2008
Caroline MOLLOY	TUC/Carbon Trust and Unite	TUC/Carbon Trust Project Officer	May 2008
John MONKS	European Trades Union Congress, formerly TUC	Former TUC General Secretary	September 2009
Penny MORLEY	Unite and TUSDAC	Chair of TUSDAC Working Group and Unite Full-Time Officer	May 2008
Paul NOON	Prospect and TUSDAC	Prospect General Secretary and co-chair of TUSDAC	July 2009
Sarah PEARCE	TUC	TUC Green Workplaces Project Leader	August 2008
Graham PETERSEN	UCU	National Environmental Co-ordinator	July 2009
Melanie SMALLMAN	SERA	National Co-ordinator	July 2009
Dave TIMMS	Friends of the Earth	Economics Campaigner	August 2008
Lord WHITTY	Consumer Focus, formerly GMB, General Secretary of the Labour Party and Under Secretary of State at DETR and DEFRA	Former General Secretary of the Labour Party and Defra Environment Minister	August 2009

Appendix B

Survey Population and Unions Invited to Participate

TUC [1]	Sector	STUC [2]	Sector	NIC [3]	Sector
Accord	HBOS	Accord	HBOS		
ACM	Education				
Advance	Abbey/Santander Group				
AEP	Ed. Psychologists				
AFA	Flight Attendants				
				Amicus	Manufacturing
ASLEF	Railways	ASLEF	Railways		
Aspect	School Improvement Professionals			Aspect	School Improvement Professionals
				ATGWU	Transport/Logistics/Man/General
ATL	Education			ATL	Education
BACM-TEAM	Mining				
BALPA	Pilots				
BDA	Dietics	BDA	Dietics		
BECTU	Media	BECTU	Media	BECTU	Media
BFAWU	Food/Agriculture			BFAWU	Food/Agriculture
BOS	Orthoptics	BOS	Orthoptics		
BSU	Britannia				
CBSA	Cheshire Building Society				
CDNA	Community Nurses	CDNA	Community Nurses		
Community	Manufacturing	Community	Manufacturing	Community	Manufacturing
Connect	Telecomms	Connect	Telecomms	Connect	Telecomms
CSMTS	Card Setting and Machine Teneters				
CSP	Physiotherapists	CSP	Physiotherapists	CSP	Physiotherapists
CWU	Post	CWU	Post	CWU	Post
DGSU	Derbyshire Group				
DSA	Diageo Group				
		EIS	Education		
Equity	Actors	Equity	Actors	Equity	Actors
FBU	Fire Service	FBU	Fire Service	FBU	Fire Service
FDA	Civil Service	FDA	Civil Service	FDA	Civil Service
GMB	Manufacturing/General	GMB	Manufacturing/General	GMB	Manufacturing/General
HCSA	Hospital Consultants/Specialists				
				IBOA	Banking
				INTO	Education
MU	Musicians	MU	Musicians	MU	Musicians
NACO	Co-ooperative Officers				
NACODS	Mining				
NAPO	Probation Officers			NAPO	Probation Officers
NASUWT	Education	NASUWT	Education	NASUWT	Education
Nautilus UK	Merchant Navy				
NGSU	Nationwide				
				NIPSA	Civil Service
NUJ	Journalists	NUJ	Journalists	NUJ	Journalism
NUM	Mining	NUM	Mining		
		NUMAST	Merchant Navy		
NUT	Education				
PCS	Civil Service	PCS	Civil Service	PCS	Civil Service

PFA	**Footballers**				
POA	**Prison Officers**			POA	Prison Officers
Prospect	**Civil Service**	Prospect	Civil Service	Prospect	Civil Service
RMT	**Railways/Maritime**	RMT	Railways/Maritime	RMT	Railways/Maritime
SCP	**Chiropodists and Podiatrists**	SCP	Chiropodists and Podiatrists		
				SIPTU	General/Technical
SoR	**Radiographers**	SoR	Radiographers	SoR	Radiographers
		SSP	Playwrights		
		SSTA	Education		
		SPOA	Prison Officers		
Surge	**Skipton Building Society**				
TSSA	**Rail and Buses**	TSSA	Rail and buses	TSSA	Rail and buses
		TGWU	Transport/Manufacturing/General		
UBAC	**Bradford and Bingley**				
UCAC	**Education – Wales**				
UCATT	**Construction**	UCATT	Construction	UCATT	Construction
UCU	**Education**	UCU (Scotland)	Education	UCU	Education
UNISON	**Local government**	UNISON Scotland	Local Government	UNISON	Local government
Unite	**Transport/Manufacturing/General**	Unite	Transport/Manufacturing/General		
Unity	**Ceramics**				
URTU	**Transport/logistics**				
USDAW	**Retail**	USDAW	Retail	USDAW	Retail
				UTU	Education
WGGB	**Writers**				
YISA	**Yorkshire Bank**				
TOTAL: 59 (59)		**TOTAL:35 (5)**		**TOTAL: 33 (6)**	

1. Questionnaire administered to all 59 TUC affiliated unions (highlighted blue)

2. Questionnaire administered to 5 unions (highlighted yellow) uniquely organised in Scotland

3. Questionnaire administered to 6 unions uniquely organised in Northern Ireland (highlighted green)

Appendix C

Questionnaire Instructions

IMPORTANT – READ THIS FIRST

Advance thanks for agreeing to complete this questionnaire.

The questionnaire is straightforward, but please take a few moments to read the following:

- The questionnaire is only interested in unions' environmental policies and activities aimed at members (and non-members), activists and employers. Unless indicated otherwise please **do not** include your union's in-house 'greening' in your answers
- Aim for your answers to try to reflect what is being thought/dne across the whole of your union, not just the bit you are most intimate with
- Feel free to consult with colleagues if you think this will help you provide more accurate answers
- If you don't have time to consult colleagues don't worry. Answer all questions to the best of your ability and as fully as possible
- The questionnaire looks long but most questions are easy and quick to answer
- All answers will be treated in the strictest confidence
- **Please aim to return the completed questionnaire before 20 March 2009, using the sae provided**

Finally, I might want to do some follow-up work. If you're content for me to contact you for more information please tick the box, below, and provide your contact details.

I am happy to be contacted as part of any follow-up work ☐
Name…………………………………………………………………..
Union…………………………………………………………………...
Email……………………………………………………………………
Tel …………………………………………………………………………

Appendix D

Questionnaire Covering Letter

<div align="right">University of York letterheaded paper</div>

<div align="right">Date</div>

To: Name of Union or, where possible, name of Environmental Policy Officer

TRADE UNIONS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

I am a Research Student at the University of York looking at how and why trade unions in the UK are engaging with the environmental agenda. The environment continues to be an important issue in the UK, and has serious implications for the world of work, unions' traditional domain. To my knowledge, this project is the only research currently taking place on this subject, and is the first extensive piece of research in this area since at least the mid-1980's.

Attached you will find a survey which is being sent to a number of UK unions. I would be grateful if you could complete it and return it in the enclosed sae on or before 9 January 2009. It should take you no longer than 5 – 10 minutes to complete. We also believe that you will find completing it an interesting, thought-provoking exercise.

Your answers will be kept completely confidential. Professor Neil Carter and Professor David Howell of the Department of Politics are supervising my research at the University of York, and it is being carried out in accordance with the University's code of ethics. In addition to me, only my supervisors will have access to the data.

You can also be sure that no-one will know how individuals responded to the questions. The survey results will be presented in statistical form and contribute to my completed thesis. The need to maintain respondent's anonymity will be paramount, and results will generally be presented in aggregated forms.

To say 'thankyou' those unions who return a completed questionnaire will be entered into a draw to win for their union a signed copy of Professor Neil Carter's 'The Politics of the Environment' (2007).

I would be happy to answer any questions you might have. Please call (0777 606 1955) or write or email: tf510@york.ac.uk

Thank you for your assistance

Tom Farnhill
Mphil/Phd Candidate

APPENDIX E : QUESTIONNAIRE

Question 1. Name of Union _____ _____ (1)

Question 2. Area Covered: Please tick the box for which of the following best describes the area you are providing information about:

- England only ☐ (1)
- Wales only ☐ (2)
- England and Wales ☐ (3)
- Great Britain (England, Wales, Scotland) ☐ (4)
- Scotland only ☐ (5)
- Northern Ireland only ☐ (6)
- United Kingdom (Great Britain plus Northern Ireland) ☐ (7)

Question 3. Your union may be diverse. But **if pressed**, which of the following **best** describes it? Please tick only **one** box.

- Central Government Services ☐ (1)
- Local Government Services ☐ (2)
- Transport – solely or mainly people ☐ (3)
- Transport – solely or mainly freight ☐ (4)
- Transport – roughly even mix of people and freight ☐ (5)
- Manufacturing ☐ (6)
- Retail ☐ (7)
- Communications and IT ☐ (8)
- Health ☐ (9)
- Education ☐ (10)
- Financial Services ☐ (11)
- Energy ☐ (12)
- Emergency Services ☐ (13)
- Utilities – gas/water/electricity ☐ (14)
- Media and Creative ☐ (15)
- Agriculture ☐ (16)
- Food ☐ (17)
- Science/Research ☐ (18)
- Sport and Leisure ☐ (19)
- Law and Order ☐ (20)
- General Union ☐ (21)
- Other ☐ (22)

Question 4. Does your union have **one or more** staff with direct responsibility for Environmental policy vis-à-vis members and/or activists and/or employers (i.e. **excluding** your unions internal 'greening' activities)? Please tick the relevant box.

<div align="center">YES ☐ (1)   NO ☐ (2)</div>

If **YES** please answer **Question 5** on Page 2. If **NO** please go on to **Question 15** on

Question 5. Is there a single person with direct overall policy responsibility for your union's Environmental policies vis-à-vis members and/or activists and/or employers?

YES ☐ (1)　　　　　NO ☐ (2)

| If **YES** please go to **Q. 7 and Onwards**. If **NO** please go to **Q.6.** |

Question 7. Would you say that in your union the post is classed as:

junior ☐　　　　　(1)

middle ☐　　　　　(2)

senior ☐　　　　　(3)

Question 6. How many people share overall direct responsibility for your unions Environmental **policy** vis-à-vis members/activists/employers? Please tick:

2 ☐　　　　　(1)

3 ☐　　　　　(2)

4 ☐　　　　　(3)

5 or more ☐　　　　(4)

Thank you. Now please go to **Question 15 on the**

Question 8. What percentage of the postholder's time is spent on Environmental issues?

1% - 50% ☐　　　　　(1)

more than 50% but less than 100% ☐　　　　(2)

100% ☐　　　　　(3)

Question 9. If anything less than 100%, what non-Environmental work does the postholder perform? Tick as many as apply:

- Health and Safety ☐　　(1)
- Equalities/Diversity ☐　　(2)
- International ☐　　(3)
- Recruitment/Organisation ☐　　(4)
- Education and Learning ☐　　(5)
- Research (non-Environmental) ☐　　(6)
- Negotiations (non-Environmental) ☐　　(7)
- Administrative or Managerial ☐　　(8)

Question 11. What was the postholder's last paid job before starting his/her current Environmental role? Please tick which of the following best applies:

- Another role in the same union ☐ (1)
- An Environmental role in a different union ☐　　(2)
- A non-environmental role in a different union ☐　　(3)
- An Environmental role, but not in a union ☐　　(4)
- A non-environmental role and not for a union ☐　　(5)
- Did not work ☐　　(6)

Question 12. How old is the postholder?

- <20　☐　　(1)
- 20 – 30 ☐　　(2)
- 31 – 40 ☐　　(3)
- 41 – 50 ☐　　(4)
- 51 – 60 ☐　　(5)
- 61 or more ☐　　(6)

Question 13. What is the postholders **highest** qualification? Tick one box only.

- No formal qualifications ☐ (1)
- GCSE/O Level ☐ (2)
- A Level and equivalent ☐ (3)
- Certificate or Diploma ☐ (4)
- First Degree ☐ (5)
- Masters Degree ☐ (6)
- Mphil/Phd ☐ (7)
- Professional qualification ☐ (8)
- Other ☐ (9)
- Don't Know ☐ (10)

Question 14. Does the postholder have an Environmental qualification?

YES ☐ (1) NO ☐ (2)

Question 15. How many **support** staff does your union employ working on Environmental issues (Full-time equivalents)?

- ☐ None (1)
- ☐ 1 – 2 (2)
- ☐ 3 – 5 (3)
- ☐ more than 5 (4)

Question 16: What is the current annual budget allocation for your unions Environmental work vis-à-vis members/activists/employers (including wages)? Please write the figure in the space provided. If you do not know, or cannot provide this information, please tick the box:

Budget Allocation: £_____ per annum (1)   Don't know/Cannot provide ☐ (9)

Question 17. Is this higher or lower or about the same as your **previous** settlement? Please tick.

- ☐ Higher (1)
- ☐ Lower (2)
- ☐ About the same (3)
- ☐ Don't know/can't tell (4)

Question 18. Is your current budget allocation **sufficient** for the work you're trying to do?

YES ☐ (1)   NO ☐ (2)

Question 19. What percentage of your union's **overall income** does the figure you have entered at Q.16 represent? If you do not know or cannot provide this information please tick the box:

Percentage: _____ (1)   Don't know/Cannot provide ☐ (9)

Question 20. What percentage of your union's **overall expenditure** does the figure you have entered at Q.16 represent? If you do not know or cannot provide this information please tick the box:

Percentage: _____ (1)   Don't know/Cannot provide ☐ (9)

Question 21. Does your union produce specialist Environmental resources and materials for activists and/or members?

YES ☐ (1)   NO ☐ (2)

Question 22. Does your union have any **formal** committees with **defined** responsibilities for formulating and/or taking forward Environmental policy?

YES ☐ (1)   NO ☐ (2)

Question 23. Does your union hold **informal and/or *ad hoc*** meetings to formulate and/or take forward Environmental policy?

YES ☐ (1)   NO ☐ (2)

Question 24. How often would you say your National Executive Committee meetings discuss Environmental matters? Please circle one of the below.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
NEVER	OCCASIONALLY	REGULARLY	ALWAYS

Question 25. How committed to the development of your union's Environmental agenda would you say your union's **most senior officials** are? Please circle your answer below.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
HIGHLY COMMITTED	COMMITTED	NEITHER COMMITTED NOR UNINTERESTED	RELATIVELY UNINTERESTED	COMPLETELY UNINTERESTED

Question 26. Does your union send representatives to the TUC/DEFRA Trade Union Sustainable Development Advisory Committee (TUSDAC)? Please tick.

YES ☐ (1)   NO ☐ (2)

Question 27. Which of the following organisations would you say your union has **regular** contact with? Tick as many boxes as apply. If you have **no** regular contact with any Environmental organisations tick this box ☐ and move on to Question 28.   (18)

☐ Carbon Trust (1)   ☐ Friends of the Earth (2)   ☐ Greenpeace (3)   ☐ National Trusts (4)
☐ RSPB (5)   ☐ A World to Win (6)   ☐ Campaign Against Climate Change (7)
☐ Green Party (8)   ☐ World Wildlife Fund (9)   ☐ Campaign to Protect Rural England (10)
☐ CND (11)   ☐ Stop Climate Chaos Coalition (12)   ☐ People and Planet (13)   ☐ Rising Tide (14)
☐ Christian Ecology Link (15)   ☐ Operation Noah (16)   ☐ Other(s) (17)

Question 28. Does your union provide and/or facilitate and/or encourage its activists and members to receive Environmental training?

YES ☐ (1)   NO ☐ (2)

Question 29. Please estimate what percentage of your union branches have allocated specific responsibilities for Environmental issues to one or more activists. Please circle the best answer.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(9)
None	1%-10%	11%-30%	31%-50%	51%-70%	More than 70%	Don't Know

Question 30. For what percentage of the above is Environmental work their **sole or dominant** union role? Please circle the best answer.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	(10)
Less than 10%	11%-30%	31%-50%	51%-70%	More than 70%	Don't Know	Not Applicable

Question 31. For those reps' who combine Environmental work with other union roles, what percentage would you say combine it with Health and Safety?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	(10)
Less than 10%	11%-30%	31%-50%	51%-70%	More than 70%	Don't Know	Not Applicable

Question 32. Please estimate what percentage of your Branch Committees have someone with Environmental responsibilities sitting on them **in their capacity as a union rep with Environmental responsibility**.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	(10)
Less than 10%	11%-30%	31%-50%	51%-70%	More than 70%	Don't Know	Not Applicable

Question 33. Are there any individuals (lay, or otherwise) with Environmental responsibilities at any **intermediate** levels of your union i.e. in-between branches/sub-branches and the national union?

(1)	(2)	(9)
YES	NO	Don't Know

Question 34. Are there any Environmental structures (e.g. committees) in any of the intermediate levels of your union i.e. in-between branches/sub-branches and the national union?

(1)	(2)	(9)
YES	NO	Don't Know

Question 35. Out of the following, which would you say is the main impetus behind your union's Environmental policy making? Please rank the following using **all** the numbers 1 - 6, placing a 1 in the box alongside the most important, and 6 in the box for the least important:

☐ National union officers and committees (1)

☐ National Delegate Conference (2)

☐ Sub-national conferences (eg related to specific employers; industries; (3)
sectors; groups of workers)

☐ Branches (4)

☐ Individual members (5)

☐ Employers' agendas (6)

For **Questions 36 – 51** please CIRCLE a) how much **time** you think your union spends on the following Environmental issues and categories, and b) give a score out of 10 for how **important** this category is to your union: 0 would be completely unimportant and 10 would be essential. You can give any score between 0 and 10

36. Transport

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

37. Energy

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

38. Global Warming/Atmospheric Pollution

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

39. Manufacturing/Economy

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

40. Environmental Regulation/Policy Instruments

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

41. Marine Environment

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

42. Farming/Food

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

43. Human Health

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

44. Wildlife and Conservation

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

45.Water

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

46. Globalisation/International Environment Issues

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

47. Research and Development/Science

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

48. Housing and Land-use

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

49. Emergency Services

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

50. Population Growth

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

51. Infrastructure Projects

Time (Please Circle)	(1) Significant Amounts of Time	(2) Fair Amount of Time	(3) No or Little Time
Importance Score: 0-10			

Question 52. Overall, over the next two years do you anticipate your unions involvement in Environmental matters (please tick one answer only):

- ☐ Increasing significantly (1)
- ☐ Increasing slightly (2)
- ☐ Staying about the same (3)
- ☐ Decreasing slightly (4)
- ☐ Decreasing significantly (5)

Question 53. Please read the following statements, and give each a score between 0-10 according to how much you believe they are shared by your union. A score of 0 would indicate your union does not share the view at all, whilst a score of 10 would indicate very strong belief in the statement. Write the score in the box.

☐ **The Environment is a growing policy area in workplaces, and employers and/or members and/or potential members must see us capable of engaging with it** (1)

☐ **The Environmental political and economic agenda will continue to develop with or without us, and presents both challenges and opportunities for the UK economy. We have got to be 'in there', influencing it as much as possible** (2)

☐ **The Environment is a bit of a red-herring for unions. Compared with pay (higher pay) and learning (acquiring essential skills) and health and safety (safer workplaces) etc, there is no attractive green 'product' for members and potential members** (3)

☐ **The Environment is a vehicle for recruiting new members** (4)

☐ **The Environment is a vehicle for improving or initiating relations with employers** (5)

☐ **The Environment is a vehicle for attracting brand new activists** (6)

☐ **The Environment is an extension of our Health and Safety functions** (7)

☐ **Environmental issues are international, and increasingly provide us with more damning evidence with which to critique the excesses of capitalism and 'globalisation'. They justify our desire to 'rein-in' unscrupulous employers, and our support for fair trade and ethical consumerism** (8)

☐ **We've got to do our bit to help save the planet, full stop** (9)

☐ **We must get involved in the Environment to help employers navigate a highly complex agenda** (10)

☐ **The environment is an opportunity to connect with local communities and especially young people and those about to enter the workforce** (11)

☐ **We must get involved in the Environment to maximise 'at-work' opportunities for employees to be green, helping to satisfy peoples' increasing desire to be environmentally responsible in all aspects of their lives** (12)

Question 54. In your union's experience, how effective do you think your Environmental agenda is in terms of **recruiting new members**? Please circle the most appropriate response.

(1) VERY EFFECTIVE	(2) EFFECTIVE	(3) NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	(4) INEFFECTIVE	(5) NO EXPERIENCE OF THIS

Question 55. In your union's experience, how effective do you think your Environmental agenda is in terms of **retaining members**? Please circle the most appropriate response.

(1) VERY EFFECTIVE	(2) EFFECTIVE	(3) NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	(4) INEFFECTIVE	(5) NO EXPERIENCE OF THIS

Question 56. In your union's experience, how effective do you think your Environmental agenda is in terms of **recruiting new activists**? Please circle the most appropriate response.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VERY EFFECTIVE	EFFECTIVE	NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	INEFFECTIVE	NO EXPERIENCE OF THIS

Question 57. In your union's experience, how would you rate Environmental issues as a membership **recruitment tool for different groups of non-members**? Please give a score from 0-10: 0 for those groups of non-members for whom a union Environmental agenda seemingly has no effect on increasing the union's appeal, and 10 for those groups for whom a union Environmental agenda has very high appeal. Enter your scores in the boxes.

☐ **Black and Minority Ethnic** (1)

☐ **Women** (2)

☐ **Young Workers** (3)

☐ **Low skilled and unskilled** (4)

☐ **Semi-skilled** (5)

☐ **Skilled and Professionals** (6)

☐ **Temporary/Casual employees** (7)

Question 58. Please imagine your union's **typical non-member**. On the next page you will see a list of arguments and activities that could be deployed in recruitment campaigns. How useful are these arguments and activities in getting your non-member to join? Please give a score from 0-10, with 0 for an argument/activity that has no utility as a recruitment tool, and 10 for an argument/activity that has very high utility as a recruitment tool. Enter your scores in the boxes.

☐ **We work on your behalf to negotiate better pay and other conditions of employment** (1)

☐ **We work on your behalf to ensure good health and safety practices are in place and adhered to** (2)

☐ **We are able to help you with learning and skills, and work to ensure your employer takes these seriously too** (3)

☐ **The union is committed to the Environment and works to ensure that you can be green at work and that your employer is environmentally responsible too** (4)

☐ **We are committed to equality and fairness in the workplace and work to ensure your employer is too** (5)

☐ **Union membership confers a range of legal and social and financial benefits and services** (6)

☐ **We offer personal representation and can help you if you encounter any difficulties at work** (7)

☐ **We are able to campaign and argue against any changes to jobs or workplaces or organisation which may not be in your best interests** (8)

☐ **We are an open and democratic union – you can get involved and contribute and help make/deliver our policies** (9)

☐ **We can provide you with up-to-date information about important issues that may be of interest to you at work and beyond** (10)

Question 59. **Where** are you implementing an Environmental agenda, and where are you doing so **most frequently**? Please fill in the table below. Tick as many as apply. If you are not implementing an Environmental agenda anywhere please tick this box instead ☐ and move to Question 60. (1)

Locale	Implementing? Please tick the box if YES (leave blank if NO)	Frequency: **of those you have ticked**, please rank them to indicate where you are implementing an Environmental agenda **most often**. Enter your number(s) below: 1 - the most frequent; 2 - the second most frequent; and so on.
Micro enterprises (less than 10 employees)	☐ (2)	
Small-to-medium sized enterprises (10 – 249 employees)	☐ (3)	
Large organisations (250 or more employees)	☐ (4)	
Public and not-for-profit sector	☐ (5)	
Communities	☐ (6)	
Within the union itself	☐ (7)	
Other	☐ (8)	

Question 60. In your union's experience, how useful overall do you think your Environmental agenda is in terms of **contributing to your influence with employers**? Please circle the best response.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VERY EFFECTIVE	EFFECTIVE	NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	INEFFECTIVE	NO EXPERIENCE OF THIS

Question 61. Imagine you're trying to advance an Environmental agenda with (one of) your typical employer(s). Which of the following factors are most and least likely to influence how you get on? Please rank them using all the numbers 1– 4, with 1 representing the least influential factor and 4 the most influential.

☐ **Employer's general attitudes towards trade unions** (1)

☐ **Employer's own commitment to the Environment** (2)

☐ **The relevance of the environment and environmental policies to the viability and future of the business/organisation** (3)

☐ **Employer's positioning of Environmental policies within the 'business' which affects the extent to which it is opened up to employee input** (4)

Question 62. In negotiations with one of your union's typical actual or targetted employers, are Environmental issues generally more or less likely than others to generate conflict than consensus? Give a score out of 10 for the following issues' **conflict/consensus potential**, where 0 equates to the complete inability of unions and employers/managers to see eye-to-eye, and 10 equates to both parties singing beautifully from the same hymn sheet.

☐ **Environmental issues** (1)

☐ **Pay/reward issues** (2)

☐ **Health and Safety issues** (3)

☐ **Learning and Skills issues** (4)

☐ **Equality and Diversity** (5)

☐ **Staffing/workloads/business plan issues** (6)

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please now return it on or before 20 March 2009 using the accompanying stamp addressed envelope. Remember, all completed questionnaires received will be entered into a draw to win for their union a signed copy of Professor Neil Carter's excellent new book 'The Politics of the Environment'.

This questionnaire was produced and administered using recycled paper.

If you have any queries regarding this questionnaire please contact: Tom Farnhill, University of York, Department of Politics, Derwent College, Heslington, York, North Yorkshire. Tel: 0777 606 1955. Or email: tf510@york.ac.uk

Appendix F

Questionnaire Reminder Letter

University of York letterheaded paper

Date

To: name of union

TRADE UNIONS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Before Christmas, we sent you a questionnaire asking you for your views regarding how your union was engaging with the environmental agenda.

If you have completed and returned the questionnaire please accept out complete thanks. If not, could you please complete it as soon as possible? As it was sent to only a sample of unions it is important that your views and experiences are included in the study if it is to be representative. It only takes a few minutes to complete.

Remember, all unions returning a completed questionnaire will be entered into a draw to win a signed copy of Professor Neil Carter's excellent book 'The Politics of the Environment', described by the journal 'Green Politics' as "arguably the best book of its kind available".

If by some reason you did not receive the questionnaire, or if you have mislaid it, please call me (0777 606 1955) or email me and I will send you a copy right away: tf510@york.ac.uk

Yours faithfully

Tom Farnhill
Mphil/Phd Candidate

APPENDIX G

Measuring Unions' Environmental Activities and Engagement

1. The **Environmental Activity Score** (EAS) is the sum of scores to 23 questions in the "UK Trade Unions and the Environment Survey". It is a basic measure of the extent of individual union's *attitudes* towards the green agenda and their *engagement* with it.

Question 4: One or more staff with direct responsibility for Environmental policy

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	1

Question 15: Support staff

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES (any number)	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	2

Question 21: Produces specialist environmental resources for members and activists

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	3

Question 22: Has *formal* committees for forming and implementing environmental policy

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	4

Question 23: Has *informal* committees for forming and implementing environmental policy

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	5

Question 24: How often does the union's National Executive Committee discuss environmental issues?

Options	Available Mark(s)
NEVER	0
OCCASIONALLY	0.33
REGULARLY	0.66
ALWAYS	1
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	6

Question 25: Commitment of union's senior officials

Options	Available Mark(s)
HIGHLY COMMITTED	1
COMMITTED	0.75
NEITHER COMMITTED NOR UNINTERESTED	0.5
RELATIVELY UNINTERESTED	0.25
COMPLETELY UNINTERESTED	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	7

Question 26: Participate in TUSDAC

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	8

Question 27: Regular contact with one or more EMO's

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	9

Question 28: Provides/encourages environmental training for activists and members

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	10

Question 29: % of branches that have allocated environmental responsibilities to one or more activists

Options	Available Mark(s)
0%	0
1%-10%	0.2
11%-30%	0.4
31%-50%	0.6
51%-70%	0.8
>70%	1
Don't Know	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	11

Question 30: % of activists for whom the environment is the sole or dominant role

Options	Available Mark(s)
<10%	0.2
11%-30%	0.4
31%-50%	0.6
51%-70%	0.8
>70%	1
Don't Know/not applicable	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	12

Question 32: % of Branch Committees containing a member or members sitting on them in his/her/their capacity as a union representative responsible for environmental matters

Options	Available Mark(s)
<10%	0.2
11%-30%	0.4
31%-50%	0.6
51%-70%	0.8
>70%	1
Don't Know/not applicable	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	13

Question 33: Any individuals (lay or otherwise) with environmental responsibilities at *intermediate* levels of the union

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
Cumulative Maximum Score Available	
14	

Question 34: Any structures responsible for environmental issues at intermediate levels of the union

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES	1
NO	0
Cumulative Maximum Score Available	
15	

Questions 36-51 inclusive: Time spent on a variety of environmental policy areas

Options	Available Mark(s) (*)
At least one "Significant Amounts of Time"	1
At least one "Fair Amount of Time"	0.5
All "No or little time"	0
Cumulative Maximum Score Available	
16	

(*) Only the highest relevant mark was awarded, and only once. So a union which spent "Significant Amounts of Time" on several environmental issues and "Fair Amounts of Time" on several others would still only receive 1 mark. This is designed to avoid discrimination against single sector unions which are less likely than multi-sector and general unions to encounter multiple environmental issues.

Question 52: Unions future environmental agenda

Options	Available Mark(s)
INCREASING SIGNIFICANTLY	1
INCREASING SLIGHTLY	0.5
STAYING THE SAME	0
DECREASING SLIGHTLY	0
DECREASING SIGNIFICANTLY	0
Cumulative Maximum Score Available	
17	

Question 53: Attitudes towards the environment

Options	Available Mark(s)
Statement 3 (*) received highest mark out of 10	0
Statement 3 (*) *did not* receive the highest mark out of 10	1
Cumulative Maximum Score Available	
18	

(*) "The Environment is a bit of a red-herring for unions .. .Compared with pay...and learning...and health and safety etc there is no attractive green 'product' for members and potential members"

Question 54: According to experience, how effective is the environment as a recruitment tool?

Options	Available Mark(s)
VERY EFFECTIVE	1
EFFECTIVE	1
NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	1
INEFFECTIVE	1
NO EXPERIENCE	0
Cumulative Maximum Score Available	
19	

Question 55: According to experience, how effective is the environment as a retention tool?

Options	Available Mark(s)
VERY EFFECTIVE	1
EFFECTIVE	1
NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	1
INEFFECTIVE	1
NO EXPERIENCE	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	20

Question 56: According to experience, how effective is the environment as a tool for recruiting new activists?

Options	Available Mark(s)
VERY EFFECTIVE	1
EFFECTIVE	1
NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	1
INEFFECTIVE	1
NO EXPERIENCE	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	21

Question 59: Implementing a workplace greening agenda?

Options	Available Mark(s)
YES (anywhere*)	1
NO	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	22

*Excludes in-house greening. Unions *only* implementing a green agenda within the union received 0 marks.

Question 60: According to experience, how effective is the environment in contributing to the union's influence with employers?

Options	Available Mark(s)
VERY EFFECTIVE	1
EFFECTIVE	1
NEITHER EFFECTIVE NOR INEFFECTIVE	1
INEFFECTIVE	1
NO EXPERIENCE	0
	Cumulative Maximum Score Available
	23

2. **The Environmental Motivation Score** (EMotS) scale is based on the mean score of respondents' answers to statements 1, 2 and 4 -12 of Question 53 of the questionnaire.

3. The **Total Number of Environmental Categories on Which Unions Spend 'Fair' or 'Significant' Amount of Time** scale is simply the sum of the number of environmental categories unions are engaging with for "Significant Amounts of Time" or "Fair Amounts of Time" and is based on respondents answers to Questions 36 – 51 of the questionnaire.

Appendix H

Scottish, Wales and Northern Ireland Congress Environmental Concerns

Scottish Trade Union congress – Environmental Concerns 2000-2008

CATEGORY	TOPICS/DISCOURSES
ENERGY	Pro-Energy Tax; Fuel Diversity/Balanced Energy Policy; Clean Coal; Investment in Renewables; biomass; Low Carbon Technology (inc. nuclear); National Self-sufficiency; Ending Fuel Poverty; Domestic Energy Efficiency
UNION POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES	Promote Environmental Reps' with Statutory Rights; Health and Safety Reps' environmental role
ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION AND GLOBAL WARMING	Pro-Emissions Trading Scheme; Monitoring of Carcinogens; Condemnation of US' withdrawal from Kyoto; Carbon Capture Technology
MARINE ENVIRONMENT AND POLLUTION	Increased risk of pollution posed by 'Flag of Convenience' sea vessels
WILDLIFE AND CONSERVATION	Positive role of Fishing Industry in Conserving Fish Stocks; organophosphates ban
GLOBALISATION	Environmental Record of Transnational Corporations
WATER	Better access to water companies' environmental data
MANUFACTURING AND ECONOMY	Sustainable; Socially and Environmentally Useful Production; Renewable Energy Equipment Production; Sustainable; Just Transition; Green Jobs; Skills (for a Low Carbon Economy)
TRANSPORT	Integrated Public Transport System; Provision of alternatives to road and air transport; pro-railways (people and freight); public ownership of public transport; privatisation and deregulation bad for the environment
BUSINESS PRACTICE	Tougher Corporate Responsibility Legislation
HUMAN HEALTH	Effects of Depleted Uranium on Communities near Defence Evaluation Research Agency Firing Ranges
FARMING AND FOOD	Public access to pesticides data
RECYCLING AND WASTE	Funding Alternatives to Landfill for the Disposal of NHS Clinical Instruments; re-use and reduction strategies in manufacturing
EMERGENCY SERVICES	Increase Capabilities of Fire Services to cope with Environmental Disasters
POLICY INSTRUMENTS	Procurement Procedures to incorporate Environmental criteria
INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS	Environmental Impact of a new Forth bridge; Funding of Full-size Clean Coal Combustion and Carbon Capture Demonstration plant
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT	Increased/secure Funding for Science; Opposition to closure of Banchory Centre for Ecology and Hydrology

Wales TUC – Environmental Concerns 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008

CATEGORY	TOPICS/DISCOURSES
ENERGY	Alternative Sources of Energy; Diversity and Flexibility of Energy Sources; Energy efficiency; Clean Coal Technology; Fuel Poverty; pro-nuclear
UNION POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES	Workplace Greening; Statutory Recognition for Environmental Representatives
ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION AND GLOBAL WARMING	Reduce Emissions
MANUFACTURING AND ECONOMY	Green Manufacturing Strategy; Skills Gaps associated with Transition to a Low Carbon Economy
TRANSPORT	Public Transport is better for the environment; development of road/rail/port hubs; Green School Transport Policies; nationalisation of railways; maritime element of an integrated transport strategy
RECYCLING AND WASTE	Opposition to pyrolisis and gasification; at-source recycling
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT	Concern about cuts in Government Science jobs

NIC – Environmental Concerns 2001; 2003; 2005; 2007; 2008

CATEGORY	TOPICS/DISCOURSES
ENERGY	Sustainable Energy Policy; Opposition to Nuclear Power
UNION POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES	Develop Workplace Greening Role
ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION AND GLOBAL WARMING	Campaign to tackle Climate Change
MARINE ENVIRONMENT AND POLLUTION	Restrictions on single-hulled vessels in Irish waters to limit risk of pollution in case of accidents
WATER	Public ownership of water and sewage industries is the best way to guarantee clean and safe water supplies
MANUFACTURING AND ECONOMY	Develop a Sustainable Industrial Policy
TRANSPORT	Public Transport better for the Environment
POLICY INSTRUMENTS	Corporate Killing to replace Corporate Manslaughter; Review of Environmental taxes
INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS	Opposition to Shell on-shore Gas Terminal

Appendix I

UGR Inspection Checklist

An inspection checklist

This checklist below is adapted from the Prospect guide *Negotiator's Guide to Greening your Workplace*.

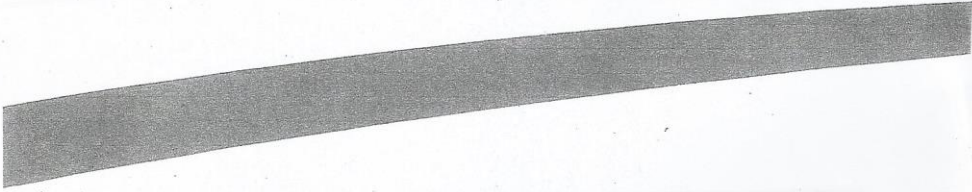| ENERGY	Yes	No	Comments
Has your organisation signed up to the Carbon Trust's carbon management programme, which helps large public and private sector organisations to reduce energy use?			
If you are in a large workplace, do you have combined heat and power (CHP) generators?			
HEATING AND LIGHTING			
Is your air conditioning programmed to come on only when the temperature reaches 24°C?			
Does your heating system switch off when it gets above 19°C?			
Are the thermostats in the right places and set to the right temperature?			
Is your cooling equipment regularly maintained?			
Do you have doors or windows open when the heating or air conditioning is on?			
Is your building properly insulated and draught-proofed?			
Can staff individually control heating, cooling and lighting in their workplace?			
Are all bulbs low energy (compact or modern fluorescent)?			
Is lighting on in areas, or at times of day, when there's enough daylight? Why?			
Do you have individual desk lamps?			
Do all staff turn off lights whenever and wherever they're not needed?			
Are motion sensor lights used in low-use areas?			

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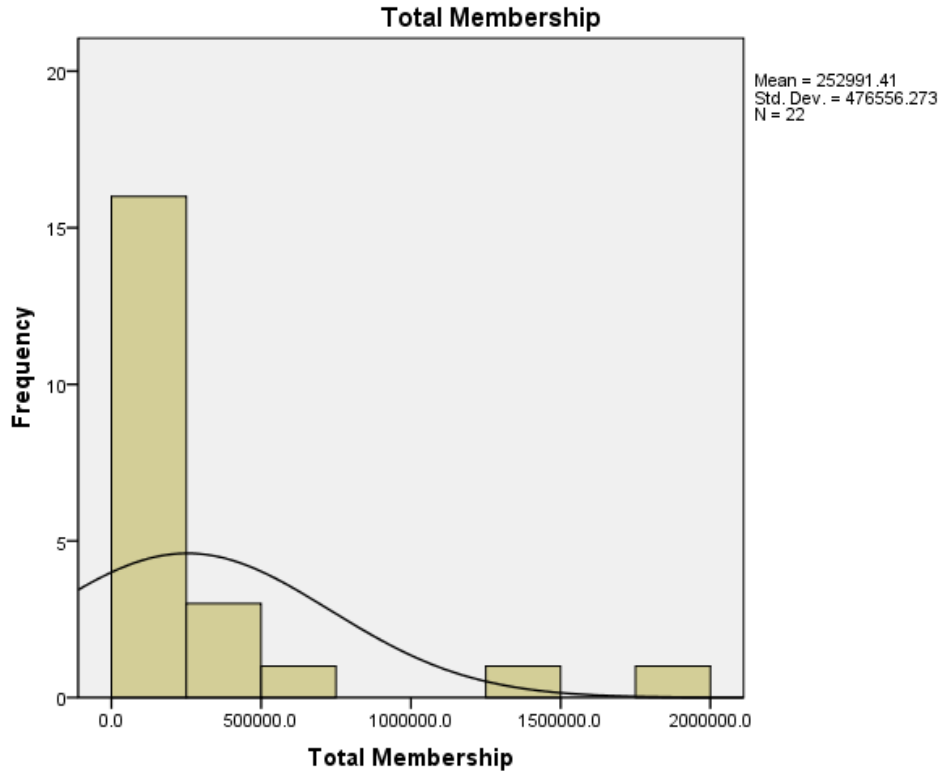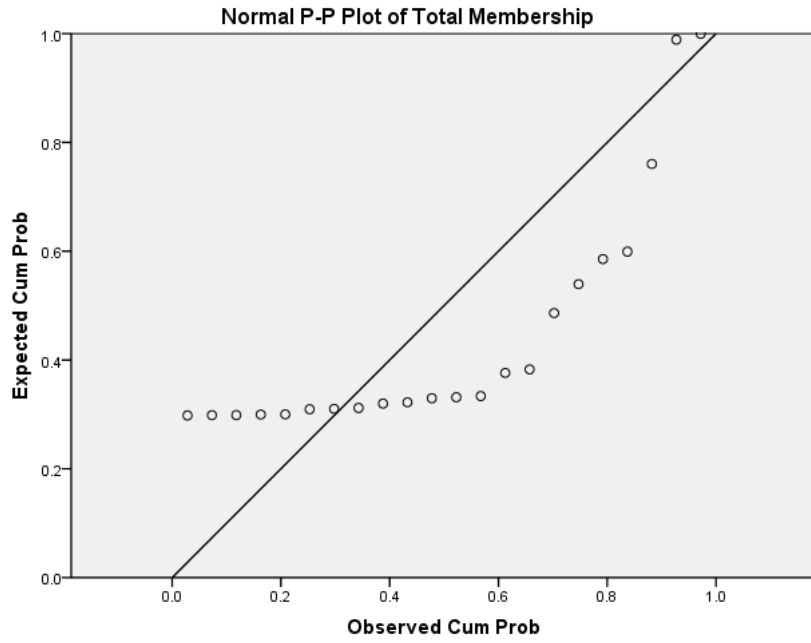| ENERGY	Yes	No	Comments
Is temperature an issue, either generally or at particular times of day?			
Is heating or cooling left on in areas, or at times of the year/day, when it doesn't need to be – or simultaneously?			
Is heating or ventilation blocked by furniture/ equipment?			
Does your workplace make good use of natural daylight?			
EQUIPMENT			
Is equipment regularly serviced and clearly labelled?			
Is any equipment left on when not in use? Why?			
Are there automatic power-reducing features, e.g. motion sensor lights, timers on water coolers, IT power-downs?			
Are all computer monitors flat screen?			
Are the energy-saving features on your office equipment activated, e.g. PCs, monitors, fax machines and printers?			
Is equipment labelled with the amount of energy it uses?			
Does equipment have an energy monitor?			
Is new equipment installed in a way that makes it easy to use its eco-features?			
Are staff fully trained in its use?			
Do PCs automatically power down after working hours?			
Do you have seven-day timers (which ensure appliances are not left on overnight and at weekends) on shared equipment, e.g. printers, vending machines and water coolers?			

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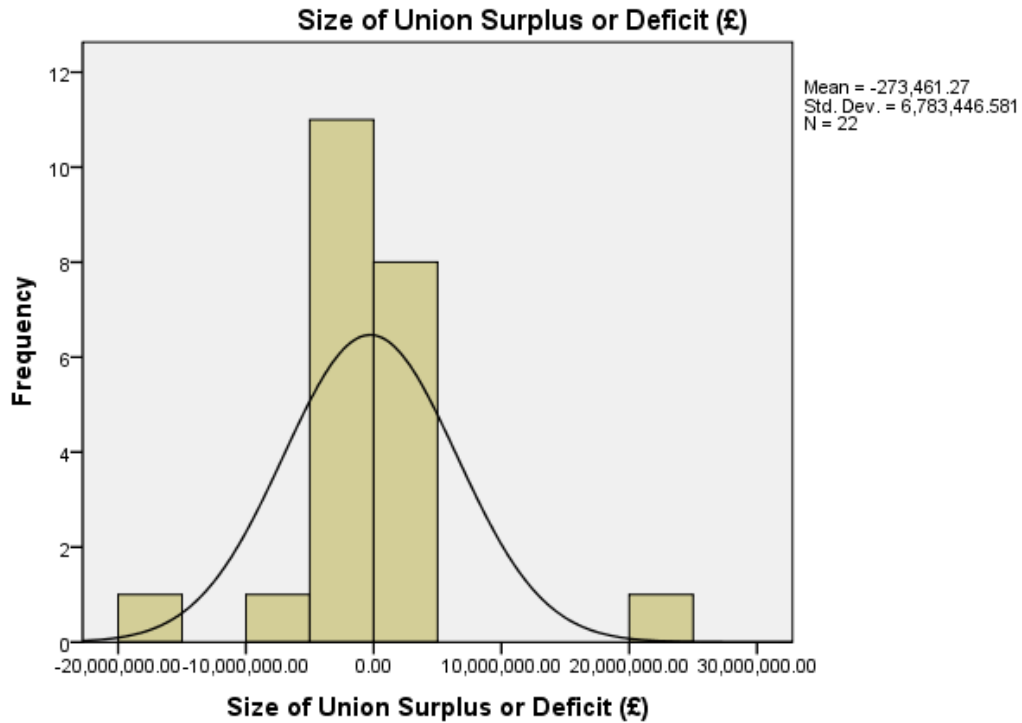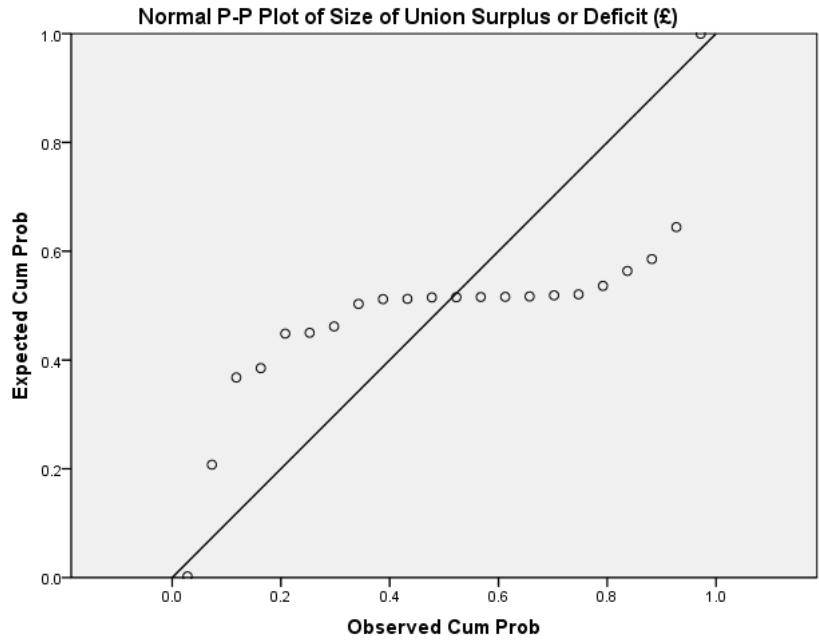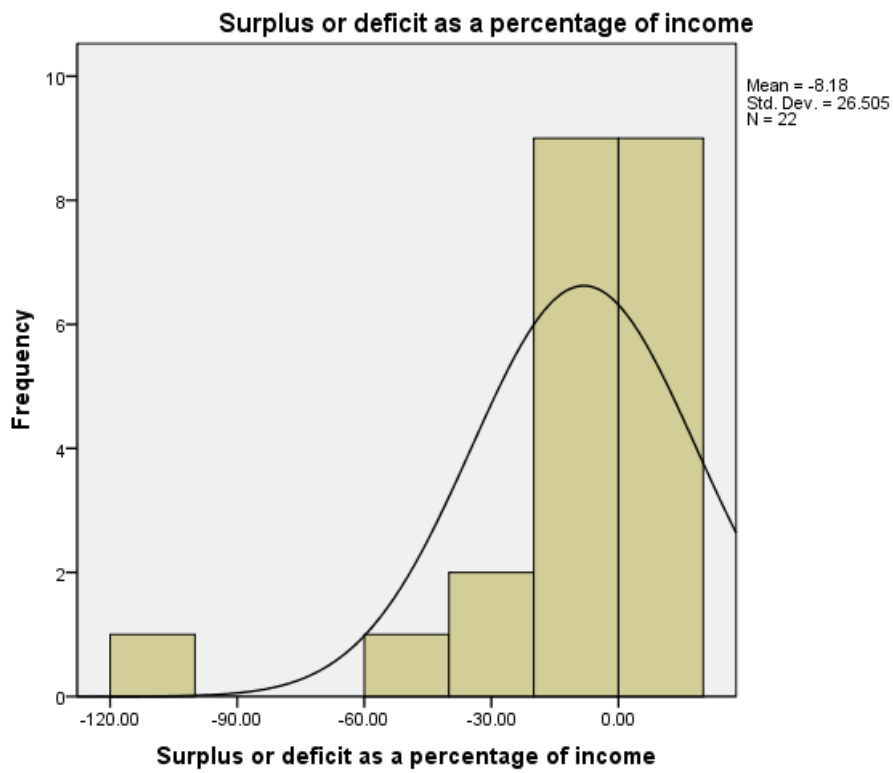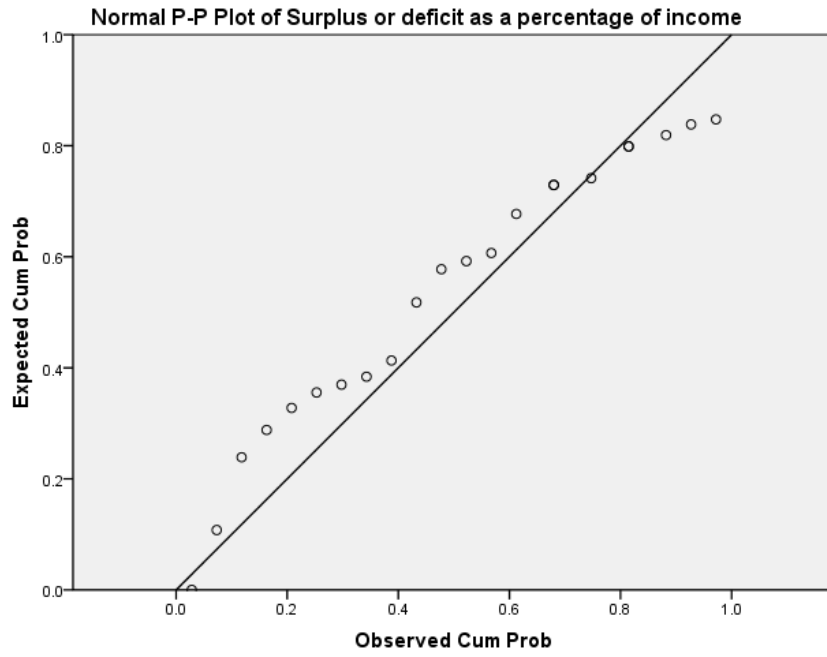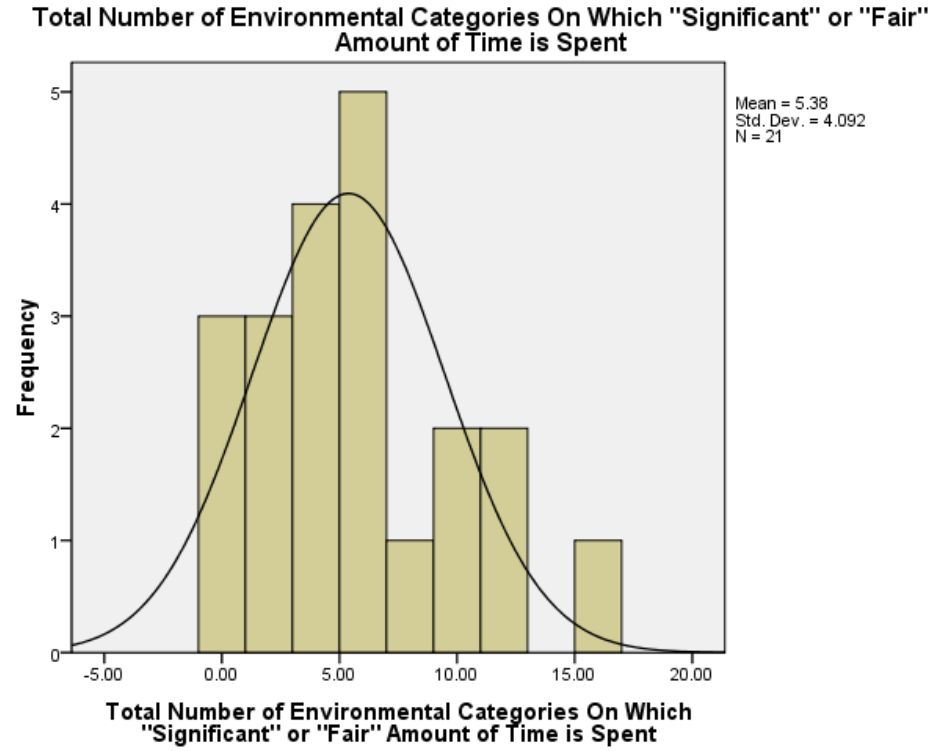| ENERGY	Yes	No	Comments
RECYCLING			
Does your workplace recycle everything possible, e.g.			
Paper			
Plastic			
Cans			
Glass			
All other major waste streams			
Mobile phones			
IT equipment			
Furniture			
Is everything bought recycled where possible?			
PAPER			
Does your workplace use unbleached, off-white 100% recycled paper?			
WATER			
Do all workers have access to clean drinking water, without having to rely on carbon-intensive plastic or glass bottles?			
Are water-saving measures in place?			

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Appendix J

Descriptive Statistics and Distribution of Key Variables

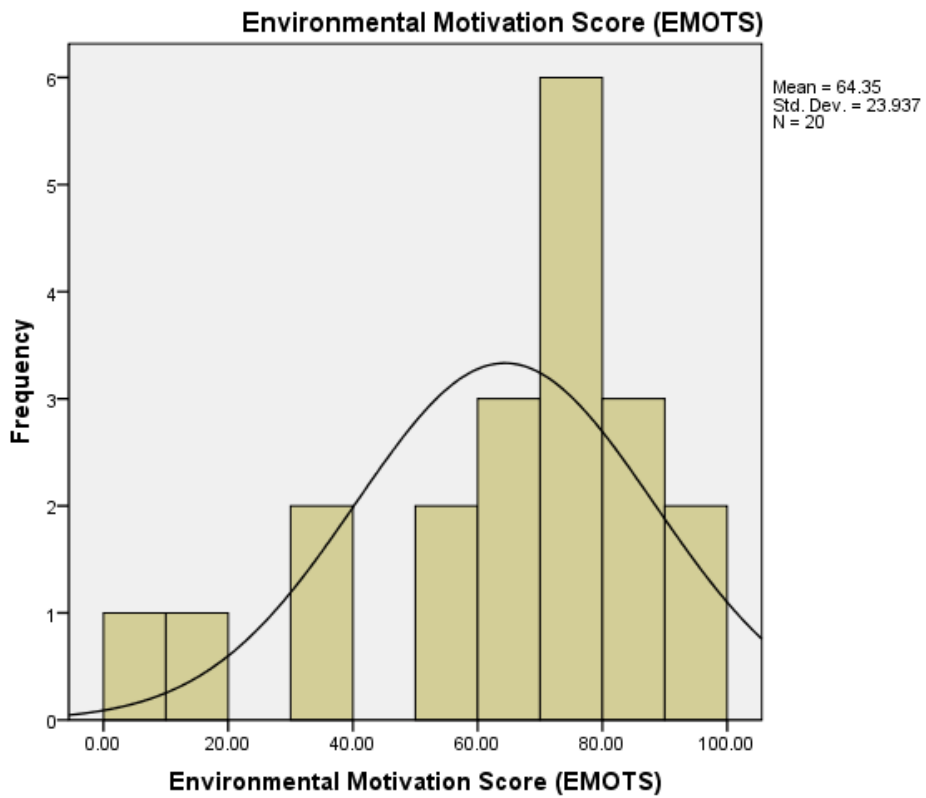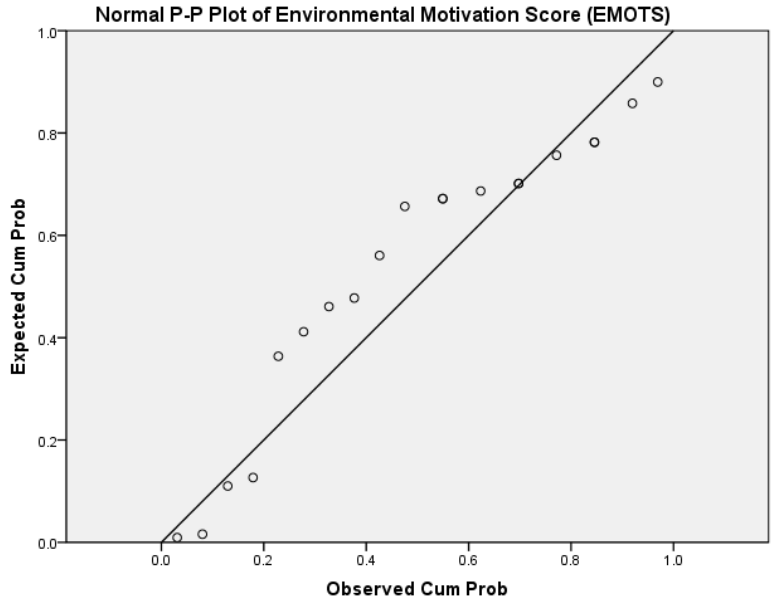|	**Descriptive Statistics**								
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
Total Membership	22	393.0	1892491.0	252991.409	476556.2732	2.696	.491	7.202	.953
Size of Union Surplus or Deficit (£)	22	-19,551,000.00	23,015,000.00	-273,461.2727	6,783,446.5814 4	.889	.491	9.493	.953
Surplus or deficit as a percentage of income	22	-101.00	19.00	-8.1818	26.50541	-2.134	.491	6.499	.953
Total Number of Environmental Categories On Which "Significant" or "Fair" Amount of Time is Spent	21	.00	15.00	5.3810	4.09239	.621	.501	-.044	.972
Environmental Motivation Score (EMOTS)	20	8.00	95.00	64.3500	23.93692	-1.230	.512	.879	.992
Environmental Activity Score (EAS)	21	.00	17.63	10.6052	5.89466	-.517	.501	-1.145	.972

Normal P-P Plot of Total Membership

Total Membership

Mean = 252991.41
Std. Dev. = 476556.273
N = 22

Normal P-P Plot of Size of Union Surplus or Deficit (£)

Size of Union Surplus or Deficit (£)

Mean = -273,461.27
Std. Dev. = 6,783,446.581
N = 22

Normal P-P Plot of Surplus or deficit as a percentage of income

Surplus or deficit as a percentage of income

Mean = -8.18
Std. Dev. = 26.505
N = 22

Normal P-P Plot of Total Number of Environmental Categories On Which "Significant" or "Fair" Amount of Time is Spent

Total Number of Environmental Categories On Which "Significant" or "Fair" Amount of Time is Spent

Mean = 5.38
Std. Dev. = 4.092
N = 21

Normal P-P Plot of Environmental Motivation Score (EMOTS)

Environmental Motivation Score (EMOTS)

Mean = 64.35
Std. Dev. = 23.937
N = 20

Normal P-P Plot of Environmental Activity Score (EAS)

Environmental Activity Score (EAS)

Mean = 10.61
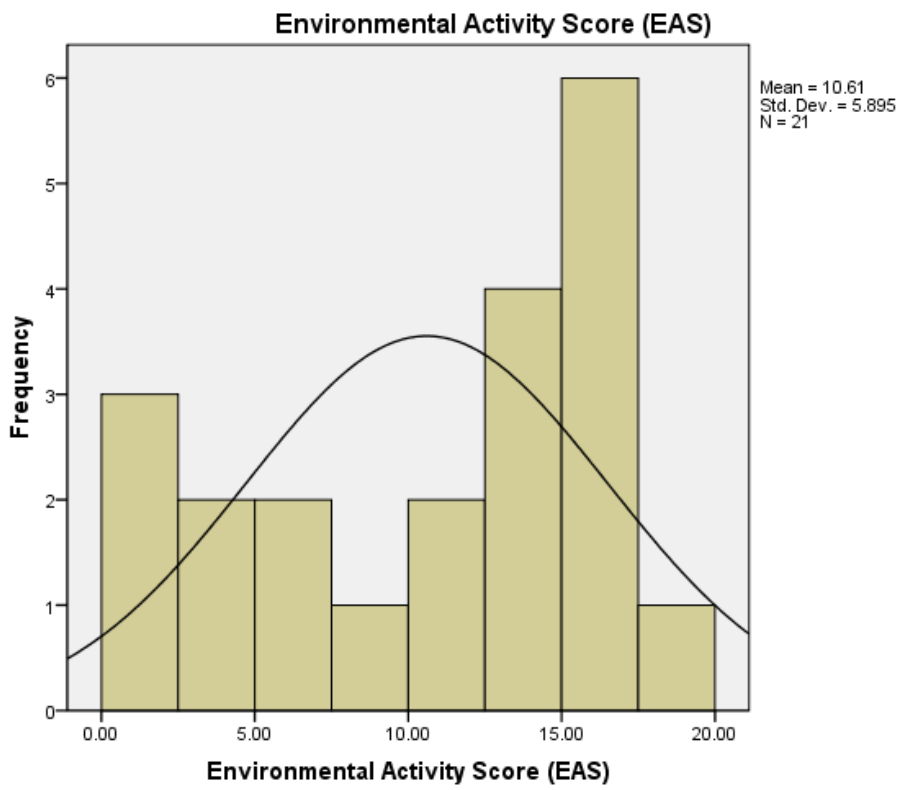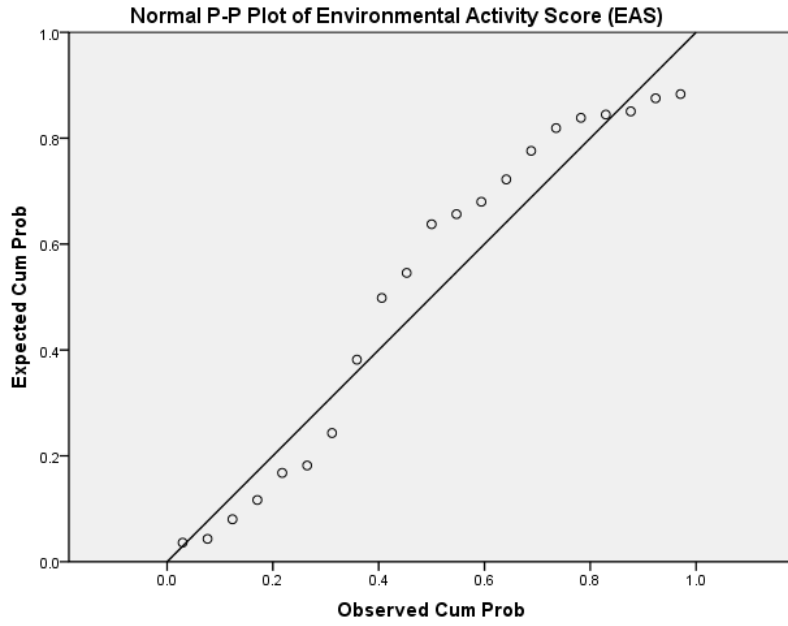Std. Dev. = 5.895
N = 21

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Total Membership

Total Membership has positive skewness (2.69) – indicating a clustering of memberships at the lower end of the distribution – and positive kurtosis (7.20) – indicating a further clustering of scores in the distribution 'tails' (high and low memberships).

Significance of skewness and kurtosis in small (<200) samples can be assessed by converting the values into *z*-scores by dividing the values by their standard error (Field, 2005). This gives a *z*-score for skewness of 2.82 and for kurtosis of 7.55. Both values are above the threshold for normality (+/- 1.96, significant at *p* <.05) indicating significant non-normal distribution (see also P-P plot and accompanying histogram).

Size of Union Surplus/Deficit(£)

Size of Union Surplus/Deficit(£) has positive skewness (.889) – indicating clustering of scores at the lower end of the distribution (higher deficits/lower surpluses) - and positive kurtosis (9.49) – indicating a further clustering of scores in the distribution 'tails'. The *z*- score for skewness is 0.93 and for kurtosis 9.95. The latter is significantly above the 1.96 threshold (significant at *p* <.05) and so the variable cannot be assumed to have normal distribution (see also P-P plot and accompanying histogram).

Size of Union surplus/Deficit as a % of Income

Size of Union surplus/Deficit as a % of Income has negative skewness at -2.134 and positive Kurtosis at 6.499. The respective *z*-scores are: 4.34 and 1.53 indicating non-normal distribution (see also P-P plot and accompanying histogram).

Total Number of Environmental Categories on which "Significant" or "Fair" Amount of Time is Spent

This displays positive skewness (0.621) and negative kurtosis (-.044). The respective *z* scores are: 1.23 and 0.04, both within the thresholds of normality (see P-P plot and accompanying histogram).

Environmental Motivation Score

EMotS displays negative skewness (-1.23) and positive kurtosis (.879). The *z* scores are 2.40 and 0.8 respectively, indicating (marginally) non-normal distribution (see P-P plot and accompanying histogram).

Environmental Activity Score

EAS displays negative skewness (-.517) and negative kurtosis (-1.145). The *z* scores are -1.03 and -1.177. These values are within the thresholds of normality (+/-1.96 significant at *p* <.05). See P-P plot and accompanying histogram.

Shapiro-Wilk W Test

The Shapiro-Wilk output is shown in the table below. Shapir-Wilk is a semi/non-parametric analysis of variance used to detect normality/non-normality, and is superior to Kolgomorov-Smirnov for small and medium samples (Conover, 1999; Royston, 1995; Field, 2005).

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
Total Membership	.582	22	.000
Size of Union Surplus or Deficit (£)	.611	22	.000
Surplus or deficit as a percentage of income	.804	22	.001
Total Number of Environmental Categories On Which "Significant" or "Fair" Amount of Time is Spent	.942	21	.244
Environmental Motivation Score (EMOTS)	.868	20	.011
Environmental Activity Score (EAS)	.903	21	.060

A significant value (*Sig*. <.05) for W rejects the H_0 i.e. that the sample is taken from a normal distribution. **Total Membership**, **Size of Union Surplus or Deficit (£)**, **Surplus or Deficit as a % of Income**, and **EMotS** are all non-normal. The distribution for **EAS** and **Total Number of Environmental Categories on which "Significant" or "Fair" Amount of Time is Spent** is normal. Appropriate parametric and non-parametric statistical tests are therefore used for the analysis.

Appendix K

Finances and Membership Trends of Respondent Unions

Income/Deficit/Surplus of Respondent Unions, 2008 (1)

Union	Income (£)	Deficit/Surplus (£) (2008)	Deficit/Surplus as a percentage of Income
Unite Ireland	151,298.00	-62,021.00	41
NIPSA	3,883,000.00	548.00	14
FDA	2,876,339.00	-69,747.00	2
Unite	137,361,000.00	-19,551,000.00	14
DSA	25,821.00	-4,234.00	16
USDAW	29,214,000.00	-5,801,000.00	20
YISA	69,059.00	13,269.00	19
GMB	55,163,000.00	47,960.00	9
HCSA	504,747.00	78,915.00	16
TSSA	4,924,854.00	-1,152,459.00	23
NUT	29,562,246.00	2,235,536.00	8
CWU	28,101,314.00	1,193,691.00	4
PCS	14,499,225.00	-2,562,361.00	18
FBU	10,298,306.00	816,154.00	8
WGGB	471,309.00	-12,218.00	3
URTU	1,939,959.00	343,803.00	18
UNISON	168,392,000.00	23,015,000	14
Connect	3,417,076.00	-926,108.00	27
BACM	218,805.00	-221,552.00	101
BFAWU	2,890,517.00	-17,610.00	1
Prospect	12,753,000.00	-2,256,000.00	17
UCU	16,053,561.00	-1,124,714.00	7

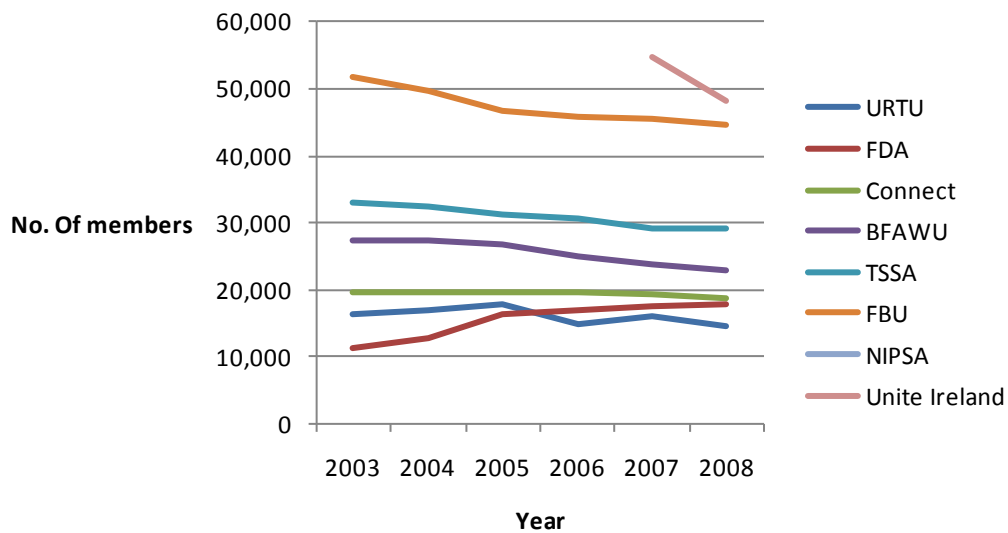(1) Survey conducted prior to the merger of Prospect and Connect in 2009

Source: British and Northern Ireland Certification Offices

Membership Trends of Micro Unions 2003-2008

No. of Members

Legend: DSA, WGGB, HCSA, YISA, BACM
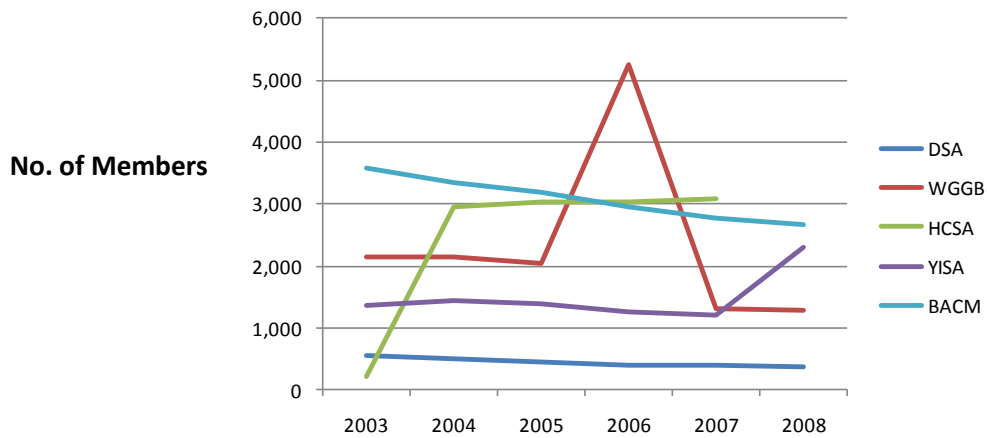
Membership Trends of Small Unions 2003-2008 (1)

No. Of members

Year

Legend: URTU, FDA, Connect, BFAWU, TSSA, FBU, NIPSA, Unite Ireland

(1)   Survey conducted prior to merger of connect with Prospect in 2009

Membership Trends of Medium Unions 2003-08 (1)
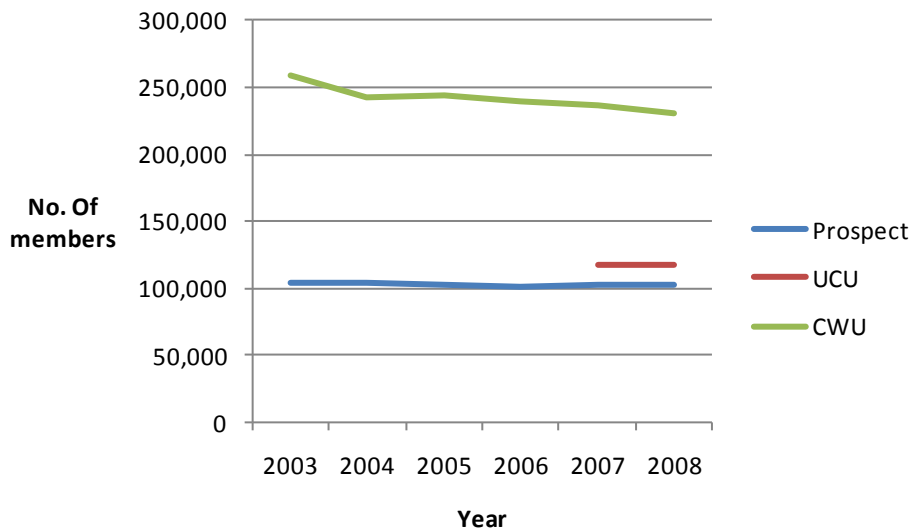
(1) Survey conducted prior to merger of Prospect with Connect in 2009

Source: British and Northern Ireland Certification Offices

Membership Trends of Large Unions 2003-08
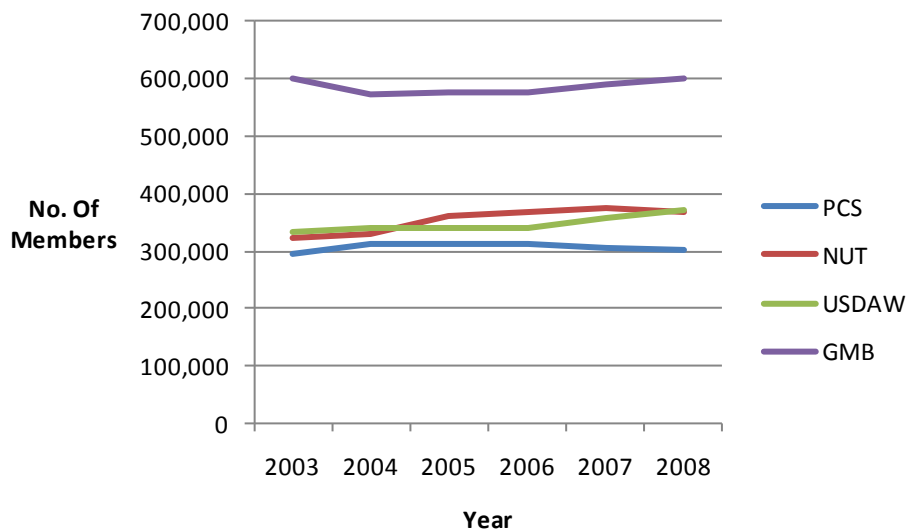
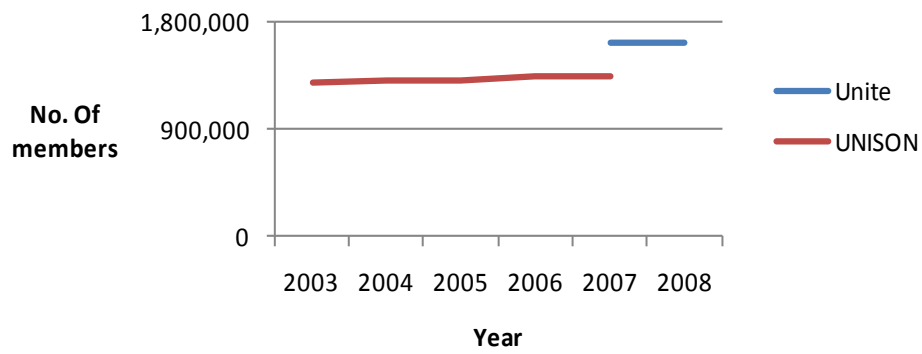Source: British and Northern Ireland Certification Offices

Membership trend of Super Unions 2003-08 (1)

(1) Unite was formed in 2007, therefore earlier membership data are unavailable. 2008 membership data for UNISON was not
     available at the time of writing

Source: British and Northern Ireland Certification Offices

Appendix L.

DEFRA York Newsletter Launching the

TUC GreenWorkplaces Project

pcs

Public and
Commercial
Services Union

PCS Defra York Branch

To: **All Union Members at York**
cc Branch Executive Committee, Prospect and FDA

24th May 2007

PCS Defra Group Environmental Issues Newsletter Update

<u>Invite to Greening the Workplace – York – 13th June 2007</u>

The TUC launched its Greenworkplaces project in 2006 with funding from the Carbon Trust. This aimed to increase union involvement in green initiatives in the workplace. Two of the six pilot projects are in workplaces where PCS organises – the first in the British Museum the next in Defra.

PCS Defra has now received TUC sponsorship for the second pilot this project will be at Kingspool, York; which was identified as the initial pilot project for Defra due to the current building refresh project and the availability of environmental data.

Between me, the TUC and George Waldron (Glasgow University) we have identified the **13th June** as a suitable project training date mainly due to availability of rooms and Georges availability.

The Greenworkplaces projects have played a very important role in raising awareness of green issues in the workplace and in encouraging union members to come forward as 'green reps' and receive training.

The training day is likely to follow the TUC methods for teaching and learning, with active participation. I will be discussing materials / resources with the TUC and George – further details and timetable will be available shortly.

Defra has agreed that a full day's facility time would be granted for those members attending.

Places will be allocated on a first come served basis. So please let me know as soon as possible if you are able to attend.

Graham V Bowers
Room 326, Foss House
Ext 5429

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Appendix M

GOSH Joint Environmental Committee – Terms of Reference

"To roll out new environmental initiatives, assist the Trust with current projects in line with the NHS Carbon Reduction Strategy. The JEC will consider the environmental impacts of all the Trust's Operational Polices, to identify where action is needed to minimise environmental impact, in particular:

Environmental Impacts

- Addressing issues around energy conservation, waste management and the prevention of pollution
- To reduce wastage , with time-bound targets for continual emission reduction, in line with reducing the carbon footprint
- Ensuring that those purchasing equipment, heating, lighting, waste systems and other materials take full account of environmentally friendly technology
- Ensuring that those using equipment and systems seek to do so in a way that reduces excessive consumption of energy and materials and promotes re-use and recycling wherever possible"

Source: GOSH JEC (undated)

Common Abbreviations Used

ADC – Annual Delegate Conference

BACM – British Association of Colliery Managers

BDC – Biennial Delegate Conference

BEC – Branch Executive Committee

BFAWU – Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union

BME – Black and Minority Ethnic (employees)

BT – British Telecom

CBI – Confederation of British Industry

CCTU – Campaign Against Climate Change Trade Union Group

CPSA – Civil and Public Services Association

CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility

CWU – Communication Workers Union

DEFRA – Department of Environment Food and Rural Affairs

DETR – Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions

DSA – Diageo Staff Association

EAS – Environmental Activity Score

EMO – Environmental Movement Organisation

EMotS – Environmental Motivation Score

EPO – Environmental Policy Officer

EWG – Environmental Work Groups

FBU – Fire Brigades Union

FDA – First Division Association

FoE – Friends of the Earth

FTO – Full Time Officer

GC – General Council (TUC)

GMB – General Municipal Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union

GOSH – Great Ormond Street Hospital

HCSA – Hospital Consultants Staff Association

HR(M) – Human Resources (Management)

JEC – Joint Environmental Committee

LER – Labour Environmentalist Relationship

LRD - Labour Research Department

NEC – National Executive Committee

NIC – Northern Ireland Committee (of Irish Federation of Trade Unions)

NIPSA – Northern Ireland Public Services Association

NMC – New Middle Class

NSM – New Social Movement

NUM – National Union of Mineworkers

NUT - National Union of Teachers

OS – Official Side

OSH – Occupational Health and Safety

PCS – Public and Commercial Services Union

POS – Political Opportunity Structures

RMT – Resource Mobilisation Theory

SME – Small and Medium Size Enterprise

STUC – Scottish Trades Union Congress

TGWU – Transport and General Workers Union

TSSA – Transport and Salaried Staffs Association

TUC – Trades Union Congress

TUS – Trade Union Side

TUSDAC – Trades Unions Sustainable Development Advisory Committee

UCATT – Union of Construction and Allied Technical Trades

UCU – University and College Union

UGR – Union Green Representative

ULR – Union Learning Representative

URTU – United Road Transport Union

USDAW – Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

WGGB – Writers Guild of Great Britain

YISA – Yorkshire Independent Staff Association

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