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Rethinking Mobilization: A Case Study of Mobilization Processes in Higher Education

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Declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own work.

Perna Tambay

Abstract

Rethinking Mobilization: A Case Study of Mobilization Processes in Higher Education – Prerna Tambay

The existing industrial relations literature overemphasizes mobilization as a process of participation in a union and underemphasizes it as a process of participation in collective actions such as strikes. The latter process is difficult to study because strikes are so infrequent. The researcher utilized the opportunity provided by the current wave of strikes in British Higher Education to fill this gap in the literature.

Mobilization theory, as proposed by Kelly (1998), provides a solid framework through which to understand the overall process of the mobilization of workers (spanning participation in trade union activities as well as collective actions such as strikes). However, the field of industrial relations has been impacted upon by technological advancements, changes in the demographics of workers and union membership; the economic crisis, subsequent policy changes and new proposals by the ruling government based on its ideology. Henceforth, there is a need to revisit the current sense-making process of workers and how these workers participate in unions and collective actions proposed by unions: how workers are transformed from consensus mobilization (union participation) to action mobilization (participating in strike action).

The current study adds value to the existing literature by focusing on the reasons driving participation in collective actions such as strikes. The researcher has tested the determinants of consensus mobilization predicted by union participation literature. A further analysis was on the level of action mobilization and how it

varies, depending on the level of consensus mobilization. Alongside testing the mobilization theory, this research helps to understand the role of framing perspectives, networks and emotions in understanding the actual mobilization process, which goes beyond union participation and discussion about injustice, leadership and collective action.

The findings of the researcher are focused on the determinants of consensus mobilization and action mobilization (and how this varies depending on the level of consensus mobilization). The research began by testing the mobilization theory to study the variation in voting behaviour and consensus mobilization. To achieve this objective the researcher used a positivistic paradigm. To study action mobilization and to predict variations, the researcher explored research frameworks from the area of social movements. The researcher used a phenomenological paradigm and found that framings, social/digital networks and emotions play important roles in mobilization, alongside injustice and leadership in collectivisation of worker interests.

The key contribution of this research to the literature is that it describes in a revised mobilization model. This model describes the actions that the trade union needs to take to mobilize workers for consensus and action mobilization, related to framing, networks and emotions. Essentially mobilization happens in four interconnected steps: mobilization potential, action mobilization, motivation to participation and barriers to participation, where the increase and decrease in the mobilization process is influenced by how the networks of groups and sub-groups are targeted by social movement organisations (SMOs), how effectively the framing process is used by SMOs and how they manage to arouse the emotions of the targeted individuals and groups.

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Abbreviations

ACAS	Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service
ATL	Association of Teachers and Lecturers
CATNET	Categories and Networks
CIPD	Chartered Institute of Personnel Development
DA	Disability Allowance
HE	Higher Education
IBM	International Business Machines Corporation
NASUWT	National Association of School Masters/Union of Women Teachers
NHS	National Health Service
NUT	National Union of Teachers
SMO	Social Movement Organization
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UCEA	University College Employers Association
UCU	University College Union
USS	University Superannuation Scheme

Chapter One: Introduction

Social movements are important features of society. Historically, society has witnessed various forms of social movements, including the LGBT movement, apartheid, the women's movement, boycotts and strike actions. There is a substantial amount of literature dealing with mobilization for participation in social movements. However, there is scope to investigate this mobilization process which helps individuals, organizations and states to make sense of the events happening around them. Some individuals participate in social movements and some do not, and it is necessary to understand these behavioural preferences. How do various actors in society influence the mobilization process? What techniques and tools do these influencers use? How does the process of participation in collective action happen, from consensus mobilization, through motivation to participation and efforts towards the removal of barriers? How does the degree or level of participation vary and what are the factors responsible for varying degrees of participation?

Moreover, the existing industrial relations literature overemphasizes mobilization as a process of participation in a union and underemphasizes it as a process of participation in collective actions such as strikes. The latter process is difficult to study because collective actions are infrequent. To fill this gap in the literature, the researcher wanted to utilize the opportunity provided by the current wave of strikes in British Higher Education (HE). The need to study the mobilization process and find answers to why individuals and social actors behave the way they behave has motivated the researcher to investigate mobilization theory in detail and to contribute in investigating the role of frames, networks and emotions in the process

of mobilization. The researcher aimed to investigate four main questions, first, what are the determinants of consensus and action mobilization for collective actions organized by trade unions among workers? Second, how do trade unions leverage framing to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and action short of a strike? Third, how do trade unions leverage networks to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and action short of a strike? Fourth, how do trade unions leverage emotions to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and action short of strike?

To address these research questions, the researcher has applied a mixed-methods approach (qualitative and quantitative). The researcher conducted longitudinal repeated measure research studying strike actions between 2011 and 2014 in the British Higher Education (HE) system.

The researcher tested the mobilization theory and found the determinants of consensus and action mobilization using survey research. The qualitative data collected through interviews, participation observations and secondary data analysis helped to establish how individuals make sense of the events happening around them. It helped to understand what the determinants of mobilization (consensus and action) are, as well as how social movement organizations (SMOs) and unions use frames, social/digital networks and emotions for mobilization. This is a rare study in the industrial relations literature which explains, in detail, the drivers of consensus mobilization and action mobilization.

The recent wave of strike action in the public sector, underground rail and academia has provided an opportunity to find answers to issues which are only partially addressed in the literature of Industrial relations. The existing literature is

mainly focused on mobilization as a process of participation in a union. However, the mobilization process needs deeper investigation in terms of how the mobilization process goes beyond union participation to participation in strike actions. Why do people have various preferences in voting for strike action? Why do some people participate in strikes while others do not? How do people make sense of the events affecting them? How do various actors, including social movement organizations, use frames, networks and emotions to influence participation in social movements?

It is nearly two decades since the milestone mobilization theory proposed by Kelly (1998) helped to understand the mobilization process. However, the field of British HE has changed in multiple ways, mainly in terms of demographics, technology, economics and labour politics. These changes demand deeper investigation and an extension of the mobilization theory proposed by Kelly (1998) to develop our understanding by investigating the current strike actions and mobilization process in British HE. Most importantly, strikes do not occur frequently and the opportunity to study the mobilization process for strike participation (from joining a union, being active in a union, to actually participating in strike action) is a rare opportunity for any researcher. The strike actions that occurred in Higher Education between 2011 and 2014 provided an opportunity to study the actual mobilization process and add value to the existing literature.

1.1 Research Context

The British Higher Education system has witnessed a wave of collective actions in 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014 over the issues of pay, pensions and job security.

In the aftermath of the May 2010 general election, the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties formed the first peace-time UK coalition government for over eighty years. This coalition government was led by a Conservative Prime Minister, David Cameron. As this longitudinal and repeated measure study took place during the governance of the coalition government, it becomes necessary to understand that government's intervention, their socio-economic policies, how employment relations were impacted by the policies and how they changed the employment relations. Williams and Scott (2016:3-4) argue that after the 2008-09 recession and financial crisis it was necessary to have a stable government to tackle the huge budget deficit. Conservative and Liberal Democratic ideology and political differences did not make them obvious partners. However, the coalition provided a significant chance of having a secure government, capable of serving a full parliamentary term and making tough economic decisions. The coalition designed a deficit-reduction strategy based largely on public spending cuts. Politically, this programme helped to bind the coalition together and allowed it to advocate the view that Labour's extravagant spending was to blame for the economic difficulties. Deficit reduction was consistent with a neo-liberal agenda in the interest of reducing the size of the state and rolling back the role of government. Williams and Scott (2016) further argue that, on one hand, the major set-piece battle over public-sector pensions proved the main example of public-sector resistance to coalition policies. Austerity led to major reductions in direct state

employment, particularly in non-protected departments such as the police. On the other hand, the coalition's changes to state employment relations were characterized by the continuation of a mainly indirect approach to reform, through the expansion of allegedly 'depoliticized' intermediate operational bodies, such as academies, free schools and NHS Foundation Trusts. These have gradually corroded systems of setting pay and conditions nationally and the unions' ability to represent their members in an intensified atmosphere of financial stringency and 'labour exclusion'. The restructuring of public employment and employment relations by stealth was central to the coalition's agenda, under the guise of unavoidable austerity.

Zero-hours contracts have been one of the major developments in the context of employment in recent years. There are various estimates of the number of employees with zero-hours contracts. However, the December 2015 Chartered Institute of Personnel Development (CIPD) survey report titled "Zero-hours and short-hours contracts in the UK: Employer and employee perspectives" (CIPD, 2015) suggests that around 1.3 million workers are employed under zero-hours contracts. The coalition government claimed that these contracts empower employees to choose their work and that they are not obliged to accept work offered to them. However, Welch (2016) argues that the essence of any type of zero-hours contract is that it constitutes a form of casual labour, which is both very insecure and enhances employer power by ensuring that employment rights are never secured or are rendered largely useless. Welch (2016) further argues that the use of zero-hours contracts must be seen as part of a structural shift in the ways people are employed, which has also generated a growth in temporary employment contracts, part-time working, agency working, internships and

contracts designating workers as being self-employed. These unusual forms of working have become the norm, particularly in retail and service sectors. Workers belonging to these categories are often put into inferior positions to full-time employees in terms of working conditions and job security. Formally, part-time employees were in the same position as full-time employees after a particular duration of employment when it came to the acquisition of statutory employment rights, but in practice it may be that zero-hours contracts will also be temporary employees, so they may not work long enough to secure statutory rights. The coalition government succeeded in its aims of reducing unemployment and inflation, but it remains arguable whether, to the extent that these objectives have been secured by creating a low-paid and insecure workforce, this is the best way to produce a healthy and dynamic economy. However, it is definitely not the fairest.

Zero-hours contracts are quite widespread in the HE sectors too. Based on Freedom of Information Requests to 275 Further Education (FE) colleges in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, the University College Union (UCU) found that of the 142 which responded, 75 use zero-hours contracts for teaching, research and/or academic staff. Among those using zero-hours contracts, 47.2% of all teaching-only staff, 15.5% of all teaching staff and 12.4% of all academic staff (Use of zero-hours contracts report (UCU, 2013) www.ucu.org.uk)

French and Hodder (2016) argue that, following the 2015 election, the Conservative government has been explicit in its attempt to weaken trade unions further, namely through the introduction of the Trade Union Act 2016. This Act places additional hurdles in the way of taking industrial action, restricting facilities time, requiring public sector unions effectively to re-recruit their members and making it harder for unions to use their members' money for political activity,

including funding the Labour Party. They further argue that under the dominant neo-liberal paradigm, the 'legitimate' role for trade unions is, at best, one based upon productivity coalitions, life-long learning and individual representation, not collective organization, individual struggle and political campaigning.

The Guardian reported on 10 October 2011 that employers wanted to put new lecturers on career-average pensions, rather than final salary pensions in the Universities Superannuation Scheme (USS). A normal pension age of 65 was to be introduced from 1 October 2010 for all employees below 55 years of age. Instead of the then 6.35% employee contributions and 16% employer contributions into the scheme, the employee contribution rate for members of the final salary scheme would increase to 7.5%, while employee contributions for those on the new career average scheme would be 6.5%. Considering pension increases adjusted for increases in Consumer Prices Index (CPI) capped to a maximum of 10%, the UCU view was that the average lecturer could lose more than £100,000 during retirement due to the changes.

Due to the economic crisis of 2007-08, there was pressure on pay and pensions in the higher education sector, resulting in a salary rise of 1% in 2008 by employers. This was followed by a real-term salary loss of 13% over the period of 5 years from 2008 to 2013. This eroded living standards and the union found this 1% salary rise inadequate, squeezing incomes for all and hitting the lowest paid especially hard as living costs outstripped pay rises. Unions expected fair pay for a fair job. Moreover, unions expected pay restraints to be applied equally, but after 2009, the number of staffs paid over £100,000 increased substantially, while the amount spent on other employees' salaries fell (www.ucu.org.uk).

Based on a UCU strike hand-out in October 2011, the union seemed to believe that HE institutions continued to add to their reserves, since surpluses in the sector had been over £2 billion, as student fee income rises may have more than offset cuts in government grants. However, the hand-out observed that there was large-scale investment by universities in everything except staff pay, there was a greater gender gap in HE than the rest of the public sector and over 4,000 employees in HE were paid below the living wage.

The University College Employers Association (UCEA) claimed that, due to the financial issues and challenges faced by HE employers after the 2007 financial crisis which were visible to employees, their actions regarding pay, pensions and job security were justified and surpluses in the HE sector were not a pot of unallocated money and hence did not indicate injustice to employees (Times Education News, 31st October 2013)

The above differences in views between the stakeholders from the government, the employers and the trade unions led employees in HE to take collective action in defense of their pay, pensions and job security. UCU took a lead in mobilizing employees for these collective actions.

After multiple failed negotiations with the government and employers' representatives up to March 2011, UCU proposed collective action and mobilized its members against these reforms. In March and September 2011, ballots were conducted to ascertain the views of employees in HE over strike action and actions short of a strike. The UCU also joined hands with other education trade unions on 26 October 2011 to lobby MPs in parliament about pension reforms. UCU was of

the opinion that HE employees should not take responsibility for a crisis they had not created.

These reforms, the government's ideology, related events and their impact provided an exceptional opportunity to study the process of the mobilization of HE employees for collective action, potentially to augment mobilization theory as formulated in industrial relations literature. It also highlighted new insights from current social movement theory related to the framing activities of SMOs, furthermore, the role of emotions and networks have not been directly applied to the study of strike action. Secondly, while industrial relations literature is rich in studies focused on mobilization for participation in trade union activities, studies of mobilization for specific strike action events are not as rich in number, breadth and depth. The present study focuses on mobilization for strike action and aims to describe the overall process of the mobilization of workers at different levels of union participation.

1.2 Positioning of the research in existing literature

Mobilization theory as proposed by Kelly (1998) provides a solid framework to understand industrial collective actions. However, the current field of industrial relations has gone through many changes such as the changing demographics of workers, union memberships, technology advancement, economic crisis and subsequent policy changes, new proposals (austerity measures) by the ruling government and the ideology of the ruling government. These changes demand taking a re-look at the current sense-making process of workers and how these workers participate in unions and collective actions proposed by unions, and how

workers are transformed from consensus mobilization (union participation) to action mobilization (participating in strike action).

As discussed in detail in the literature review chapter, there are four theoretical approaches to collective action in social movements. Those approaches are: rational choice theory, resource mobilization, political opportunity structures and cultural cognitive perspectives.

Industrial relations literature describes participation in a union as mobilization. However, the researcher finds that mobilization is about more than union participation. Mobilization happens in two phases: consensus mobilization, defined as “dissemination of the views of the movement organization” (Klandermans, 1984) and action mobilization, defined as “transformation of those who adopt the view of the movement into active participants” (Klandermans, 1984). The level of action mobilization depends on the level of consensus mobilization. Consensus mobilization is the process by which a social movement tries to obtain support for its point of view. It is directed towards influencing knowledge, beliefs and attitude. Action mobilization is the process by which a social movement musters participant in activities for the achievement of its goals. It is therefore directed towards influencing behaviour (Klandermans, 1984:107-108). Union participation is a good measure of consensus mobilization because it is the support of people for unions’ overall point of view. Participation in collective actions, like strikes, is a good measure of action mobilization.

Tilly (1978) proposes a model for the processes by which collective actions happen in general. His model is useful for understanding the macro and micro-structural drivers of collective actions by workers as well as the mobilization process which

matches the supply to the demand. However, according to Kelly (1998), the description of the micro-structural drivers of collective action is limited, in that the model assumes that the collective interests of the workers are given a priori, and it does not explain the process by which collective interests emerge from individual interests.

Kelly (1998) addresses the above gap by describing a theory of how collective interests emerge from individual interests and result in collective actions. Kelly (1998) also describes how cycles of worker mobilization, and state and employer counter-mobilization happen due to group and inter-group dynamics involved in collective interest definition and mobilization for collective actions. However, Gall (2000) points out that Kelly (1998) does not explain how workers and trade unions move between and sustain higher and lower levels of collective interests in response to state and employer counter-mobilization activities.

Leveraging Gall (2000, 2003) and Frege and Kelly (2003), Gahan and Pekarek (2013) use the concept of framing from the social movement literature to fill this gap. The framing perspective describes how trade unions strategically seek to construct higher or lower forms of collective identities by framing well-articulated grievances to mobilize workers for collective actions, against counter-framing by state and employers seeking to prevent such mobilization of workers. The 'framing' perspective also theorises the work undertaken by trade unions to change norms, beliefs, symbols and identities, including stories to produce solidarity, motivate participation and sustain the collective actions.

Along with the above-discussed theoretical approaches in the industrial relations literature, networks (sub-groups, categories) and emotions play an important role

in the process of mobilization. Overall, the existing industrial relations literature is sparse on the roles of framing, networks, social categories and emotions in the process of mobilization of workers.

Social and digital networks play a key role in social movement mobilization (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987; Oliver and Marwell, 2001; Passy and Giugni, 2001; Tindall, 2015; Diani and Mische, 2015). A social network of individuals is an important predictor for explaining why those individuals join social movement organizations and why they participate in activities organized by social movement organizations. Their identity and ideology are shaped through their social networks, and those with similar identities and ideologies form their own groups. Networks can create opportunities for mobilization and can also link individuals and groups to other movement actors and potential actors and help in understanding the behaviour of people in social movements.

Focusing on emotions, there are anomalies in the mobilization literature (Goodwin et al., 2001; Flam and King, 2005; Wettergen, 2005; Klandermans, 2015). Emotions are not just a biological characteristic or attribute, but an integral part of the sense-making process of human behaviour. It is necessary to understand the role of emotions in participation in collective action such as how anger and grief are translated into injustice, how the emotion of fear keeps people away from participating in collective action and how emotions of hope and the joy of success transition people to engage at higher levels of collective action. Other questions to consider are, how an emotion like shame is widely used by social movement actors to create guilt in the minds of people involved in, or affected by, the collective action and how this transitions people to engage at a different level of

collective action, and how the emotion of solidarity helps people to participate in collective action.

The arena of British HE has also changed in terms of technology. It is now easily possible to approach multiple individuals by making effective use of technology. It has become easier to maintain a website for providing more information to potential and existing members of a social movement organization. With dynamic sites such as Facebook and Twitter, the time it takes to reach people has changed dramatically. Technology thus has become a central tool to mobilize individuals for collective action. Therefore, digital networks and technology also deserve attention.

Apart from testing mobilization theory and studying the role of framing, networks (sub-groups, categories) and emotions, using both qualitative and quantitative data has helped to develop a better understanding of the actual mobilization process, which goes beyond merely union participation.

[1.3 Contribution of research to the existing literature](#)

1. The researcher has tested the determinants of consensus mobilization predicted by the union participation literature. The researcher finds that the determinants of consensus mobilization by SMOs, as measured by union participation are union instrumentality, union procedural justice, job satisfaction, workplace injustice as described in the union participation literature. However, the researcher finds that union framing activities targeting various networks and sub-groups in order to arouse their emotions, form the process by which these independent variables influence union participation.

2. Based on the extension of a theoretical framework from the literature, the researcher has analyzed how the level of action mobilization varies depending on the level of consensus mobilization, specific injustice agenda for strike, measures of justification for action mobilization, action mobilization barrier reduction efforts and union messaging contact, and proposed a quantitative model covering these variables.

3. Along with testing the mobilization theory quantitatively, this research helps to ascertain the role of frames, networks and emotions in understanding the actual mobilization process, which goes beyond union participation and discussions about injustice, leadership and collective action.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapters two and three, which combine to produce the literature review, focus on the main theoretical approaches to social movements, and the development of mobilization theory in the area of industrial relations. These chapters discuss the empirical work related to workers' mobilization. Having looked at the literature in detail, the chapters discuss gaps in the literature and the need to augment mobilization theory, emphasizing the importance of studying networks, emotions, frames and the role of social movement organizations.

Chapter four, the methodology chapter, sets the research context for the study. It discusses the research design, approach and questions. It discusses, in detail, the various methodologies used in the research and also the weaknesses of the research.

Chapter 5 discusses the quantitative data results. This data is based on the surveys conducted in 2011 and 2013.

Chapter 6 discusses the qualitative results, based on observations and interviews.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, focuses on an overall discussion about the results and the contribution of the researcher to the existing knowledge of the mobilization process. It also provides a future research agenda.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter sets the context for the researcher's motivation to study the mobilization process in HE. It highlights the main gaps in the literature and the ways in which the researcher has tried to bridge the gaps. It also discusses the researcher's contribution to the existing body of knowledge and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Literature Review - Part I

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature relevant for studying collective action. It discusses, in detail, the main theoretical approaches to collective action in social movements, namely, 'rational choice theory', 'resource mobilization', 'political opportunity structures' and 'mobilization theory' proposed by Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (1984, 1987, 2005). It also defends the choice of Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (1984, 1987, 2005) being the preferred theorists to study mobilization. This chapter highlights the main gaps in the existing literature in terms of why the mobilization process needs further investigation and how it is different from mere union participation. It focuses on the determinants of consensus and action mobilization. The chapter concludes by talking about the research questions derived from the gaps in the existing literature.

2.1 Industrial relations literature

Hyman (1989: 17) defines a strike as "a temporary stoppage of work by a group of employees in order to express a grievance or enforce a demand". Hyman (1989) claims that a strike is a response to a problem. He argues that trade unionism and collective bargaining are closely related to strikes, claiming that "Trade unions are the collective instruments through which men and women in shop and office, factory, mine and mill, seek to increase their control over the conditions of their working lives" (Hyman, 1989: 215). Hyman (1989) also argues that official union policy becomes important in unfavourable economic and political environments. Purposefully created unemployment and anti-union laws (for example the current

trade union laws) are designed to weaken strikes and make sure unions are defeated. For a strike to sustain material and moral support, they become more important.

Simms, Holgate and Heery (2013) investigate union-organizing activities and attempt to give voice to union organizers and activists. They explore the significant development in British trade unionism and union-organizing activities. Their research is based on strong empirical evidence of what it means to organize workers in the UK, the political process involved and its purpose. Simms, Holgate and Heery (2013 :171) argue, that the impact of organizing initiatives is a mixed one. Despite the conducive environment of a Labour government being in power between 1997-2010, unions failed to renew themselves. While there is evidence of innovative projects to attract new and under-represented workers, the overall collective bargaining strength has declined during this period. The 2008 financial crisis has had an impact on the economic and political context in the UK. The coalition government and austerity measures pose further challenges for union organization.

Gall (2003: 6) states that, "Union recognition is arguably both the key institutional mechanism and set of organizational rights by which unions establish their presence and value of workers". Gall (2003: 62) argues that there is evidence that union recruitment is now more focused on female employees, ethnic minorities, workers with disabilities, young people, students and trainees. Unions have become more sophisticated in their recruitment approach and methods, in terms of a shift in technique, however, the recruitment philosophy has not changed. For renewal, unions are required to act as social movements. However, Fairbrother (2014) argues that unions have continued to struggle, and they increasingly face

tension between attempts by employers, state policy and practice to weaken the influence that workers have in relation to management. Unions need to define themselves in relation to, and demonstrating their capacity to connect with, life under capitalism, to be in a position to renew and move beyond a narrow economic and defensive focus. However, there will always remain the challenge of co-optation and compromise within labour-capital relations. Although there are contrasting schools of thoughts about unions and collective action, there has been an increase in collective action in the British public sector.

Ng (1991) studies the predictors of strike-voting behaviour among university faculties. This study examines whether an individual is influenced by demographics and job characteristics, union inclinations and attitudinal factors (organizational commitment, job satisfaction and attitudes towards the union). While this research does not directly study the process by which an individual faculty's interests are translated into a collective definition of their common interests, this study does make a few relevant points. While attitudinal factors like job satisfaction and union loyalty have been shown in the literature to play an important role in shaping the militancy of workers, job satisfaction and union loyalty also play a significant role in explaining strike-voting behaviour. The results show that faculty members who were satisfied with existing research facilities and were loyal to the Faculty Association were likely to favour the strike; however, faculty members who were satisfied with working conditions and with the university administration were against the strike. Among the non-attitudinal factors, faculty members who were married and those coming from single-income houses were not inclined to vote for a strike. Union inclinations towards the strike did not have a statistically significant influence on strike-voting behaviour. Considering job

satisfaction as a proxy for the absence of injustice, union loyalty as a proxy for the social identification and attribution processes, and the financial vulnerability of married workers and single-income earners as a proxy for the cost benefit considerations applied, mobilization for collective actions in this study occurs in line with the mobilization theories of Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (2007).

McClendon and Klass (1993:561) examine the determinants of strike-related militancy. They define the term militancy as “behaviours” occurring proximate to or during a strike or a strike vote that are designed to protest or modify employer actions. This research is based on data about a university faculty strike at Temple University (USA) in 1990. Essentially, this study examines how strike-related militancy is impacted upon by the demographics of strikers and their attitudes towards their jobs, the union, militancy, social support of the strike, and the perceived utility of striking. While this study does not directly investigate the process by which an individual faculty’s interests are translated into a collective definition of their common interests, it does make a few relevant points.

There is a substantial amount of literature on social movements inside and outside industrial relations literature, discussing the mobilization process by which groups of individuals take collective action in pursuit of their goals and aligned to their interests. Some of this literature explores the drivers and mobilization process of industrial actions (strike and non-strike collective actions). The literature shows that the demand and supply of collective actions (to produce collective goods) by workers depend on macro- and micro-structural, psychological, social, political and cultural factors and social movement organizations (for example, trade unions) match the supply with the demand through the mobilization process.

What follows are the main theoretical approaches to collective actions in social movements. The first approach is “rational choice theory” as formulated by Mancur Olson in *The Logic of Collective Action* (1971). It deals with individuals as the unit of analysis and seeks to explain social phenomena based on their properties, goals, beliefs and actions, assuming them to be self-interested, rational, strategic and future-oriented, with transitive-ranked preferences. It states that rational self-interested individuals will not participate in collective action to achieve their common interests unless there is some kind of coercion or special incentive driving them to participate. Instead they will become ‘free riders’, since they stand to benefit from such collective action even if they do not participate.

The second approach, the ‘resource mobilization perspective’ proposed by McCarthy and Zald (1977, 2001) seeks to reject the view from Mancur Olson’s version of rational choice theory that participation in collective action depends on selective incentives, since ‘free riding’ on the participation of others is a rational choice. The resource mobilization perspective argues that collective action can be studied using SMOs as the unit of analysis. The resource mobilization approach views collective action as a result of the formation of permanent SMOs that allow for efficient mobilization of resources, reducing the cost of participation for activists. It also provides intrinsic forms of selective incentives such as satisfaction derived from participation and association. This approach suggests that social movement industries consist of SMOs like trade unions, and well-connected mobilization activists and leaders (movement entrepreneurs) and they are capable of mobilizing resources to channel and manage dissatisfaction.

The 'political opportunities' approach emphasises the role of political structures in shaping the potential opportunities for social movements to achieve their objectives (Tarrow, 1998; Tilly, 1978; Schaefer and Carmin, 2005; Shorter and Tilly, 1974). This approach criticizes assumptions underlying resource mobilization theories, claiming that it fails to provide an adequate framework for understanding waves or cycles of contention and mobilization. Political opportunity researchers advocate that these cycles can be explained by the presence of external opportunities, the constraints posed by suppressive acts of the state, and counter-mobilization by other social actors.

The 'cultural-cognitive (or 'identities') approach' researchers (Kriesi 1989; Melucci, 1989; Gahan and Pekarek, 2013) reject rational choice theory and the structuralist approach used for interpreting social movements in both historical and contemporary contexts. The term "cultural-cognitive approach" and the term "framing perspective" are used interchangeably. The cultural-cognitive approach discusses the work done by movement activists and leaders to change norms, beliefs, symbols and identities. It focuses on the stories within the movement that produce solidarity, motivate participation and maintain collective action. This approach primarily focuses on how consensus is generated by the articulation of grievances and how bystanders and antagonists are targeted for collective action. The next sections of the chapter review the literature related to these theoretical approaches and relevant empirical studies.

2.2 Rational Choice Perspective

Scholars like, Kelly (1998), Dixit (1999), Klandermans (2005) have appraised rational choice perspective and Mancur Olson's (1971) work is most comprehensive. In his book, *The Logic of Collective Action*, he discussed the problem of collective action. This book is viewed in different ways by scholars from economics and social sciences.

Dixit (1999) argues that Olson explored and exposed the difficulties of achieving socially desirable outcomes through uncoordinated individual action. Olson was no naive advocate of central planning or coercion. He focused on the question of whether a group will succeed in providing a collective good that benefits all its members. Furthermore, Dixit (1999) states that Olson recognized group size as the most important consideration: small groups are more likely to solve a collective action problem than groups with many members. Olson ascribed importance to asymmetry among members. If one member gets a much larger share of the benefit of the collective good than another, then the first has a much larger incentive to contribute. Thus, we see well rewarded members doing more to provide collective goods, and poorly rewarded members having a free ride. Among the various devices a group might use to induce individuals to join and contribute to the collective good, Olson emphasizes the role of selective incentives. These are private benefits, offered only to those who join and pay the membership fee, part of which then goes toward the provision of the collective good. This associated private benefit should be sufficiently large, and unavailable outside the group, so that people find it in their own interest to join and get this package of public and private benefits, rather than stay outside and get the free-riding benefit of the public good alone. Examples include the discounts that are negotiated for their members

by groups like the Association of Retired Persons, which then uses membership fees for lobbying activities.

Rejecting Olson's (1971) views about free riders, Klandermans (2005) argues that there are three fundamental reasons why people participate in collective action. First, people may want to change their circumstances, second, they may want to act like the group they identify with, and third, they may want to express their views. These three motives together explain why people participate in social movements, as they might provide the opportunity to fulfil these participation motives. As people get better in movement participation, it turns into a satisfying experience. In social movement literature, these three motives are referred to as instrumentality, identity and ideology. According to Klandermans (2005: 222-223), "Instrumentality refers to movement participation as an attempt to influence the social and political environment; identity refers to movement participation as a manifestation of identification with a group; and ideology refers to movement participation as a search for meaning and an expression of one's views".

He further explains that instrumentality is associated with resource mobilization and political process theories of social movements. At the psychological level, instrumentality is associated with rational choice theory and expectancy value theories. Furthermore, identity is associated with the social psychological identity theory and is related to sociological approaches that highlight the collective identity component of social movement participation. Ideology is related to approaches in social movement literature that emphasise culture, meaning, narratives, morals, reasoning and emotion and, in psychology, to theories of the social movement, the ideology is thought to be cognitive and emotional. Klandermans (2005) further argues that these are not mutually exclusive motives or competing views on

collective action participation. He claims that some parties involved in this debate in the literature may seem to take that position. However, he writes that approaches that neglect identity, ideology and instrumentality are at fault. For movement participation, each motive should necessarily be present, or each motive should be equally strong. He claims that, for some people, one specific motive can be more important than another, for example, in the labour movement, instrumentality (aiming for better agreements) may be more important. Gay and lesbian movements may place more emphasis on Identity motives. Ideological motives may have been important for participants in the anti-Iraq war protests.

Kelly (1998: 31-32) has critically evaluated rational choice theory and is of the opinion that what was proposed by Olson is fundamentally wrong. Kelly argues that Olson's basic concept of rationality and individual self-interest are ill-defined, and their relevance is questionable. Olson does not provide insights into concepts of group identity, individual interest or group behaviour. His work provides little insight into union decline and how trade unions are satisfactorily formed; however, Olson's theory does provide insight into free riding. Kelly (1998) argues that in Britain and the US, the majority of people do not free ride, they join unions instead. Kelly (1998) proposes that, to improve our understanding of collective behaviour further, mobilization theory provides a richer account of how people come to define their interests in collective terms and join organizations and get involved in collective action. Kelly's articulation of collective interest provides a better understanding of behaviour than Olson's logic of collective action.

2.3 Resource Mobilization Perspective

Edwards and McCarthy (2007) claim that human time and effort, along with money, are the most widely appreciated kinds of resources that are available to collective actors. They also claim that the assumption that resource availability enhances the likelihood of collective action is generally taken for granted by contemporary analysts of social movements. They set out a typology of social movement resources as follows: the first type is moral resources, which include legitimacy, solidarity, sympathetic support and celebrity. They argue that legitimacy has received more attention than other moral resources.

The second type of resource is cultural, which includes tacit knowledge of mobilization, knowledge of conceptual tools, and strategic and technical know-how. Cultural resources help in recruitment for social movements as well as in maintaining the movement.

The third resource is social-organizational, which includes intentional and appropriable social organization (Coleman, 1990, cited in Edwards and McCarthy, 2007). Intentional social organizations are specifically created to achieve social movement goals, for example, unions and social movement organizations. Social organizations are created for non-movement purposes; however, movement actors gain access to volunteers and information, as well as to neighbourhood connections. They discuss additional forms of social organization resources, such as infrastructures, social networks and organizations.

The fourth category is human resources, which includes labour, experience, skills and expertise. Edwards and McCarthy (2007) discuss leadership in this category, as it includes a combination of labour, experience, skills and expertise. The final

category they discuss is material resources. These include financial and physical capital, including monetary resources, property, office space, equipment and supplies. Material resources have received attention in research and literature due to their tangible nature. In the concluding remarks, they claim that money and solidarity play an important role in movement participation.

Born et al. (2013) investigate two questions regarding the effects of information on participation in labour strikes: first, how social identification and trust are used as filters for information and second, how cross-pressures affect willingness to participate. By cross-pressure they mean simultaneous pressure from union and management during impending strikes. Developing on Klandermans' (1997) argument that individuals assess information by determining the trustworthiness of the information, this research finds that information from and identification with the union is a highly important determinant of participation. Trust in information from management is the important determinant for preventing workers from participation. Born et al. (2013) further investigate the differences between workers who have previous strike experience and those who do not. These findings indicate that workers use different mechanisms for filtering information, depending on the source of information. The results show that more information from the union increases one's willingness to participate. The amount of information from management does not have the same effect. This implies that offering information is a successful strategy to increase workers' willingness to participate, whereas for management, providing information to prevent workers striking does not matter. Identification with the union leads to an increase in willingness to participate. Trust in management does significantly decrease workers' motivation to be involved in strike action. Workers who both identify with the union and trust the union are more

willing to participate than those workers who either only identify with or have trust in the union. Information from the union is not filtered by trust. Trust in management is a filter for information from management. Trust is the most important determinant for preventing workers from participation. They have also found a difference between workers who have previous strike experience and those who do not. Their findings indicate that workers use different mechanisms for filtering information, depending on its source. While this indicates that trustworthy unions find it easier to mobilize workers, it will be useful to investigate how this trust is built.

Resource mobilization perspective thus helps to understand how social movements can be studied using social movement unit analysis such as SMOs in how they help reduce the cost of organizing a movement and how people who participate get incentives for participation. Apart from solidarity and money (where the unions and employers both make claims to the money available in the system), which are considered most useful resources, the researcher does not go into the details of the resource mobilization approach, as the existing research is more focused on the process of mobilization than managing the resources.

[2.4 Political Opportunity Structure Perspective](#)

Tilly and Tarrow (2003:49) claim that, political opportunity structure refers to features of regimes and institutions that facilitate or inhibit a political actor's collective action and to change in those features. It emphatically includes not only opportunities but also threats.

Tilly (1978) was one of the first researchers to propose a model for collective actions by one group. The polity model consists of a population, a government,

one or more contenders, a polity (polity consists of the collective action of the members and the government) and one or more coalitions (a tendency of a set of contenders and/or governments to coordinate their collective action).

The key components of the mobilization model describing the collective actions of a single contender (interest group) are shown in the diagram below.

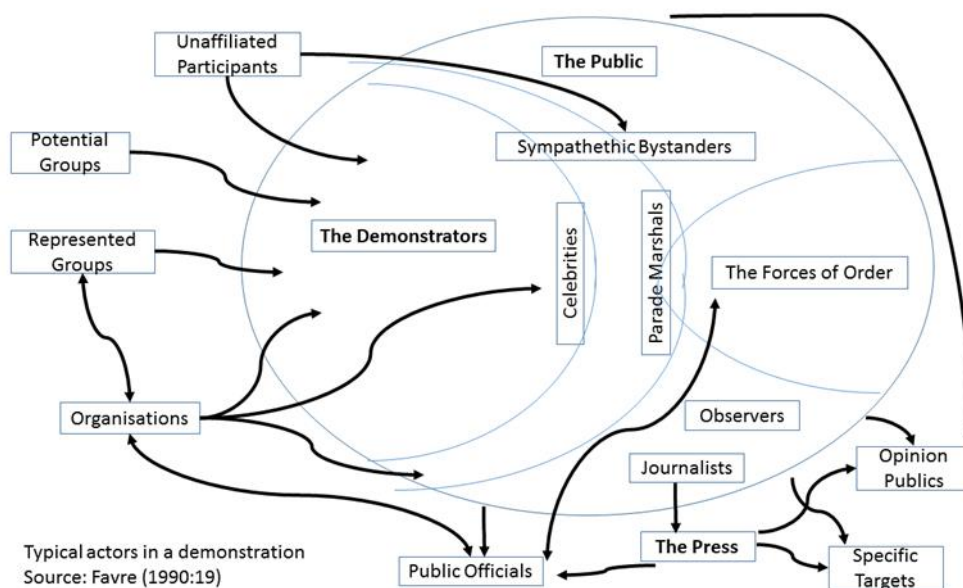


Figure 1, adapted from Tilly (2007:71) – Components of the mobilization model

Tilly (1978:69) argues that, “mobilization is a process by which a group acquires collective control over the resources needed for action in favour of shared interests. Essentially this is the process by which individuals are transformed into a collective actor”. He further argues that the mobilization of a group of workers by a social movement organization (for instance a trade union) involves reducing competing claims on resources controlled by members of the trade union, developing programmes corresponding to the perceived interest of the members of trade union and building up a group structure which minimizes exit (prevents members from leaving) and voice (need for members to disagree with the union)

and maximizes loyalty (loyalty refers to the member's commitment to deliver various amounts and types of resources under a variety of circumstances to the union). Tilly (1978) argues that the degree of mobilization depends on group-level factors such as the extent of shared interests among trade union members and the extent to which the members form a dense network and a distinctive category. External factors like power, repression, opportunity and threat also play a part.

Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk (2009) argue that the emphasis in the social-psychological collective action literature is on why individuals take part in such actions; however, the collective action literature does not elaborate on how different mobilizing contexts may appeal to distinct motivation dynamics to participate. They further argue that their study connects the micro-level of motivational dynamics of individual protesters with the meso-level of social movement characteristics. To do so, a field study was established. Activists were surveyed in the act of protesting in two different demonstrations in two town squares simultaneously, organized by two social movements against the same government budget cuts. However, there was one fundamental difference: each movement emphasized a different aspect of the policies proposed by the government. This created a unique natural experiment, enabling the authors to examine whether the motivational dynamics of individual protesters are moderated by the social movement context. Previous research suggested an instrumental path to collective action, and Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk (2009) added an ideology path. They expected and found that power-oriented collective action appeals to instrumental motives and efficacy. Value-oriented collective action appeals to ideological motives. Finally, efficacy mediates on instrumental motives and motivational strength, but only in power-oriented action. The aim of

the research is to provide empirical support for the contentions regarding instrumentally and ideologically motivated protest participation as a function of mobilizing context. In the conclusion, Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk (2009) say different mobilizing contexts appeal to distinct motivational dynamics and argue that a value-oriented mobilizing context would offer a more instrumental appeal. The study was conducted using survey data from protesters, but there was no data collected from non-participants.

The political opportunity structure perspective is not free from criticism. However, this perspective finds a firm place in research focused on mobilization, because it highlights multiple issues which are not discussed in approaches such as resource mobilization. For example, the political opportunity structure discusses waves or contentions of cycles in mobilization, whereas resource mobilization does not. More importantly, this approach highlights why some participate in social movements and others do not. It also discusses how various actors influence mobilization and the various tools they use. However, political opportunity structure fails to articulate how the processes of mobilization and demobilization move across different time frames. For example, in the existing research which takes place between 2011 to 2014, one can witness episodes of mobilization as well as demobilization. Political opportunity structure also fails to highlight how consensus and action mobilization increases or decreases over time.

2.5 Mobilization theory

Kelly (1998) addresses the gap in understanding in Tilly's (1978) work, of how workers acquire a sense of injustice or grievance as individuals and how they develop a sense of their collective grievance and describes a theory of collective

action (centered on McAdam, 1988) which explained how grievances arise when workers are 'cognitively liberated' from a belief in the legitimacy of the status quo.

Kelly (1998) argues that individuals feel a grievance when breaches of existing rules and consensual social values take place. Assertion of rights and personal efficacy create a feeling of entitlement to their demands and a sense that there is possibility of making change in their current situation. These feelings depend on the beliefs active in the minds of the workers, which help them to make sense of the rights and obligations deriving from employment relationships in the context of the grievance. He further argues that these beliefs (ideologies) help individuals to 'frame' an issue or event or situation by locating agency for the grievance with employers/government. The process of framing the issue and location of agency triggers disloyalty towards the ruling groups. When in a group, a sense of injustice occurs at individual level, the group stems into a social group with collective interest. This collectivization happens through a combination of processes like attribution, social identification and leadership. Kelly (1998) argues that attribution is an explanation for an event or action in terms of reasons, causes or both. Attribution may have three-dimensional causality, in other words, personal vs. external, stable vs. unstable and controllable vs. uncontrollable. Each attribution has a different significance for influencing future behaviour. It could lead to better preparation, fatalism and, more importantly, mobilization of members. While discussing social identification, Kelly (1998) advocates that everyone has individual identity and one or multiple social identities simultaneously. Each individual can think and act individually and collectively. The individual or collective action depends on which facets of identity is triggered by an event or action. Depending on the activation of the social identity and its type, by a given event or

action, social categorization can be used for sense-making of the event or action. Kelly (1998) finds gap in social identity literature claiming that it does not provide details about how and why individuals might use a particular social categorization to make sense of a given event. About leadership, Kelly espouses, to engage with workers, leader uses language as a power resource. They also engage in confrontational dialogue with authorities. Leaders frame issues, events and actions in inter-group conflict to promote a sense of injustice shaped by the employer and government. Through cycles of inter-group conflict, hostility and in-group cohesion, leaders transform a vague sense of discontent into a firm sense of injustice. Once collective interest exists within a social group of workers, however, participation in collective action depends on a cost-benefit analysis at an individual level and on mobilizing actions by leadership.

Kelly (1998) uses this mobilization theory to analyze worker mobilization as well as state and employer counter-mobilization over a short timeframe. Kelly finds significant explanatory power regarding group and inter-group dynamics involved in collective interest definition, organization, mobilization and collective actions. He then proposes a theory of long waves in industrial relations by arguing that each turning point between the upswing and downswing of such long (Kondratieff) waves is associated with an upsurge of worker mobilization, epitomized by heightened strike activity. This, in turn, triggers a period of counter-mobilization by employers and the state, and out of this intensified period of class struggle emerges a more or less far-reaching reconstruction of the relations between labour, capital and the state. Once a new phase of the long wave (upswing or downswing) gets underway, new patterns of industrial relations are gradually, if unevenly, consolidated until the next transition. Kelly finds evidence across

multiple countries over a long period of time that long-wave transitions do coincide with cycles of worker mobilization, employer and state counter-mobilization.

Kelly (1998) advocates that mobilization theory has brought insight to the central problems in the field of industrial relations. Mobilization theory offers a conceptual framework for thinking about issues and for generating testable propositions. It helps to construct a very different intellectual agenda for the field of industrial relations. Instead of starting from the employers' needs for cooperation and performance, or from the general problem of 'getting work done', it begins with the category of injustice. For mobilization theorists, it is this core set of concepts – injustice, attribution and identity – that provides the means for understanding the emergence of collective interest definition and for mapping changes over time. Mobilization theory is particularly valuable in helping to think about the central problems in industrial relations such as how workers come to develop a sense of collective interest which puts them against their employer and requires the creation of collective organizations. The literature on this issue has largely focused on why workers join unions rather than examining the formation of interests. Even this literature has concentrated on a rather narrow set of variables, notably job dissatisfaction and union instrumentality. By contrast, mobilization theory focuses its attention on processes that are largely absent from the literature: how do workers come to define dissatisfaction as injustice? How do they come to acquire the conviction that the employer is to blame for their problems? The debate about an alleged decline of worker collectivism has been unsatisfactory because it has not paid sufficient attention to the ways in which workers come to define their interests in collective terms. This debate has also displayed a lack of conceptual sophistication that mobilization theory helps to overcome by virtue of its

distinctions between interest, organization, mobilization, opportunity and form of action.

2.6 Studies Using Kelly's Mobilization Theory

Using mobilization theory, Badigannvar and Kelly (2005) conduct a study of two union-organizing campaigns in the HE sector. They explore why one campaign was more successful than the other, as measured by membership growth and recruitment of activists. The study finds that in the more successful campaign the union was perceived as more effective in voicing workers' concerns, generated greater social cohesion and union identification amongst employees, was more successful in convincing employees that the university management was to blame for their problems and promoted among employees a stronger sense of union instrumentality. The success of the recruitment campaign was dependent on, perception about the union in voicing the most important concerns of the workers; social cohesion and stronger identification with the union. Employees were more likely to blame the employer for their problems instead of impersonal and external forces. Therefore, union members of the successful campaign benefited more from their membership. Badigannvar and Kelly (2005) observe that there was a significant difference in the 'collective action frames' promoted by the respective local union leaders and adopted by workers in the two universities. The frames, in turn, were associated with very different outcomes. Moreover, size of the union and the influence of local markets on the balance of power was significant for the successful campaign.

The study of Metochi (2002) presents a survey-based analysis of the impact of union leaders on member participation in Cypriot public-sector trade unions. It

indicates that active leaders promote participation both directly and indirectly, through their influence on members' attitude towards the union. The study emphasizes the importance of leadership in facilitating further understanding of member participation in trade unions. Leadership is a crucial factor in the success of workplace unionism. Moreover, the implication from Metochi's (2002) study of Cypriot trade unions is that it is basic servicing or behaviour, not charisma, that counts. The study suggests that union leaders should be properly trained, should be supported through facility time and, in general, should have a clear servicing remit so that they can provide the required level of support to the membership. If unions are to revive in Europe, they need to restore their organization and make it more effective.

Buttigieg, Deery and Iverson (2008) try to validate the mobilization theory articulated by Kelly (1998) by testing whether the factors described by it shape the willingness of union members to engage in industrial action, using a large-scale survey of members of a financial services trade union during the renegotiation of a collective bargaining contract. Their results indicate that mobilization theory is valid in predicting that individuals were more willing to engage in industrial action when:

1. They experienced a sense of injustice in their employment relationship.
2. They held a collectivistic orientation to work.
3. They considered that their union was an effective instrument of their power.
4. Workplace representatives from the union were responsive to union members' needs in situations of perceived injustice.

These findings are also in line with predictions of the model derived from Klandermans (2007), where instrumentality and ideology are the key drivers of mobilization. Although this study advocates mobilization theory, it does have a number of limitations. The relationship between union participation and participation in the actual strike action is not clear from the study, as it is based on only one management and union setting; therefore, it is difficult to generalize the findings of this study. It will be useful directly to test the relationship between action mobilization for strike voting and consensus mobilization in the form of union participation.

Johnson and Jarley (2004) try to validate the mobilization theory articulated by Kelly (1998) by testing whether the factors described by it shape the willingness of union members to participate in union activities. Their study uses a large-scale survey of members of a public-sector trade union. Along with mobilization theory, they also apply social exchange and organizational justice theory to specify and test a model of union participation in public sector organization. They use multi-item scales focused on variables such as union participation, job satisfaction, union instrumentality, workplace injustice and union justice perceptions. Their results indicate that mobilization theory is valid in predicting that more variation in union participation by individuals is explained by worker perceptions of a sense of injustice in their employment relationship and a sense of justice in their union member relationship compared to traditional measures of job satisfaction and union instrumentality. However, this study is not able to explain the actual process of collective action, i.e. the process of joining the union and actually participating in industrial action. Johnson and Jarley (2004) have laid a foundation for further research. They suggest that it would be useful to understand how unions form an

alternative vision, which transforms workers' feelings of powerlessness and alienation into a sense of injustice and how this triggers collective action. Again, the relation between union participation and involvement in actual strike action is not studied because union participation itself is assumed to constitute the collective action. However, it is useful to test the relationship between action mobilization for strike voting and consensus mobilization in the form of union participation directly.

2.7 Union Participation

Fullagar, Gallagher, Gordon and Clark (1995) show evidence of the multidimensional nature of the construct of union participation. Their study suggests that union participation is a behavioural manifestation of union commitment. Their results suggest three distinctive dimensions to union involvement, each representing potentially varying strengths of union commitment, an administrative factor reflecting office holding duties; an intermittent factor, reflecting participation in activities scheduled or available at particular times; and a supportive factor, reflecting ongoing participative activities in support of other members of the union. Their findings show that these dimensions are relatively stable across time-periods. However, this extensive study has limitations as they have used cross-sectional data, which is self-reported.

Goldey, Swank, Hardesty and Swain's (2010) study traces the development of union loyalties among community college professors. The study assumes that activism is motivated by contextual and ideological factors. It analyzes the ways that social networks, collegiate workplaces and framing practices transform political bystanders into committed union members. The study finds strong links

between union participation and distrust of campus administrators, as well as having pro-union friends and colleagues. Similarly, perceptions of union efficacy, a liberal identity, as well as the professor's education level predicts the actual joining of their faculty union. The findings confirm that framing and mobilizing arguments are significant in increasing union numbers. Social networks influence membership by providing variety of material, purposive and solidarity incentives for participating and being active. They explain this phenomenon with the example that the belief in the union's capacity to produce collective goods and let activists enjoy benefits of doing the right thing and gaining communal gratification. However, this study rejects the assumption that these material conditions provide any tangible economic benefits. For the participants, the issues of shared governance and administration was more important for joining the union than concerns over salaries or benefits. The results conclude that union membership partially depends on a union-friendly environment, perceptions of union activities and its success, as well as the desire of the union member for a greater voice in influencing campus policies. For unions to devise their recruitment strategies, they might want to give more importance to the issue of improving faculty governance than issues of salaries or everyday working conditions. The study also shows that unionization may be an obstacle. Although the study conducted by Goldey, Swank, Hardesty and Swain's (2010) adds value to the literature in significant way, a low response rate remains the biggest weakness of the study.

Kuruvilla et al. (1990) investigate the validity of western theories in Japanese union participation activities. The results showed that union participation in Japan was similar to North America. It was positively correlated to length of union membership, pay, dissatisfaction regarding pay and working conditions, the degree of

interaction with other group members and perceptions of the union's effectiveness and its democratic nature. However, opposite to western studies, this study found that older and educated workers were less active in union participation than others. The study showed job status did not matter for union involvement. However, Kuruvilla et al. (1990) argue that these results could be dominated by cultural factors such as more college graduates with different outlooks and their tenure at work. Another possible explanation they give is that western research may have underspecified western theories.

The literature about mobilization is mostly focused on union participation and injustice. However, the literature also signifies the importance of workplace justice, job satisfaction and union instrumentality in mobilization. Studies focused on these three factors need to be appraised. More importantly, the scale for survey research is focused on above-mentioned variables; therefore, it is important to appraise the studies which focus on the variables discussed above.

2.7 Workplace Justice, Job Satisfaction, Union Instrumentality and Mobilization

Aryee and Chay's (2001) findings suggest that in union context, social exchange supports citizenship behaviour. Therefore, the union's perceived ability to secure for its members some control over their conditions of employment (union instrumentality) may be just as important as its concern for promoting citizenship behaviour and well-being.

Warr, Cook and Wall's (1979) research focused on studies of male manual workers. In their study, they introduced and assessed scales significant and relevant to the quality of working life. This study provides extensive psychometric data for future applications. This study becomes relevant for its scales.

Colquitt et al. (2001) claim that the field of organizational justice continues to pose important research questions. These questions include the size of relationships among justice dimensions, the importance of different justice criteria and the unique effects of justice dimensions on important outcomes. They advocate that, as more researchers consider multiple justice dimensions in their work, the gap in the literature will be filled.

Fryxell and Gordon (1989) examine the extent to which workplace justice and job satisfaction predict satisfaction with union and management. The findings of this study emphasize the importance and relevance of justice in workplaces. Fryxell and Gordon (1989) argue that the measures used in the administration of grievance procedures influence workers' satisfaction with the union, more than the outcome realized. In contrast, workers' broader belief that their workplace was just was highly predictive of their satisfaction with management. Based on these findings they espouse that it is evident that workers are greatly influenced by their fundamental need for workplace justice.

Colquitt (2001) argues that inconsistent and poor measurement, as well as disagreements over the structure of organizational justice have been detrimental for the theoretical and practical advancement for workplace justice literature. The justice measure resonates with the original explications laid out in the seminal works in the area. He makes references to work of Bies and Moag (1986), Leventhal (1980) and Thibaut and Walker (1975). He used two independent studies, one in a universal setting, the other in a field setting. The results of both these studies suggest that organizational justice is best conceptualized in four distinct dimensions: procedural, distributive, interpersonal and informational

justice. Despite being an important study, its validity is questionable due to limited data points.

Skarlicki and Folger (1997) examine the relationship between organizational justice and organizational retaliation behaviour. The results suggest that procedural and interactional justice can function as substitutes for each other. In practice, these results suggest that those organizations who want to reduce employees' retaliatory behaviour must focus on the organizational justice.

Kochan (1979) talks about "business unionism", which demonstrates the union's influence on improving the economic and social conditions of their members. Workers rated their union's performance on the basis of job dissatisfaction with bread and butter issues or any related problems. Union performance received higher ratings and members were more satisfied with the performance of the union when these issues were effectively addressed and when the workers were satisfied with this aspect of their jobs.

From the literature, it is not clear how the injustice agenda is framed collectively, as well as how leaders help to form a collective agenda. Kelly (1998) briefly mentions frames used by leaders; therefore, it becomes necessary to understand how unions and their leadership trigger consensus mobilization and action mobilization using frames. Developing a detailed understanding of frames would also help to analyze the mobilization process better and in much more detail.

While attempting to contribute to the mobilization theory debate, Atzeni (2009) argues that Kelly's (1998) work is important for two main reasons. First, it offers a theoretical framework for the study of the micro-dynamics of workplace conflict and for the understanding of waves of mobilization and counter-mobilization in a

historical perspective. Second, by putting labour back on centre stage, placing his analysis in the Marxist vision of society and arguing for the resilience of collectivism in a period of proclaimed individualism, it is a political call to counterbalance Human Resource Management dominated studies at work. Because of its wide-ranging perspective and critical approach, over the last decade Kelly's book became a must-read for all those interested in the study of labour organizing and collective action and the often-cited Marxist-radical reference in the pluralist-dominated Human Resources Management.

Each category, and the overall model, represent a powerful tool and departure point for empirical research in the analysis of the organizing strategies adopted by workers in cases of both mobilization and counter-mobilization. In recent years, this has been reflected in a number of works that have used Kelly's framework in relation to leadership (Darlington, 2001, 2002, 2007; Metochi, 2002), union organization (Gall, 2000b, 2003; Badigannavar and Kelly, 2005), injustice (Johnson and Jarley, 2004) and gender (Cox et al., 2007). Although these researchers have extended and tested the theory empirically, their conclusions do not put into question Kelly's main assumptions: that mobilization theory is based on injustice and that leaders are pivotal in framing this sense of injustice into collective action. Injustice is a very useful concept used by leaders in unifying workplace discontent. But this perspective may be easily substituted by other moral value-based concepts that perform a similar cohesive function (e.g. dignity, inequality and fairness) or by leaders' appeals to local traditions of labour antagonism and cultural diversity or opposition to the employer. Thus, the problem is not to deny the existence of injustice in the everyday discourse of labour and political leaders or to deny that workers may really feel a situation is unjust, but

rather than the focus on injustice as the conceptual basis for mobilization, for the argument that we have developed so far, is theoretically flawed and reinforces the idea that collective action in the workplace is all about contesting rights instead of power and class relations.

Kelly (1998) argues that there is no denial that mobilization often follows this sequence and that leaders always play a central role. However, we must also account for those cases of spontaneous, all-of-a-sudden mobilization in which no precondition could be detected and where leaders do not play any fundamental role.

For instance, Atzeni provides empirical evidence of strikes in Argentina. In his book *Workplace Conflict*, Atzeni (2010) argues that workers' mobilizations should be seen in a more comparative perspective, which is independent of national and/or contextual explanations. Atzeni argues that if inequality of wealth pervades the system then inequality of opportunities will reproduce the same unbalanced society. In such a society, the interests of those who depend on a salary to live will always be at odds with the business imperative for profit. Workers are treated as a commodity and there are continuous efforts to reduce the cost of workers.

Atzeni (2010) argues that strikes have often been considered as almost synonymous with collective action, as strikes represent the most evident sign of the strength and power exerted by workers in defense of their rights. Strikes are the most important signs of workers' dissatisfaction with their salaries and working conditions, as well as being part of the struggle at the boundaries of power. The strike is also used symbolically as a key to social revolution, as societies depend on workers' willingness to work. They are significant for workplace relations and

politics, and so is documented and registered by statistical analysis and can be studied by objective measurements and longitudinal studies. Strikes are expensive compared to other form of collective actions and involve complex issues like collective identities and respect for formal rules and procedure. Because of this nature of strike action, it requires formal representatives like trade unions and consistent efforts for organizing. The perceived injustice is not necessary for collective action.

While we appraised mobilization theory, as proposed by Kelly, it is necessary that there is also an understanding of the mobilization model proposed by Klandermans.

2.8 Mobilization model by Klandermans

Klandermans and Oegema (1987) highlight how SMOs act rationally to mobilize members towards collective actions. They distinguish four characteristics of mobilization: the formation of mobilization potentials, the creation and activation of recruitment networks, arousal of motivation to participate, and removal of barriers to participation. Klandermans and Oegema (1987) further distinguish four steps towards participation in social movements as becoming part of the mobilization potential: becoming the target of mobilization attempts, becoming motivated to participate, and overcoming barriers to participation. The relevance of these distinctions is justified theoretically by the claim that different theories are needed to explain separate aspects of mobilization and participation, and practically with the argument that different efforts are required from movement organizations depending on which aspects they are handling. To support the research empirically, they have analyzed mobilization and participation in the Dutch peace

movement. They found that nonparticipation in a mass demonstration can be influenced by a lack of sympathy for the movement, not being the target of mobilization activists, not being motivated for participation and the presence of barriers.

Klandermans (2007: 369) built on Klandermans and Oegema's (1987) work and describes a model for mobilization starting with consensus mobilization and then moving on to action mobilization based on interactions between demand and supply. The demand for mobilization depends on instrumentality, identity, and ideological factors, while the supply depends on the development and dynamics of social movements. According to Klandermans (2007), consensus mobilization refers to the dissemination of the views of the movement organization and action mobilization refers to the transformation of those who adopted the view of the movement into active participants in collective action. This model is summarized below.

Mobilization potential or consensus mobilization – Mobilization potential or consensus mobilization refers to the individuals in a society who have the potential to be mobilized by a social movement. In the context of trade union mobilization, this refers to union members who have already asserted their approval by becoming members. This step identifies sympathizers who are open to mobilization, plus multiple relevant sub-groups.

Recruitment Networks Mobilization and attempts (Targeting of mobilization attempts) – However successful mobilizers are in mobilizing consensus, and however large the mobilization potential, if mobilizers do not have access to recruitment networks in each mobilizable sub-group, the mobilization potential

cannot be realized. This step separates sympathizers into those who have been targeted and those who have not. Targeting is of various types; the frequency and intensity may vary. It involves reaching key nodes of sub-networks of the mobilizable people.

Motivation to participate – The motivation to get involved in a movement is a function of the perceived cost and benefits of participation in the movement. These depend on the types of motivation (instrumentality, identity, ideology) of the individual. In this step, mobilizers must communicate to potential participants the extent to which collective and selective incentives (related to their respective instrumentality, identity, and ideological motivations) are controlled/influenced by mobilizers through the collective action. These messages must be passed on and strengthened based on feedback through multiple channels to the target sub-groups.

Barriers to Participation – The interaction of motivation and barriers activate participation. More motivated people can overcome higher barriers. This opens up two strategies for mobilizers: maintaining or increasing motivation and/or removing barriers. The former strategy is closely related to the arousal of motivation; the latter requires knowledge of barriers and recourses to remove them. This step involves the latter. The specific barriers and actions to overcome them depend on the specific sub-group of mobilizable people targeted.

While the above model proposed by Klandermans (2007) explains the steps by which trade unions mobilize workers, it does not describe how such mobilization moves between lower and higher levels, i.e. mobilization moving from a smaller network to a larger network. For example, from a small group to the entire

organization, or from one organization to a group of organizations. The description is also weak in terms of the content of the proactive and reactive messages exchanged between trade unions and their members, collaborating actors and competing actors. These gaps are addressed primarily in the framing (cultural cognitive) literature reviewed in the next chapter.

The researcher has widely referred to mobilization theory proposed by Kelly (1998) and mobilization framework proposed by Klandermans (1984, 1987, 2005). It is necessary to highlight why they are the preferred theorists.

Klandermans (1984, 1987, 2005) and Kelly (1998) both have extensively worked with main theoretical approaches dealing with collective actions, primarily the rational choice theory, resource mobilization theory, political opportunity structure and cultural cognitive theory. Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (2005) both have criticized rational choice theory proposed by Olson (1971). Kelly questions the correctness and relevance of rational choice theory. He argues that Olson's concept of rationality and individual self-interest is ill defined. Kelly's articulation of collective interest offers a better understanding of collective behaviour than Olson's logic of collective action. With reference to issue of free riders, both Kelly and Klandermans have their opinions. Klandermans (2005) claims that rational actors choose to take a free ride, unless selective incentives prevent the rational actor from doing so. Kelly (1998) claims that in Britain and the US, people join unions instead of free riding

Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (1984, 1987, 2005, 2007) explain the mobilization process in detail. Klandermans emphasises the importance of instrumentality, identity and ideology and Kelly investigates the significance of group identity,

individual interest and group behaviour in collective action such as instrumentality, identity and ideology, group behaviour and individual interest, which play important roles in collectivization.

Kelly's theory of mobilization has emerged from a political opportunity structure perspective. This pays attention to the role of population, state and government. It discusses collective action opportunities and threats.

Klandermans and Oegema (1987) highlight how SMOs act rationally to mobilize members towards collective actions. They distinguish four characteristics of mobilization, mobilization potential, formation and activation of recruitment networks, arousal to participation and removal of barriers to participation. They further distinguish four steps towards participation in social movements as becoming part of the mobilization potential, formation and activation of recruitment networks, arousal of motivation to participate, and removal of barriers to participation. The relevance of these distinctions is justified theoretically by the claim that different theories are needed to explain separate aspects of mobilization and participation, particularly with the argument that different efforts are required from movement organizations depending on the aspects.

Klandermans criticizes contentious politics in terms of questioning that how it works is not clear. It lacks method and evidence, as well as the presentation of the teachings not being straightforward.

Kelly (1998) argues that individuals feel a grievance when breaches of existing rules and consensual social values take place. Assertion of rights and personal efficacy create a feeling of entitlement to their demands and a sense that there is a possibility of making changes in their current situation. These feelings depend

on the beliefs active in the minds of the workers and help them to make sense of the right and obligations deriving from employment relationships in the context of the grievance. He further argues that beliefs (ideologies) help individuals frame issues, events or situations by locating agency for the grievance with employers/government. Thus, Kelly and Klandemans' work related to the main theoretical approaches to collective action and mobilization makes them prominent theorists to refer to extensively.

Conclusion

The existing literature explores the drivers and mobilization process of industrial actions (strike and non-strike). The literature shows that the demand and supply of collective actions (to produce collective goods) by workers depends on macro- and micro-structural, psychological, social, political and cultural factors and SMOs (particularly trade unions) to match the supply with the demand through the mobilization process.

From the main approaches to studying the process of mobilization, rational choice theory states that rational self-interested individuals will not participate in collective action to achieve their common interests, unless there is some kind of coercion or special incentive driving them to participate. Instead, they will become 'free riders', since they stand to benefit from such collective action even if they do not participate. Resource mobilization theory views collective action as a result of the formation of SMOs. These organizations facilitate an efficient mobilization of resources by reducing the cost of participation in collective action, as well as providing satisfaction of participation and association with collective action. The 'political opportunities' approach emphasizes the role of political structures in

shaping the potential opportunities for social movements and achieving their objectives.

The literature also suggests that an agenda of injustice is the essential factor for the mobilization process. Most studies in the literature use mobilization theory to study union participation and participation in strike action. Mobilization theory has been studied by using quantitative as well as qualitative methodologies. The literature also describes the phases of mobilization; however, the gap in the literature suggests that the mobilization process needs further investigation, first, in terms of how mobilization is different from mere union participation and second, examining the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers and whether they are in line with predictions from the union participation literature, and third, investigating the determinants of action mobilization by trade unions among workers and how action mobilization varies depending on the level of consensus mobilization.

Chapter Three: Literature Review – Part II

This chapter is a continuation of the previous Literature Review chapter. It focuses on the role of frames, networks (categories and sub-groups) and emotions in facilitating or inhibiting the mobilization process as being the primary gaps in the literature.

Introduction

Gall (2000, 2003) criticizes Kelly (1998) by suggesting that Kelly (1998) has not been able to offer an answer to how workers and their organizations can move to lower or higher forms of collectivism (mobilization moving from a smaller network to a larger network) and what is the dynamics of the process of collectivism. Gall (2000, 2003) claims, Kelly (1998) does not identify recurring patterns in the way trade unions help workers make sense of the context of collective actions, think through the potential responses to these contexts to select specific collective actions, and provide individual level justifications to trigger participation in these actions. Kelly (1998) also misses identifying recurring patterns in the way trade unions proactively and reactively manage the sense-making process across individual members of trade unions.

Furthermore, from the literature, it is not clear how the injustice agenda is framed collectively, as well as how leaders help to form a collective agenda. Kelly (1998) briefly mentions frames used by leaders but it becomes necessary to understand how unions and their leaderships trigger mobilization using frames to reach out to various networks (categories and sub-groups) to arouse their emotions to participate in collective action. Developing a detailed understanding of frames,

networks and emotions would also help to analyze the mobilization process in greater detail.

3.1 The framing perspective

Leveraging Gall (2003) and Frege and Kelly (2003), Gahan and Pekarek (2013) use the concept of framing from the social movement literature to describe the ways trade unions play a role of strategically seeking to construct collective identities to recruit and mobilize workers through framing. Gahan and Pekarek (2013) also focus on the countering of framing activities by other social actors who seek to prevent this mobilization of workers. They argue that frames allow individuals, groups and organizations to interpret the world around them.

Trade unions use various frames to mobilize workers. The primary mobilization frames include injustice (Gamson et al., 1982), oppositional (Blum-Kulka and Liebes, 1993; Coy and Woehrle, 1996), justice (Ryan, 1991), hegemonic (Blum-Kulka and Liebes, 1993), equal opportunity, rights (Williams and Williams, 1995) and greenback-ism (producerism) frames (Babb, 1996)

Gahan and Pekarek (2013) argue that trade unions perform three basic tasks of framing: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational (action) framing. Diagnostic frames help to identify the source of any grievance and its causes, as well as agents responsible for the grievance. Prognostic frames aim to provide advance solutions to the problem or grievance and also identify strategies necessary to implement the solution. Diagnostic and prognostic framing aim to generate consensus among workers about the trade unions' interpretation of specific situations. Alternatively, motivational (or action) framing seeks to translate this consensus into individual-level participation in the proposed collective action. This

participation in collective action happens through socially constructed motivating vocabularies. These vocabularies are used to sustain workers' participation in collective action.

Trade unions also drive 'four frame alignment processes' viz. bridging, amplification, extension and frame transformation, according to Gahan and Pekarek (2013). They further argue that bridging may occur at organizational and individual levels. Bridging involves efforts towards creating alignment between frames between different trade unions or between individuals. The aim of frame amplification is to construct a frame that emphasises values that are already salient to the targeted audience (union members), which might not have translated into collective action. Frame extension involves a trade union drawing connections between its own primary interests and values, and those of other groups by explaining them as mutually compatible. Frame transformation refers to trade unions planting and nurturing new values. Framing contests are situations where opponents promote frames to challenge the union's frame. However, frame disputes may constrain and extend unions' industrial tactics.

Frame resonance, according to Gahan and Pekarek (2013), is a measure of the effectiveness of frames and thereby of the ability of trade unions to achieve 'frame alignment' and to facilitate mobilization. However, Benford and Snow (2000) argue that the effectiveness of frames and mobilization depends on the credibility and salience of the frame.

3.1.1 Culture, Ideology and Framing

Zald (1996) discusses the interplay between movements, framing and the larger society. He first discusses the cultural construction of repertoires of contention and frames. Since framing takes place in the context of larger societal processes, he examines the contribution of cultural contradictions and historical events in providing opportunities for framing. Zald (1996) argues that frames are generated by various actors for a variety of audiences both inside and outside of a social movement. He emphasizes that framing is a strategic activity and that, within the movement, frames are contested by leaders and the cadre debating alternative goals and visions, as well as externally by counter-movement actors, bystanders and state officials who are in opposition. Therefore, he discusses competitive processes that represent the context in which frames are selected and come to dominate. They are transmitted and reframed in the mass media. Movements depend on the media for transmitting the frames. Understanding frame transmission and the success of frames depends in part upon understanding the production routines of the media and the potential impact of different kinds of media. Zald (1996) argues that it is necessary to understand how political opportunity and mobilization intersect to shape the outcomes of framing competitions. Outcomes are both short-term and long-term, on policy and on the cultural stock.

Cultural breaks create political and mobilization opportunities, Zald (1996) contends. Sometimes these are behavioural events that recast or challenge prevailing definitions of the situation, changing the perception of the costs and

benefits of policies and programmes and the perception of the injustice of the status quo.

Zald (1996) connects framing and the media and argues that framing contests occur in face-to-face interaction and through a variety of media such as newspapers, books, pamphlets, radio and television. Movement activists may debate in various places like coffeehouses, bars or meeting halls, but they should change and mobilize bystander members of the public, many of whom might only know of the movement and its issues through their portrayal in various media. At any point in time, a specific movement has available the current social stock of media possibilities, but over time that stock changes, affecting framing potential.

However, Heery's (2016) "framing work" provides an extensive overview of the literature in the field of industrial relations. This work resonates with Alan Fox's perspective of frames of reference and explores competing unitary, pluralist and critical traditions in the area of industrial relations. These traditions are the backbone of research and debates and they aim to address the contemporary issues of employment relations. Heery (2016) offers a detailed analysis of the current form of unitary, pluralist and critical traditions. Framing work explores four main themes of current debates within industrial relations: employee participation, the rise of customer culture, equality and diversity, and the impact of the global financial collapse. Heery's work helps us to understand how social movements give rise to institutions and how these institutional frameworks influence labour markets and employment relations. Nevertheless, Heery's "framing work" needs to be applied empirically to advance further our understanding of industrial relations.

3.1.2 Influencing Public Media, Electoral and Governmental Agendas

Social movements attempt to influence public policy by getting involved in struggles over meaning, Snow and Benford (1988) argue. The primary task is to frame social problems and injustice to convince diverse audiences. Movement frames are focused on diagnostic and prognostic elements. The diagnostic element defines the problem and its source while the prognostic element defines an appropriate strategy for redressing the problem. However, McCarthy, Smith and Zald (1996) argue that movements lack the political and/or material resources necessary for regular access to political decision-makers. To address this problem, a movement must rely mainly on outsider strategies to reach out to the public and to policymakers about the problems they wish to resolve.

McCarthy, Smith and Zald (1996) try to address two questions relevant to the movement framing processes that have been somewhat neglected in existing research. First, they ask what specific social structures and contexts condition the opportunities for movement framing efforts. Second, they ask what repertoires of tactics emerge within these contexts and structures. In their discussion of the contexts within which movements carry out their strategic framing efforts, they employ the concept of 'arena'. They define four distinct arenas of frame competition: the public, media, electoral, and governmental arenas. Each of these contains distinct sets of competitors, audiences, and 'gatekeepers' whose interaction shapes evolving issue agendas. Second, they present an analysis of the various tactical repertoires available to movements seeking to compete within a given arena. By linking framing, tactics, and arenas, they expose the multi-layered process of spreading the word of the social movement.

Of all the issue arenas targeted by social movement actors, McCarthy, Smith and Zald (1996) argue, the public one is the most decentralized and this makes it more accessible. In addition to the mass media, many organizations and individuals actively compete in their attempts to shape the public agenda by communicating directly with individuals. Communication technologies allow even small, resource-poor operations to circulate a message widely even without the help of mass media. They give examples of public gatherings, distributing newsletters or other literature, telemarketing, direct mail, or door-to-door canvassing. They claim that these communications help to shape individuals' knowledge of potentially significant issues. These local networks and organizations can also help to filter the information received from media, government or other sources.

In discourses on social conflicts, the media pays more attention to the dominant interpretation of the conflicts, according to Van Dijk (1988a, 1988b). The media plays less attention to the views of the activists such as strikers, protestors or contenders. The media highlights the news related to the political elite – government officials, political parties in office and employers' organizations; however, unions, oppositional organizations and movements receive far less attention. Moreover, he demonstrates that negative, short-lived or spectacular events receive more attention than background information.

McAdam (1996) proposes that political movements face multiple strategic hurdles. To bring in the social change these must be dealt with accordingly. Movement groups must attract new recruits and also sustain the morale and commitment of existing members. The movement must generate media coverage, preferably of a favourable sort. Movements must mobilize the support of various bystanders and

constrain the social control options of their opponents, and finally shape public policy and state action.

The first two goals in this list can be thought of as internal to movements, McAdam (1996) further argues. That is, they centre on the effort to maintain the movement's internal strength through recruitment and retention activists. In contrast, the last four of these goals have been the subject of very little empirical research by movement scholars. In what follows, he wants to make them the participation focus of attention. Together they constitute the broader 'environmental change' confronting the movement. While addressing the questions attached to emergence of social movement, McAdam (1996) advocates that movements face a tougher set of challenges during the initial mobilization. Movements can use the framing process as the most important tool to attract and shape media coverage and win the support of bystander publics, constrain movement opponents and influence state authorities. The insurgents of movements depend primarily on various forms of signifying work. In his essay, McAdam discusses how Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) successfully used framing processes in the American civil rights movement. In his concluding remarks, he emphasizes that we need to broaden our analysis to include the full range of publics relevant to whatever movement we seek to understand.

3.1.3 Critical Analysis of Framing perspective

McCarthy, Smith and Zald's (1996) analysis attempts to define the processes surrounding agenda-setting in different arenas and to begin to assess their implications for strategic framing possibilities. While they do not deny the common assumption in framing research that issues are malleable and subject to

movement framing and reframing to improve their likely effectiveness, their review strongly suggests that movements are constrained by competitive agenda-setting logics. Within the agenda-setting environment, movements are further limited by their own capacities for developing strategic frame dissemination repertoires, or tactical combinations aimed at communicating the frames of various audiences and agenda gatekeepers. They further raise the general issue about the relationship of frames to forms of rhetoric and persuasion and to dissemination tactics. In their most truncated version, frames reduce complex issues into evocative phrases, metaphors and slogans. However, it is clear that these truncated frames are only part of the grievances, ideologies and programmes that movements attempt to disseminate. Moreover, the discourse in different arenas may well require more elaborate plans and programmes if they are to be convincing to gatekeepers. In turn, the personnel and expertise required to disseminate these more elaborated proposals will vary by arena. Is it primarily the nature of the dissemination tactics, or mostly the framing opportunity provided by agenda-setting structures and processes, or an interaction between these several separate processes?

Work by Snow et al. (1980) suggests that the rhetorical quality of frames is crucial to their success. The question of the importance of rhetorical quality needs to be stated in a comparative fashion in order that it can be tested empirically. In order to develop such a test, however, the nature of what social movement activists do to disseminate their frames and the background agenda-setting processes must be included as alternative accounts of the success of agenda access. Can poorly articulated frames make it onto agendas if disseminated more effectively than superb ones? Does the rhetorical quality of frames matter more in some agenda

arenas than others? Are there differences across national political systems and national media structures that affect the impact of variable quality frames? Answering questions such as these empirically will help us to evaluate the relative importance of the quality of strategic injustice frames more fully. Looking at the literature and empirical evidence, the major gap in our understanding remains, i.e. how mobilization happens through frames, how mobilization increases and decreases through frames, which frames work in practice, and which don't see much success.

3.1.4 Research Questions Emerging from the Framing Literature

While the above set of theories are very logical from a descriptive perspective, there are few studies of the framing activities by trade unions to mobilize workers for collective actions such as strikes. Specifically, the following research questions need to be studied:

- 1) How do trade unions leverage injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective actions?
- 2) How do trade unions engage in diagnostic, prognostic and action framing to mobilize workers for collective actions?
- 3) How do trade unions leverage frame alignment processes (bridging, amplification, extension, transformation) and framing activities (resonance, disputes, contests) to proactively or reactively increase or decrease the level of collectivisation between members and collaborating actors in the face of attempts by opposing actors to reduce such collectivisation?

Moreover, while frames are a type of signal exchange between trade unions to members and others, the success of these depends on the network used to communicate, as well as their emotional content and context. These are not investigated in the specific context of mobilizing workers for collective actions like strikes. Essentially, apart from the above-discussed theoretical approaches to collective actions in social movements, namely rational choice theory, resource mobilization, political opportunity structures and framing (cultural-cognitive perspectives), networks and emotions play an important role in facilitating or inhibiting collective actions across all these theoretical perspectives.

3.2. Role of Networks (subgroups and categories) in Collective Action

In the literature of social science, management and technology, the term “networks” is used differently in different contexts such as social and digital. Networks can refer to clusters, associations, relations, transactions, categories, groups, interactions, friendships and much more. This terminology appears very complex to capture and study. However, a few social scientists have made efforts to make sense of networks in collective action and have gathered data about the influence of networks on collective action. Nevertheless, networks need more attention and more studies need to be conducted to make sense of social networks and its impact on participation in collective action.

Scott (2017:2) claims, Social networks include digital and online networks but also include such networks as face-to-face relationships, political associations and connections, economic transactions among business enterprises, and geopolitical relations among national states and international agencies.

Landmark studies conducted on Swiss solidarity movements by Passy and Giugni (2001) attempt to explain differential participations in social movements. They claim that the intensity of participation depends on the embeddedness in social networks and on the individual perceptions of participation. Passy and Giugni (2001:124) argue that, not only do networks form the social environment on the basis of which individuals make their own choices in the short run, they also affect in the long run the cognitive parameters that lead to choices such as participating in a social movement or abstaining from doing so.

There are four types of networks, Tindall (2015) argues, personal networks that are implicated in the initial recruitment and ongoing mobilization of social movement members, inter-organizational networks that link members of distinct social movement groups, network structures that help transmit ideas and other aspects of culture and networks that produce social capital for group members. Tindall focuses on the scale of social networks in terms of units of focus and geography. He reviews some aspects of the social psychology of initial mobilization, the importance of networks for targeting others for recruitment, and the factors associated with different trajectories of participation. He also considers some of the main processes that are thought to underline network explanations for individual participation in social movements. Most of this focus considers social ties as a type of 'independent variable' that facilitates processes related to micro-mobilization. In the subsequent sections, he contrasts this by considering research on network ties as an outcome, or 'dependent variable' – namely, network social capital. He also discusses the key network issues related to social media and social movement participation, and appraises some methodological considerations related to network dynamics and social movement participation.

Social networks are a central part of social movement mobilization, Tindall (2015) further argues, and an important explanatory factor of whether an individual join a SMO, participates in a movement event, and/or engages in ongoing participation. Certain characteristics of networks can also serve to constrain social movement participation and/or neutralize micro-mobilization. The challenge of research on networks and social movement participation is that it is not entirely clear whether networks are the 'cause' or the 'effect' of participation.

Tindall (2015) emphasizes that people's actions can be shaped by their networks, and their ideological preferences may also shape the formation of their networks, both between movements and within movements. He argues that it is likely to be the case that there are several different pathways that link networks and participation.

Klandermans and Oegema (1987:519) claim that social movements consist of the formation of mobilization potentials, the formation and activation of recruitment networks, an arousal of motivation to participate and the removal of barriers. They further argue that the formation and activation of recruitment networks must increase the probability that people who are potentially mobilizable become targets. They define this potential as the people in a society who could be mobilized by a social movement. They further argue that the mobilization potential of a social movement is not identical to the social categories who will benefit by achievement of the goals of the movement. However, such categories can easily become included. The potential sets limits within which mobilization campaigns can succeed.

Social networks play an important role in facilitating or preventing collective actions, which, in turn, produce and reproduce social networks (Sewell, 1992; Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994; Emirbayer, 1997; Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Livesay, 2003). Social ties and networks provide opportunities for collective actions (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1995a, 1995b, 2000; Edwards et al., 2001; Prakash and Selle, 2003). An individual's affiliations to multiple groups and multiple identities derived from these exchanges affect intensity and forms of participation (Simmel, 1995; Brieger, 1974). From this viewpoint, social networks influence participation in social movements (Diani 1997) and play important roles in recruitment and participation in social movements as well as in collective action (Wilson, 2000; Diani, 1992, 2003).

Structuralist/Marxist scholar, Tilly (1978), posits the view that shared attributes (categories) of a population explained the occurrences of collective action. However, this was challenged by the view that the co-presence of categorical traits and networks (CATNETs) explained occurrences of collective action much better.

Diani and Mische (2015:306) pose the question that networks affect social movements, but how are movement networks themselves formed and how do they change? They explore the role of ties (connections) and the formation of ties in collective action. They claim that, in social movements, ties serve many functions, such as recruitment contexts, channels of communication and solidarity-building mechanisms among and across movements, as well as resources for the articulation of collaboration across organizations. They argue that networks are either deliberately created or they get created through multiple interactions between members. Ideological proximities are likely to bring actors together. They

also claim that networks may change across the cycles of protest and the trajectories of the activist cohorts.

Gumbrell-McCormick and Hyman (2013:26) state that “effective collective organization, ideally resting on a network of workplace representatives (shop stewards), was considered the best source of improved standards and job protection”. They also discuss the role of the internet in developing cross-national coordinated actions. They discuss examples of ‘virtual strikes’ which often are facilitated by international networks such as LabourStart or Union Solidarity International. They discuss the success of international networks in the 2005 campaign against the dismissal of a Dublin shopworker for wearing a trade union badge. They also discuss the IBM dispute in Italy in 2007 when sympathizers across Europe and beyond bombarded the company with messages.

However, Piven and Cloward (1992) point out that predicting participation based on social network strength is largely tautological, since the number and intensity of ties essentially increases the opportunities for collective action.

It is the transmission of cognitive cultural messages such as ‘moral shocks’, Jasper and Poulsen (1993) observe, that causes mobilization, and while this can happen through social networks, it can happen without social networks too (via the media, for example) and empirical evidence for this exists. For example, Luker (1984) proves that only one fifth of the participants of California anti-abortion mobilizations are recruited through social networks. Snow et al. (1980) advocate that disciples of Hare Krishna had joined independent of their previous connections. The exclusive nature of the Hare Krishna movement may be making it difficult to recruit people belonging to broader networks.

Empirical evidence for the lack of mobilization, despite social networks, also exists. Mullins (1987) claims, in spite of a wealth of interpersonal contacts in a Brisbane local community, mobilizations against plans for a freeway crossing the neighbourhood did not see any success.

There is also some ambiguous evidence for the importance of social networks for mobilization over time. Oliver (1984) finds ties to neighbours associated with participation in neighbourhood associations, but network effects are, overall, mixed. Nepstad and Smith (1999) find ties to participant individuals are more important initially for mobilization, and the role of ties to linked organizations becomes more important for mobilization in later years. There is a need for theoretical articulation, investigation and explanation of this ambiguity.

Summer, Fernandez and McAdam (1989) propose that social networks facilitate recruitment to organizations with a lower intensity of purpose; however, recruitment to organizations with a higher intensity of purpose happens through ties which are developed through previous experience with collective action. Embeddedness of individuals in participant networks of different types can be a key driver of mobilization; individual centrality in networks was found to be a key determination of eventual mobilization, irrespective of past activism.

According to Kriesi (1988) and McAdam and Fernandez (1990), the strength of a countercultural network is inversely proportional to the ease of recruitment based on organizational networks. For Sweden, Sandell and Stern (1998), the density and distribution of ties between the actors that prospective participants are connected to (ego-network) determines the social pressure and incentives required for mobilization. Embeddedness in participant networks is only one of the

ties that potential participants are involved in; other ties also play a key role in eventual mobilization.

McAdam and Paulsen (1993) discover that activism cannot be predicted by embeddedness in an organization or strong ties to people who had already volunteered; however, activism was better predicted by strong commitment to a particular identity, reinforced by ties to participants (organizational or private). The particular identity could be derived from the prospective participants' embeddedness in organizational networks which are compatible with the campaign or organization they are considering joining.

Ohlemacher (1996) and Becker and Dhingra (2001) show how "social relays" can help people mobilize through contacts developed in contexts not directly associated with participation. By social relays they mean organizations or groups where membership does not generate collective action per se but creates opportunities for people with similar presuppositions to meet and eventually develop joint action.

However, the network patterns (broad and complex) of mobilization observed in the combinations of individual-level ties in a given population have been discussed in the following literature, viz. formal modelling of the proportion of people willing to contribute to a cause or the intensity of participation has been undertaken by Marwell and Oliver (1993), Oliver and Marwell (2001), Kim and Bearman (1997) and Gould (1993b).

Oliver and Marwell (2001) challenge Olson's (1963) rational choice theory. They argue that Olson claims that large groups are incapable of generating collective actions. They counter-argue by putting emphasis on the role of a critical mass of

people (organizers). They argue that a critical mass of people faces the costs of starting collective actions regardless of the size of the group as a whole. Their simulations suggest that more centralized groups are more likely to generate collective actions. This centralization is not so important in terms of the number of ties that the organizers are involved in, but more important in terms of the number of resources controlled by the participants they have ties to. Strongly connected sub-groups do not have an impact on mobilization levels unless there are too many such sub-groups trying to prevent the formation of a critical mass of organizers.

Furthermore, network heterogeneity plays an important role because selective mobilization attempts targeting specific sub-groups, or a population are more effective in highly heterogeneous networks compared to homogeneous networks. Recruitment strategies seek to balance reach and selectivity. Broadening reach tends to make messages too generic and vague for the majority, while sharply focusing messages tend to be more appropriate only for reaching smaller target groups.

Based on simulations, Kim and Bearman (1997), discover that collective action occurs only if interest in specific issues and actors' network centrality is positively correlated. A negative correlation may reduce chances of collective action. Looking at the flip side, people with network ties are likely to respond to the decision taken by other people from their network. Moreover, being connected to other people enables the assessment of the impact that one's actions will have on them.

Gould (1993b) simulated collective action as an iterative interdependent process based on norms of fairness among people with mutual ties. Gould suggests that

the density of the network affects the collective action. He argues, denser the network, the higher the level of collective action. He also proposes that the network position of original contributors is also important and significant. He advocates that if the people who started the collective action in the first place are centrally located, then the participation increases steeply. In other words, the centrality of the influential people in the network increases participation in collective action.

Researchers such as Gould (1991, 1993b, 1995) and Hedstrom (1994, 2000) have conducted empirical studies exploring the relationship between collective performance and network variables. Gould (1993b) shows that the similarity of the level of mobilization and demobilization in two sub-networks depends on the strength of the links between them. If there are more links, then the levels are similar than if there are fewer links. Hedstrom (1994) shows that proximity and the subsequent increase in likelihood of personal acquaintances may help with the spread of collective action. Hedstrom (2000) investigates the role of social agitators in forming a macro-network between otherwise fragmented groups of actors and regions. Gerlach and Hine (1970) focus on formalizing and systematizing the role of travelling activists in bonding local groups and individuals in facilitating broader movements. They found that mobilization in different regions is impacted by attributes of the region as well as network factors. Visits by social agitators make a significant difference, along with the strength of ties between regions, given by geographical proximity, or the number of social democratic members in another district. Put succinctly, mobilization develops based on a multi-level network approach encompassing both micro- and macro-level networks.

The work of Carrol and Ratner (1996) connect the structural position of activists in networks of multiple memberships to the mobilization frames and social representations of these social activists. They find that different mobilization frames such as political economy, injustice, liberal and identity frames are linked with specific positions within inter-movement networks. Activists who adopt political economy or injustice frames are most likely to be embedded in linkages involving different types of movements. At the same time, activists framing injustice in terms of identity politics are least embedded in ties and most likely to be 'localists' (attached to a particular locality).

The duality of individuals and groups in terms of interlinking individuals and groups applies to movement leaders and members of other elite groups too. Schmitt-Beck (1989) found an association between movement leaders in the German peace movement of the 1980s to be connected with overlapping memberships of social and political organizations like trade unions, churches, universities, media and other established organizations.

In addition to their role in facilitating mobilization, social network ties can also serve to constrain action in some circumstances. A potential movement participant who has strong ties to individuals who oppose the values and goals of a movement may be constrained in their actions (McAdam and Paulsen, Kitts, cited in Tindall, 2015).

Networks play a significant role in facilitating or obstructing collective actions. While Tilly (1978) and Kelly (1998) briefly mention the role of the density of networks in describing the organization of workers and the role of friendship networks in reducing barriers (with reference to Klandermans, 1984, 1987, 2007)

to participation in collective actions, the breadth and depth of the role of networks in mobilizing workers by trade unions is not described adequately.

3.2.1 Research Questions Emerging from Network Literature

1. How do various ties such as past experience, intensity and centrality to trade union's recruitment networks impact on workers' participation in collective action and intensity of participation proposed by unions?
2. How does the number of common categories among social networks impact on mobilization?
3. How does the function of social networks in mobilization vary by context and time from socialization through providing opportunities to participate and influencing participation decisions? How does the relevance of such functions contribute to increasing the intensity of participation change over time?
4. What is the impact of the participation of workers, in formal organizations culturally close to trade unions, on their willingness to participate in collective action of different intensities?
5. What are the other structures and mechanisms independent of the SMO by which information, resources, expertise and solidarity circulate through various networks and categories?

SMOs' leadership and other actors use frames to target various networks to arouse emotions that aid mobilization. Therefore, studying emotions becomes important.

3.3 Emotional Dimensions of Social Movements

Despite being an important part of social movements, emotions have not received much attention in the relevant literature. Emotions get considered too personal, too idiosyncratic and too inchoate. They are also considered irrational and difficult to model or measure properly. However, scholars like Taylor (1995), Groves (1997), Fernandez (2000), Aminzade and McAdam (2001), Goodwin et al. (2001) and Petersen (2002) have paid attention to the significance of emotions in social movements, political conflicts and protests.

Goodwin et al. (2001) argue that a generation of researchers, eager to establish the rationality of participants as a way of rejecting earlier crowd theories, associated strong emotions with irrational behaviour; consequently, they distinguish between immediate reflex emotions, longer-term affective commitments, moods and emotions. Goodwin et al. (2001) criticize past researchers for taking a handful of sudden reflex emotions as the qualifier of all emotions. They claim that most categories of emotion do not encourage irrational acts, and even reflex emotions do so only occasionally. They further emphasize that most emotions are shaped by cultural understandings and norms; theories and methodologies used to understand cognitive beliefs and moral visions can be applied to analyze emotions.

3.3.1 Emotions in Social Movement Theory

Within social movement literature, Klandermans (2015) advocates that various types of emotions are part of social movements. They can be approach- and

avoidance-oriented. Due to fear, people refrain from taking part in collective action, which might be an example of an avoidance-oriented emotion. Anger is known to be an antecedent of protest participation, which is an approach-oriented emotion. He further argues that a feeling of efficacy is associated with displays of anger. People are more likely to feel fear when they do not feel efficient. His study among migrants confirms the above discussion. Anger fosters collective action participation and fear undermines it. Anger and fear are important emotions for collective action participation; however, emotions like hope and despair also play important roles.

Political process theorists ignored the role of emotions while discussing rational choice theory and the calculations actors make. Nevertheless, Gamson et al.'s (1982) injustice frame was based on an acceptance of righteous anger as occupying centre stage in injustice. They found that emotions like suspicion, anger and other emotions often arose even before placing the blame through more cognitive processes. They claim that emotions are seen as cultural accomplishments more than automatic physiological responses. Hence, anger can be treated as a normal variable or mechanism in the model of social movements.

The introductory chapter in *Emotions and Social Movements* by Flam and King (2005) espouses that even the most ardent enemies of emotions, such as the rational choice proponents, have come to recognize that they are unable to explain the many anomalies they encounter in their research without recourse to emotions.

Flam and King (2005) believe that it is not too early to link movement-generated emotions to protest strategies or movement action repertoires in a systematic way. They examine a wider range of emotions. In their volume, not only the standard

set of emotions such as shame, pride, anger and solidarity are subject to analysis, but they also make room for emotions such as loyalty, joy, hope, fear, contempt, sadness, distrust, empathy, compassion, altruism, outrage, gratitude and happiness. However, to prevent a cacophony of emotions, they offer several frameworks that aim to link them to each other in a systematic manner. They go beyond simply introducing emotions to social movement research. They are further developing the field by, first, showing how emotions connect the macro-politics to the micro-politics of social movements. Second, they also focus on the highly emotional movement-stages of public events and the role of emotions in constituting, not only the movement collective or its interactions with the opponents, but also those with its public. Third, they bring emotions into the analysis of the sustainability and demise of social movements. Fourth, they pay attention to the difficulties associated with attempts to express, regulate and ignore emotions within social movements.

Flam (2005) contends that research on emotions and social movement should begin with macro-politics. The focus of most movement researchers has been on the role of mobilizing emotions or they have focused on how social movements transform and manage the feelings of their members. In contrast, the following research agenda contends that emotions do not exclusively belong in the realm of the micro-politics of social movements and that we need more systematically to connect the micro-politics of social movements to macro-politics. It cautions about treating emotions in a narrow, instrumental-functionalist manner, as social facts with functions, or as a new type of resource that movements can use. The research agenda outlined in this chapter opens exciting new directions for the study of emotions and social movements. It draws attention to those emotions which social

movements (de-)construct or redirect to achieve an emotional re-framing of reality. It proposes that emotions allow macro-politics to connect to the relevant emotions such as loyalty, fear, shame or anger. These frameworks support social structures and relations of dominations and allow us to enhance our understanding about the counter-emotions movements construct. Asking which organizational and discursive dynamics lead movements to generate a particular set of emotions and feelings constitutes another interesting area of inquiry. Research suggests that we should broaden our understanding of the emotions that social movements direct towards themselves as well as towards their opponents. The number of emotions that social movements construct cannot be reduced to two emotions, namely solidarity reserved for one's own group and anger directed at the opponent. Instead, many other emotions have to be put on the research agenda. Emotions resist attempts to become rule-bound and have their intensity, direction or duration prescribed. Social movements produce a variety of emotions and feelings that have various, sometimes counter-intuitive, structural and action consequences. These, as well as their macro- and micro-preconditions, are worth exploring.

3.3.2 Emotions and Movements: Performing Opposition

Eyerman (2005) establishes a relationship between emotions and movements. He used performance theory to explain how social movements move. Flam (1990) argues that all movements are emotional and strategic, combining and balancing good intentions and good results, in addition to being a source of instability and unpredictability. The force of emotion is an essential part of what keeps a movement moving and its lack helps explain its decline. If those structural, organizational and institutional approaches which have dominated the analysis of

social movement have now been radically modified – if not transcended – by more dialogic, cultural approaches, the place of emotions is still left to be clarified. The focus on reasoned calculation and the efficient use of resources in structured settings have given way to the role of narration and performance, to framing and expressivity. However, the arguments between the instrumental and expressive still used to define the field. In this situation, performance theory can be useful.

Flam (1990) further advocates that social movement is a form of acting in public. Movements are political performances which involve representation in dramatic form, as they engage emotions inside and outside their bounds while attempting to communicate their message. Such performance is always public, as it requires an audience, which is addressed. The application of a theory of performance allows one to call attention to the place and space of movement, as well as how opposition is performed. Performance, as methodology in the term's broad meaning, focuses on corporality, presence and the pre-discursive, giving importance to emotions. The theory argues that both actors and audiences must be moved if the performance is to be successful. The adoption of performance theory allows to address issues better such as what happens when people enter a movement and how this affects their actions and the actions of others, as well as understanding how social movements move. The notion of framing is an important concept in recent social movement theory and an important middle step in bridging past dichotomies. Framing calls attention to the cognitive processes of making sense and the often-contentious struggle of defining a situation, but it can also involve dramatization, placing and event, a demonstration. Framing flows into ideology. Social movements articulate frames as much as they may make use of them as resources in mobilization, in that activists make sense of their own

protests through pre-existing narrative frames. If social movements articulate frames of understanding, the performance of protest actualizes them. The performance of opposition dramatizes and forcefully expresses a movement through designed and stylized acts, communicating protest beyond the movement itself. Performance theory adds a new dimension to the study of social movements in linking cognitive framing, narration and discourse with the practice of mobilization, and emotions. The narratives in social movements are not simply scripted stories, but powerfully coded and contested interpretive frames out of which emotionally charged social drama unfolds.

3.3.3 Mobilization and the Moral Shock

Wettergren (2005) argues that the strength of identity comes from its emotional side. This connection between emotions and identity shows the necessity of employing emotion theory in the study of social movement mobilization.

Moral shock arises when an unexpected event or piece of information raises a sense of outrage in a person who gets motivated toward political action. The concept of moral shock differs from that of an injustice frame in that the former does not require the presence of a movement discourse. The moral shock may take place outside, and irrespective of, a social movement but it needs to lead to engagement in order to render the shocking experience meaningful. Whether an individual or a collective experience, the moral shock may give rise to an identity crisis resolved through political commitment (Moore, Jr., 1978, cited in Wettergren, 2005). Wettergren argues that it follows that movement actors also may try to construct moral shocks in order to make people adopt an injustice frame. Visuals play an important role in stirring up emotions and are useful in mobilizing and

consciousness-raising strategies of a movement. Emotions hold identity at a depth that make it hard to mobilize bystanders only with rational arguments. The moral shock may be a first step toward mobilization, and it might be the effect of a movement's mobilizing strategies, as well as a single event or series of events taking place outside of the movement discourse. People join social movements when they feel insecure and face a loss of meaning and identity. If this is true, it could explain why mobilization occurs when political opportunity structures are manifestly not open.

Bringing emotions into the main discussion of social movements will not only result in thick descriptions of social movements and a better understanding of their micro-foundations, according to Goodwin et al. (2007:425), emotion is a very important aspect of social movements. Studying emotions will give answers to key issues such as why people join or support movements, why movements occur when they do, why and how movements are organized the way they are, what ends movements attempt to realize and why movements decline. Emotions deserve a place in the analysis of social movements.

3.3.4 Research Questions Emerging from Literature on Emotions

While Kelly (1998) briefly mentions how leaders make emotional appeals to mobilize workers, the breadth and depth of the role of emotions in mobilization is not described.

1. Does an increase in the emotions (particularly of anger) trigger a higher degree or timing of participation in collective action when it is the only or prime means of expressing the anger, and when there are other means?

2. How are the barriers to mobilization due to the emotion of fear mitigated through the actions of SMOs (mass meetings, strong collective identity and belief in divine protection, ensuring the strikes are legal and improving the strength of social network connecting the individuals to the SMO)?

3. How do SMOs try to arouse a feeling of hope through collective action so that participants get satisfaction from action (acting in the face of those denying capacity for courage, dignity and coordination) as well as furthering the goals of the action?

Conclusion

Both Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (2007) do not explain the strategic actions that trade unions take to mobilize workers as well. The framing, networks and emotions literature reviewed help to clarify these actions in terms of how trade unions frame issues over space, parties and time, how they transmit frames to various parties based on the networks connecting the trade union to these parties, and how trade unions seek to provoke emotions which can enhance mobilization and seek to reduce the impact of emotions which can reduce mobilization. While we discuss the mobilization process, there are efforts made by other involved parties to demobilize participants.

Furthermore, while industrial relations literature is rich in studies focused on mobilization for participation in trade union activities, studies of mobilization for specific strike action events are not as rich in number, breadth and depth, as strikes occurs rarely and therefore the opportunities to study actual strike action are few. Taking advantage of the opportunity to study this phenomenon, the researcher is motivated to investigate the mobilization theory in detail and

contribute in emphasizing the role of networks, emotions and framings in the mobilization process.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter focuses on the context, design and the strengths and weaknesses of the research. It provides the rationale for using various research methods which include surveys, interviews, observations and an analysis of secondary data. This chapter gives an overview of the case study method and deals with issues of reliability and validity. It explains the ethical issues involved in the qualitative and quantitative research and justifies the researcher's position and perspective with respect to the study.

4.1 Research Context

The British HE system has witnessed a wave of collective actions in 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014 over issues of pay, job security and pensions. The coalition government claims that the economic crisis and the previous Labour government's economic policies have forced them to bring in reforms in the form of spending cuts in state pensions and pay. The British HE system has been affected by austerity measures over pay and pensions which have created a lot of unrest.

After multiple failed negotiations with government and employers' representatives until March 2011, the UCU proposed collective action and mobilized its members against these reforms. In the months of March 2011 and September 2011, ballots were conducted to canvas the views of employees in HE over strike and actions short of a strike. In the context of economic reforms, government ideology and related events such as union ballots and proposed strike actions by unions, there arose an excellent opportunity to study the process of mobilizing HE employees and potentially augmenting mobilization theory as formulated in industrial relations

literature particularly in relation to the framing activities of SMOs and the roles of emotions and networks. While the industrial relations literature is primarily focused on mobilization for participation in trade union activities. As strikes do not take place frequently, the studies of mobilization for specific strike action events are not as rich in number as well as in breadth, and depth.

4.2 Research questions

Arising from the literature review, the following research questions form the core of the thesis:

- A. What are the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers? Are they in line with predictions from the union participation literature? What are the determinants of action mobilization by trade unions among workers? How does action mobilization vary depending on the level of consensus mobilization?

- B. How do trade unions leverage framing to mobilize workers for collective actions like strike and actions short of a strike?
 - 1. How do trade unions leverage injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity, and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective actions?
 - 2. How do trade unions engage in diagnostic, prognostic and action framing to mobilize workers for collective actions?
 - 3. How do trade unions leverage frame alignment processes (bridging, amplification, extension, transformation) and framing activities (resonance, disputes, contests) to proactively or reactively, increase or decrease the level

of collectivization between members and collaborating actors in the face of attempts by opposing actors to reduce such collectivization?

C. While Tilly (1978) and Kelly (1998) briefly mention the role of the density of networks in describing organizations of workers and the role of friendship networks in reducing barriers (with reference to Klandermans, 1984, 1987, 2007) to participation in collective actions, the breadth and depth of the role of networks in mobilization of workers by trade unions has not been adequately researched. There is a need to study how trade unions leverage networks to mobilize workers for collective actions like strike and actions short of a strike.

1. How do social ties impact workers' the form and intensity of participation in collective action?

2. How does the number of common categories among social networks impact mobilization?

3. How does the function of social networks in mobilization vary by context and over time?

4. What is the impact of the participation of workers in formal organizations culturally close to trade unions on their willingness to participate in collective action of different intensities?

5. What are the other structures and mechanisms independent of the SMO by which information, resources, expertise and solidarity circulate through various networks and categories?

D. While Kelly (1998) briefly mentions how leaders make emotional appeals in order to mobilize workers, the breadth and depth of the role of emotions in

mobilization is not described. How do unions leverage emotions to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and action short of a strike?

1. Does an increase in the emotions (particularly of anger) trigger a higher degree or level of participation in collective action?
2. How are the barriers to mobilization due to the emotion of fear mitigated through the actions of SMOs?
3. How do SMOs try to arouse a feeling of hope through collective action so that participants get satisfaction from action as well as furthering the goals of the action?

4.3 Research Design

Some of the above-mentioned research questions are addressed by quantitative investigations in this study, and others are answered by qualitative investigations. Taking this mixed-methods approach is especially helpful for an in-depth analysis of the research questions.

Creswell (2015) claims that mixed-methods research is seen as an approach in the social, behavioural, and health sciences in which the investigator gathers both quantitative (closed-ended) and qualitative (open-ended) data, integrates the two, and then draws interpretations based on the combined strengths of both sets of data to understand distinct but related research questions. A core assumption of this approach is that when an investigator combines statistical trends (quantitative data) with stories and personal experiences (qualitative data), this collective strength provides better understanding of the research questions than from either type of data alone (Creswell, 2015:2).

All research methods have both strengths and weaknesses, Creswell (2005) argues, and the combination of the strengths of both provides a good rationale for using mixed methods. The combination of quantitative and qualitative research enables us to obtain two different perspectives, one drawn from closed-ended response data (quantitative) and one drawn from open-ended personal data (qualitative).

May (2001) argues, to understand social processes in context and human behaviour, the survey method may not be sufficient. He further argues that, the survey method gets criticism because the researchers may have presuppositions, such as the relationship between age and voting behaviour, leading the researcher to ask particular questions. He suggests, this issue can be handled by paying attention to design, measurement and pilot work. However, the central issue remains, how people interpret the world around them and act within their social universe. To address these issues associated with survey method, the researcher has combined various methods and have added rigour to the research.

Collis and Hussey (2003) argue that, it is perfectly possible and even advantageous to use both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection. To add qualitative insight and knowledge it is possible to accompany questionnaire survey with some in depth interviews.

Since the researcher has used a mixed-methods approach, it would be helpful to map the main research questions against the methodologies used for data collection.

Main Research Questions	Data collection methods
<p>What are the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers? Are they in line with the predictions from the union participation literature? What are the determinants of action mobilization by trade unions among workers? How does action mobilization vary depending on the level of consensus mobilization?</p>	<p>Primarily survey data supplemented with some interview and observation data</p>
<p>How do trade unions leverage framing to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and action short of a strike?</p>	<p>Survey data, interviews, participation observation, media discussion, secondary data (website, pamphlets, social media and print media)</p>
<p>How do trade unions leverage networks to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and action short of a strike?</p>	<p>Survey data, interviews, participation observation, media discussion, secondary data (website, pamphlets, social media and print media)</p>

Main Research Questions	Data collection methods
How do trade unions leverage emotions to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and action short of strike?	Survey data, interviews, participation observation, media discussion, secondary data (website, pamphlets, social media and print media)

Table 4.1 Main research questions and data collection methods

4.3.1 Features of the Case Study Method

Yin (2003:13) states “a case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. According to Yin (2003:2). The case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristic of real-life events such as individual lifecycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries.

The phenomenon under study encompasses the real-life organizational and people processes. It primarily deals with understanding how people make sense of injustice, how people are influenced by the various frames used by organizations and actors involved in the strike action to arouse the emotions of employees belonging to various network categories, why workers vote in a particular way and what drivers influence the mobilization process. However, case study method is not free from weaknesses. Yin (2003) argues that researchers

show major concerns about case study methods and their lack of rigour, which are often confused with case study teaching. The case study method may be difficult to generalize, but it produces long results and a large number of documents.

4.3.3 Rationale for Selecting a Single Case Study

Yin (2003:45-46) proposes that single cases are a common design for case studies. According to Yin, case studies can be holistically designed, can be embedded in unit analysis and can be used when a researcher is testing existing theories or unique circumstances. Single case studies can also be used in longitudinal studies, for example, when studying a case at two or more points in time. A single study is used when the case is typical or representative, for example, if it is revealing information about the experience of an average person or institution. They should be carefully selected, making sure that they are representative of the phenomena under investigation. There are distinctive advantages to single case studies. It is easy to negotiate access to them and it provides an opportunity to conduct in-depth research. However, unlike multiple case studies, the results may not be robust, and the researcher may not have the opportunity to compare the results. Yin (2003) claims that it is necessary to make a prior decision when selecting single or multiple case studies in order to ensure that they adequately address the research questions.

Birkbeck UCU is a branch of the national UCU, which represents over 110,000 academics, lecturers, trainers, instructors, researchers, managers, administrators, computer staff, librarians and postgraduates in universities, colleges, prisons, adult education and training organizations across the UK. The research could have

been conducted using case studies of multiple UCU branches, similar to Birkbeck. Multiple cases may have helped to provide comparison between various branches. They may have helped to analyze and compare mobilization processes used by different local branches and may have increased the scope of generalization of the study. Nevertheless, the national UCU, as a parent body and its leadership, play a larger role in negotiation and developing multiple strategies related to recruitment of members, planning strikes and related events. Those strategies are followed by the local branches along with any branch-specific strategies. For example, Birkbeck UCU conducts multiple branch-specific events such as making presentations to new recruits, conducting branch-level strikes and actions short of strike as well as conducting training programmes for members.

The Birkbeck UCU branch helps their members in multiple ways: they protect and represent their members at work in case things go wrong; negotiate locally on working conditions; help to make Birkbeck a better place for the workers and students of Birkbeck; and disseminate information about developments at Birkbeck and across the HE sector. UCU is not affiliated to any political party. Birkbeck UCU's activists and officers promote UCU policies. UCU is keen to rein in the dramatic growth in casual work contracts within the university sector, the unequal treatment of part-time staff and the attacks on public sector pay and pensions. The ratio of temporary and part-time to permanent and full-time staff in HE and further education (FE) is one of the highest in the economy (www.bbk.ac.uk/ucu).

Birkbeck UCU is a medium-sized branch of UCU in London. It is surrounded by other college and university branches such as University College London, SOAS, the London School of Economics and the School of Hygiene and Tropical

Medicine. Birkbeck UCU currently represents 506 (as on May 2017) members, comprising 280 female members and 221 male members (the gender of 5 members is unknown). There are 206 full-time employees, 110 hourly-paid union members, 69 part-time members, and 111 members whose employment type is unknown, alongside 9 variable-hours members. Out of the 506 union members, there are 391 academic lecturers and tutors, 36 postgraduate students, 16 administrative staff, 10 computer department staff, 8 library staff, 19 research staff, 4 management and 2 senior management staff, alongside 11 members whose status is unknown. Regarding the type of employment, there are 261 permanent members, 171 fixed-term members, 10 self-employed members, 1 agency worker and 1 zero-hour worker and 61 members whose status is unknown. Overall, in terms of its membership, Birkbeck UCU is a diverse branch and it provides a typical representation of many university branches. Therefore, Birkbeck makes a good case study to investigate the mobilization process in HE. However, four other UCU branches were contacted to participate in the research: The University of Sheffield, Birmingham University, Wolverhampton University and the London School of Economics but all refused to participate in the research. Due to the representative nature of Birkbeck UCU in terms of size and membership composition, it was felt to be a sensible choice for this research.

UCU works closely with other unions on matters of common concern, often jointly lobbying government and other bodies on employment and educational issues. These include the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) and UNISON. UCU is affiliated to the Trades Union

Congress (TUC) and sends delegates to its annual congress and to its women's and black members, disabled and LGBT conferences. (www.ucu.org.uk)

In conclusion, a single case study offers an opportunity to conduct an in-depth and holistic study.

4.4 Reliability and Validity of the Study

The goal of reliability is to minimize the errors and biases in a study (Yin, 2003). Reliability is concerned with the findings of the research and its credibility. A study becomes reliable when it yields the same results or comparable results if the study is repeated. The researcher has followed a number of procedures to ensure reliability and authenticity of the research findings by using multiple sources to gather primary and secondary data which includes survey data collected in years 2011 and 2013, interviews and observations conducted during strikes and attendance at union meetings, as well as analyzing secondary data in the form of social media and digital information.

Collis and Hussey (2003) contend that validity is the extent to which the research findings accurately represent what is really happening in the situation. Factors such as inaccurate research procedure, errors in research, poor samples and inaccurate measurement can affect the validity of a study. However, there are multiple ways in which the issue of validity can be dealt with. For example, there is face validity, which typically involves ensuring that the test or measures used by the researcher do actually measure what they are supposed to measure. Another form is construct validity, which is important to business research. This relates to the problem that there are numerous phenomena which are not directly observable, such as motivation, satisfaction, ambition and anxiety.

4.5 Construction of Validity, Reliability, Generalizability of the Study

This research is based on a solid framework of widely accepted mobilization theory; therefore, the possible reliability of the study improves. To check the internal validity of the case study, data was collected from different sources. The first source was surveys, which were administered longitudinally with repeated measure. The surveys were emailed to all members of Birkbeck UCU. The second source was unstructured interviews with union representatives, union members and non-union members as well as students from the organization under study. The third source was the literature available on the website of UCU, as well as business magazines, newspapers, social media, organizational brochures and presentations. The fourth source was observation, where the researcher had observed committee meetings of Birkbeck UCU, visited picket lines during the strikes and also attended rallies and gatherings during strikes (in 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014).

Multiple studies have been based in the area of mobilization. The measurement scale used in this research is appropriated in part from the work of Johnson and Jarley (2004). The results of their study are in line with previous studies conducted in the area, for instance Fryxell and Gordon (1989), Fuller and Hester (2001), Colquitt (2001), Klandermans (1984), Kelly (1998), Aryee and Chay (2001), Hamner and Smith (1978) and Atzeni (2010). To improve the reliability of the study, care was taken to minimize errors at the research design stage, at data collection and data analysis.

Generalizability of the research is concerned with the application of research results from the case study to situations which are not examined in the study. This is 'the extent to which you can come to conclusions about one thing (often a population) based on information about another (often sample)' (Vogt (1993), cited in Collis and Hussey, 2003). There are many ways research can be generalized from sample to population. It is possible to generalize a single case study if one has a comprehensive understanding of the activities and behaviour one is studying.

Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) agree that, generalizability sometimes is referred as external validity. There is always a concern of whether the findings of the research are applicable to other research settings, for other organizations. Generalizability particularly becomes crucial when the research is conducted using case study method in one organization or small number of organizations. It may also be important if the organization under study is remarkably different. In such case the researcher may want to test the robustness of the conclusion in other setting or by doing follow up study. However, mixed method research provides provided rich data which may improve the reliability and validity of the research.

4.6 Data Collection Choices

4.6.1 Repeated measures and longitudinal study vs cross-sectional study

Collis and Hussey (2003) argue cross-sectional studies are often associated with positivistic methodology. They are preferred when the researcher has constraints of time and resources. The data is collected only once and over a short period of time before it is reported. Cross-sectional studies provide a snapshot of an ongoing

situation or phenomenon and are often used to study the characteristics of large samples of individuals or organizations; however, the main problem with cross-sectional studies is associated with selecting a large enough sample to be representative of the population. The second problem is that one cannot infer causality from the correlations between the variables measured in the study. However, cross-sectional studies are inexpensive, and, unlike longitudinal studies, there are rarely problems of attrition, i.e. very few of the subjects under study are lost.

The main feature and objective of a longitudinal study is to investigate the same situation or people over a period of time, according to Collis and Hussey (2003). Longitudinal study is useful in examining the change process with a social, economic and political context. These types of studies provide better explanation about the change process and any emerging patterns. Longitudinal studies also provide control over the variables under study and may consist of a chain of studies and each link in the chain may be an examination or re-examination of an associated group or social process. Compared to cross-sectional study, it is harder to negotiate access for a longitudinal study. However, there may be a problem of losing subjects during the span of the study and, moreover, this methodology may be time-consuming, as well as expensive. The researcher has to be involved for many years in the process to enjoy the benefits of using the methodology.

The research under scrutiny investigates the ballots and strike actions in HE. The survey data in 2011 helped the researcher to understand the consensus mobilization for action mobilization. It was obvious that the wave of strike action was here to stay. There were simultaneous strike actions taking place across the public sector. The strikes in 2011 were nationwide strikes and had a large impact

on participants, students, labour politics and the economy. The researcher made a conscious decision to conduct a longitudinal and repeated measure study to understand the strike actions and changes in behaviour of union participants. The researcher preferred a series of snapshots of the event than a single one. The ballots and strike actions in 2011, 2013 and 2014 have provided the right opportunity to carry out a longitudinal and repeated measure study.

Acknowledging some of the above-mentioned weaknesses, while conducting the study, the same sample was used for the survey, i.e. the members of Birkbeck UCU. For the interviews, it was not possible to interview the same participants repeatedly; however, people with similar profiles were interviewed to maintain the reliability and validity of the data collected. For example, academics, students, staff, contract employees, and union representatives were interviewed, and during observation, people with similar profiles were observed during committee meetings, on picket lines, and at rallies and gatherings.

4.6.4 Questionnaire Surveys

A questionnaire survey was used to determine the relationship between different variables, for instance, demography and its impact on voting decisions. It also investigated union instrumentality, procedures and their effect on voting behaviour. The aim of the survey was to find out what a select group of participants think or feel about the phenomenon of mobilization in British HE. Collis and Hussey (2003) propose that positivistic methodologies use closed-ended questions and the decision was therefore made to administer this type of questionnaire. There are obvious advantages and disadvantages of using survey questionnaires. The primary advantages are that one can reach a larger population; surveys are easy

to administer, and with current technological advances, it is easier to send multiple reminders at a very low cost. With surveys, it is easier to maintain the confidentiality of the participants. Advanced tools, like Survey Monkey, have the provision to minimize human error, while coding the responses.

However, one major disadvantage could be sampling bias. Care was taken that the surveys were sent to all the members of the sample under study, i.e. members of Birkbeck UCU. Another widely discussed issue is the validity of the questions. Utmost care was taken at the questionnaire design stage, since designing the questions is a crucial element of the data collection method. The questionnaire was distributed to a number of academics and language experts to get feedback on the language used and to eliminate any misleading or unclear questions. The feedback was incorporated into the questionnaire.

A pilot study was also conducted to eliminate errors and to understand the feasibility of administering the survey to a large group. Four pilot participants were asked to take the online survey, two of whom were subject experts, one was a linguist and the fourth was a lay person who did not have any connection with the subject or academic strikes and was not affected by the strike in any way. The pilot participants were asked to take the survey while keeping the following objectives in mind: the feasibility of taking the online survey; the convenience of taking the online survey; the difficulty or ease of flipping between survey pages; the layout of the survey; the practical difficulties of filling in the survey; clarity of the questions; any ambiguities in the questionnaire; and the time taken to complete the survey.

The pilot survey participants did not face any difficulty in filling in the survey and the average time taken to complete was reported to be approximately 10 minutes.

The survey questions were easy to understand, there were no leading questions and the pages of the survey were easy to maneuver.

4.6.5 Questionnaires

The questionnaire administered in 2011 and 2013 was designed keeping in mind the following objectives of the research (for a copy, see Appendix):

1. What are the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers?
2. Are these determinants in line with the predictions from the union participation literature?
3. What are the determinants of action mobilization by trade union among workers?
4. How does action mobilization vary depending on the level of consensus mobilization?

In the questionnaire administered in 2011, there are 38 independent variables and 2 dependent variables (vote for strike for pension and vote for strike for pay and job security). The strike for pay and job security happened before the strike for pensions and the questionnaire was administered after both the strike votes had happened. Out of these 38 independent variables, there are 6 demographic variables: age, gender, type of employment, term of employment, level of

education and years in the union. The remaining variables are job satisfaction, union participation, union instrumentality, workplace justice, union interaction, trustworthiness of the union, percentage of employees who are in favour of strike action over pay in the respondents' department, job security and pensions, reasons for non-participation in the ballot and interest in politics and collective action.

In the questionnaire administered in 2013, there were 39 independent variables, as a union messaging variable was added to understand the impact of union messages on mobilization. The rest of the independent variables remained the same as in the 2011 survey and the strike vote for pay and job security and strike vote for pensions remained as dependent variables. The 2013 survey was based on a multiple-injustice agenda including pay, pensions, job security, pay gap, workload and funding surpluses.

Union participation is used as the dependent variable representing consensus mobilization in relation to the 2011 and 2013 strikes. Participation in union activities is a measure of people's support for the union's overall point of view, and therefore it is a good measure of consensus mobilization.

Vote for strike over pay and job security (2011 first strike), vote for strike over pensions (2011 second strike) and vote for strike over multiple issues (2013) are used as dependent variables in the regressions to understand action mobilization for strike voting by UCU members at Birkbeck.

4.7.2 Measures

- i. Multiple injustice scale with 7 items (used in 2013) – pay rate, inequality, zero hours contract, job security, workload, living wage and funding surplus. These variables were identified from the union website, pamphlets, union newsletters and discussions among the employees.
- ii. Pension injustice scale with 3 items – greater pension contribution, increase in pension age and lower benefits were grouped together to create the scale.
- iii. Pay and job security injustice scale with 3 items – The variables included in the scale were Increased work with no increase in pay, pay cuts and pay freezes.
- iv. Pension pay and job insecurity injustice – greater pension contribution, increase in pension age, lower benefits, increase in work with no increase in pay, pay cuts and pay freezes. This is a combination of scale ii and iii.

Instrumentality, identity and ideology are the major motivation factors influencing mobilization for strikes. However, to study which factor influenced which subgroup of workers to vote for the strike, these factors were grouped with relation to pension strike action and pay-job security strike action. The following scales were developed to understand strike voting behaviour.

- v. Pension strike instrumentality, identity and ideology scale containing 5 items – strike is the only way to protect pensions, issues related to pensions should be resolved through discussion, unfair treatment to staff triggered the strike, a change in pensions is inevitable so there is no point resisting and finally, the strike was caused by a strong union.
- vi. Pay and job security instrumentality, identity and ideology scale containing 4 items – strike is the only way to protect pay and job security, issues related to pay

and job security should be resolved through discussion, unfair treatment of staff triggered the strike and finally the strike was caused by a strong union.

vii. Strike instrumentality, identity and ideology 2011 scale containing 7 items (2011 combination of above 2 scales) – Strike is the only way to protect pensions, strike is only way to protect pay and job security, issues related to pensions should be resolved through discussion, issues related to pay and job security should be resolved through discussion, unfair treatment of staff triggered the strike, pension change is inevitable so there is no point resisting it and finally, strike is caused by the presence of a strong union.

viii. Strike instrumentality, identity and ideology 2013 scale containing 5 items (2013) – striking is the only way to fight the injustice, issues should be resolved through discussion, unfair treatment for staff triggered strike action, pay cut is inevitable so there is no point resisting and finally, collective action is driven by a strong union.

ix. Union message contact scale containing 6 items (used in 2013) – This scale included variables such as regular union communication from UCU, regular update on UCU website, information pamphlets distributed by UCU, attending UCU meetings, news through print, visual and social media – Facebook and Twitter, discussions with, and updates from, colleagues.

4.7.3 Demographic (control) variables

Variables which may influence voting decisions such as age, gender, level of education, years in UCU, type of employment and term of employment (part-time, fixed term). Demographic variables have been shown to correlate with union participation as well as participation in strike action and voting for strike action.

Categorical and dichotomous variables were used depending on the factor under study and for reliable data gathering. For example, for the categorical variable age, 5 response categories ranging from age 20 to 70 with intervals of 10 years were used.

For categorical variable education, 5 response categories were used which included, PhD, Professional, Post-Graduate, Graduate and Undergraduate. The case under study is a Higher Education sector, it is expected that a greater number of employees fall into category of Graduate and above. Higher education sector also employs professionally educated staff such as IT consultants etc. A good number of administrative staff are graduates and large number of teaching staff are PhDs. Hence 5 response scale was included.

Dichotomous variables were used in relation to the respondent's sex (male or female), term of employment and type of employment as well as participation in the ballot over pensions, pay and job security, and also to understand views of respondents for strikes and action short of a strike. These response categories were coded as 1 and 2.

Union participation – A 10-item scale was used based on Johnson and Jarley (2004). Responses were on a 5-point scale ranging from ‘never’ to ‘always’ and were coded so that a higher score indicated greater union participation. The scale included the following items: served on union committee or ran for union office, spoke up at a union meeting, attended a function designed to show the union strength, convinced other members to join the union, discussed a work-related problem with other union representatives, voted in a union election, attended a union meeting or information session, read the union newsletter and helped a new union member to learn the ropes at work or in the union.

Union instrumentality – This 7-item scale was modified by re-wording to fit the context of a British HE union, for instance, whether the union is able to represent the employee’s interests in parliament. A 5-point response scale was used with poor and excellent as the scale anchors. The items were as follows: the union representing your interests before parliament, protecting your wages and fringe benefits, answering questions about your rights on the job, providing you with educational opportunities, building a cohesive union, keeping you informed about the new laws and policies that affect you, being a watchdog over management on a day-to-day basis and helping you advance in your career.

4.8 Quantitative Data analysis techniques

The first survey was administered in 2011 and out of 171 responses, 154 were usable. The union membership strength in the year 2011 was approximately 350 members, so 154 usable responses gave a response rate of 44%. The data was

downloaded into SPSS-18, which is the most advanced and suitable tool for analyzing survey research.

In 2013, another set of data was collected. The 2013 survey yielded 63 responses. During 2013 there were approximately 375 members, so the response rate was 17%. The researcher could not send multiple reminders to improve the response rate further, as union officials were of the opinion that it was a peak time for unrest in, HE. The UCU and local branches were sending a lot of emails with updates about union negotiations (with the employer and its representatives) and possible strike actions. The union officials wanted to keep the volume of correspondence with members to a minimum, and more focused on union messages. The 2013 data was also downloaded into SPSS-18.

Multiple data analysis techniques such as descriptive statistics, factor analysis, correlation, ordinary least squares regression and bilogit regression were used to understand the views on voting as well as factors responsible for mobilization (for more details, see Chapter 6).

Descriptive statistical analysis was used to determine measures of central tendency (mean), measures of dispersion (range, standard deviation, variance, minimum and maximum), and measures of kurtosis and skewness. Factor analysis was used to group variables for each of the following scales into factors, based on correlations between variables.

- i. Pension strike instrumentality, identity and ideology
- ii. Pay and job security instrumentality, identity and ideology
- iii. Strike instrumentality, identity and ideology

Based on the above scales, two sets of regression models were developed for the survey data collected in 2011 and 2013. The first set of models were ordinary least squares regression models with union participation as the dependent variable. The second set of models were Bilogit regression models with strike vote as the dependent variable.

4.9 Interview Method

Recognizing the multiple methods of data collection, the interview method was used at various stages of the research. As the analytical survey comprised closed questions, it was necessary to understand the meanings various actors gave to the events under study. During each strike, the researcher went to the picket lines, as well as to rallies and gatherings to interview UCU members. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gather rich data. Care was taken to avoid any random sampling and to select members from each sub-group such as union officials, union members, academic staff, and administrative staff, hourly-paid and contract employees, and students, as well as sympathizers. Sympathizers were interviewed to understand their mobilization potential. This holistic approach added to the richness of the data as well as minimizing the problems of reliability and validity of the data.

As proposed by Foanata and Frey (1998:47-48), interviewing is one of the most common and most powerful ways one can use to understand our fellow human beings. Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. Interviews can be used for marketing purposes or for gathering political opinions, for therapeutic reasons, or to produce data for academic analysis. They can help to understand a group or individual perspectives. In the interview method, the

interviewer questions people to elicit self-reports of their opinions, attitudes, values, beliefs or behaviours (Sproul, 1928). Synthesizing the strengths and weaknesses of the interview method, Kothari (2000:121-123) espouses that more information in greater depth can be obtained and the method offers greater flexibility than any other method. Personal information can be obtained easily. The sample can be controlled more effectively as there arises no difficulty of missing returns and non-responses generally remain very low. The language of the interview can be adapted to the ability and education level of the person interviewed and misinterpretation concerning questions can be avoided. However, this method is time-consuming and expensive and there remains the possibility of bias from the interviewer and the respondent. If certain types of respondents are not available, then the data may be inadequate.

4.9.1 Interview Details

The researcher conducted interviews on two occasions during the strike actions, on 31 October 2013 and 3 December 2013 strikes. The researcher conducted a total of 35 interviews during these strike actions 17 on 31 October 2013 and 18 interviews on 3 December 2013. The interviews covered various actors from the demographics such as teaching staff, non-teaching staff, students, union committee members and contract employees.

Each interview lasted from approximately 10 minutes to half an hour depending upon the willingness of the person to participate, the willingness to reveal more information, the position of the person in the union, the amount of information that person possessed and the ambience of the interview venue. For example, when

the interviews were conducted in the early morning, 9.30 am at the picket line, those picket-line volunteers had more information and they were willing to engage. The contract employees were also ready to talk and provide more detailed information about the strike. However, the contract employees seemed to have very little information, apart from issues related to their pay and job security. Similarly, some students' interviews were conducted but against a background sound of protest slogans and music from the student band. However, the students who participated in the interview were aware of the overall issues and they were sympathetic towards the strike and were in solidarity with their lecturers who were participating in it. During the interview process the interviewer asked specific questions about the employment status of the participant (full-time, part-time, contract employment or student), the participant's association with the union (whether the participant is a union member or non-union member), various frames used by UCU such as injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity and rights frames, level of identification of workers with the trade union, the impact of the union's coalition with other unions, representativeness of the union with respect to sub-groups, how injustice framing increases participation, roles of social networks in influencing participation in the strike, how resources are mobilized for collective action, how they anticipate the future and the success of the strike and what efforts were made to remove barriers to improve participation. These questions helped to find answers to the research gaps revolving around framing, networks and emotions, as outlined in the beginning of this chapter.

4.9.2 Interview Data Collection Process and Analysis

Notes were taken at the time of interviews rather than using audio or video equipment. After setting the context about the research and asking for permission to record the interview, most interview participants were not comfortable with recording. Some of the interview participants did not want themselves to be identified. It was very important to carefully listen and take notes on the views of participants, as well as observe their emotions. Taking notes during the interviews helped to compensate for any potential malfunction of the recording device. As the majority of interviews were conducted during strikes, there were significant background sounds of slogan shouting, music and speeches that would have interfered with any recordings. Therefore, note-taking proved to be the best strategy for more engaging and accurate data collection. As a first step, categories were developed for sorting the data, which was grouped by reading and re-reading in order to identify patterns. The last step was to contrast interview scripts both synchronically and diachronically. Detailed discussion of qualitative data can be found in Chapter 6.

4.10 Observation

Denzin (1989) has suggested that all observation records should contain explicit reference to participants, interactions, routines, rituals, temporal elements, interpretations and social organizations. Most observational notes incorporate some combinations of these features (cited in Alder and Alder, 1998). Ideally,

observation data gathering continues until researchers achieve theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The main advantage of this method is that the subjective bias is minimized, if observation is done accurately. The method relates to the current happenings; it is not complicated by either past behaviour or future intentions or attitudes. This method is independent of respondents' willingness to respond and as such, it is relatively less demanding of active cooperation on the part of respondents, as happens to be the case in the interview or survey method. This method is particularly useful when the respondents are not capable of giving verbal reports of their feelings for one reason or another. However, this is an expensive method and information provided may be limited. Sometimes, unforeseen factors may interfere with the observational task and some people who are rarely accessible to direct observation create obstacles for this method to collect data effectively (Kothari, 2000). Being a member of Birkbeck UCU, the researcher was able to gather data through observation and the method was employed extensively during the strikes, rallies (31 October 2013, 3 December 2013) and committee meetings (29 March 2011, 14 December 2012, 27 November 2013, 11 June 2014). The objective of attending various UCU committee meetings was to understand the union procedures, emotions and views of UCU members. Observations were helpful in understanding various frames used by union officials and other members to make their voices heard. It helped to make sense of frames and counter-frames used by UCU to reach other members. Frames and counter-frames were used to convert sympathizers to participants. Observation was particularly helpful to understanding the views of non-participating members and their responses while crossing the picket line or feelings when approached by colleagues to stop them

from crossing the picket line. Observations were helpful in relation to the emotions of participating and non-participating employees. Committee meetings were particularly useful to observe the variation in strike action views from long-duration strike action to action short of a strike, as well as boycotts. They also helped to understand the union procedures and interaction amongst union members. Finally they helped to test the validity of the following assumptions: past experience of workers' participation in union and collective actions is likely to drive intensity of participation; participation in a collective action by members of a strong social sub-network of a union is likely to drive further participation in subsequent collective action from other members of that social sub-network and sub-groups of workers with memberships of organizations culturally close to unions are likely to participate more in union activities and vote for strikes called by unions.

4.11 Secondary Data

Secondary data is data that already exists, and which is not collected directly for the researcher as their primary source of data collection. Secondary data is primarily qualitative and is available in a variety of forms such as books, documents, published reports, statistical reports, internal records, organizations' websites, films, print media, digital and social media. This secondary data can be organized to create useful information and can be used in the research. Sources of secondary data include the information available on social media such as Twitter feeds, Facebook updates, email lists as well as texts, images and stories available on the website of UCU. The content analysis of data available on the UCU website helped to understand the following information relevant for the research (www.ucu.org.uk): Which are the various frames used by UCU to keep actors

updated about the event? How does UCU reach out to a larger audience, including various sub-groups and network categories? What frames do they use to respond to the event and its effects? How are these frames useful to convert sympathizers to participants? What strategies are used to recruit potential union members?

To access more relevant and accurate information, the researcher became a student member of UCU on 25 June 2012. That has helped to get relevant information through email from UCU Birkbeck, about strike actions, ballots, campaign updates, the committee meeting agenda and the newsletter.

UCU Birkbeck and UCU's campaign Facebook page – The researcher joined these two Facebook pages in November 2013. This has helped to follow the discussions and members' views on the group. This group has also helped to gain access to some of the tweets from union members and officials Twitter accounts.

However, like all other methods, the secondary data collection method is not free of disadvantages. Kothari (2000) rightly points out that it is very risky to use data already available and this type of data should be used by the researcher only when they find them reliable, suitable and adequate.

4.13 Limitations of the Method and Study

1. The researcher has used just one UCU branch as a case study. Had the researcher used more than one branch, it would have been helpful to make the comparison between similar organizations in order to generalize the findings.
2. The researcher has studied the mobilization process; however, it would have been useful to study the demobilization process as well. Since there have been

waves of strike actions in British academia, the further research agenda could be to study the demobilization process.

4.14 Ethics in Research

Ethical considerations were continuously assessed based on The American Psychologists' Code of Conduct 1992 (www.apa.org/ethics/code.html).

In any form of interaction, including research, human beings should not be physically or mentally cruel to each other, they should respect each other's privacy, and they should not interfere with each other's freedom of action (Oliver, 2003:13).

The participants were fully informed about the research as well as the anonymity of those involved. Participants were given the choice to withdraw from the study at any point. No participants were forced to respond to requests to participate. The participants were informed about the relevance of the research and how the data will be used for research and developing understanding of mobilization processes in HE. The researcher did not cause any harm, distress, pain, anxiety or emotionally challenged any participant. None of the participants was below the age of 18, as the participants were staff and HE students. The participants were aware of the issues and most of the interview participants had participated in the survey. Overall, the data was collected about a widely discussed issue of strike action in HE to defend pay, pensions, job security and workloads. The anonymity and dignity of every participant was maintained during the survey as well as during interviews and observations. Moreover, before data collection, permissions were obtained from Birkbeck UCU officials. The literature produced by the union was used as secondary data with the permission of the UCU officials.

To maintain the security of the data and to avoid any third-party access, the data was stored in password-protected files. The data was stored in a high-security personal computer and no other individual had access. Interview and observation data were kept secure to avoid any potential misuse of the data. The data was not discussed with anybody other than the researcher's supervisors.

The researcher had introduced herself as an academic researcher, collecting data for purely academic purposes and had explained the importance of this study for both the researcher and the participants. The researcher had tried to maintain objectivity and to avoid biases at every stage of the study spanning the literature review, data collection and data analysis.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research strategies and design of the study. It has outlined the advantages and disadvantages of the qualitative and quantitative research methods and case study analysis. It has provided the rationale for selecting a single case study and has explained, in detail, the questionnaire used for the survey and the rationale for selecting these questions. It has explained the data collection methods and analysis employed.

Chapter Five: Analysis, Results and Discussion: consensus mobilization and action mobilization

This chapter focuses on the discussion around the quantitative analysis of survey data collected in the years 2011 and 2013. The main injustice agenda points for the 2011 industrial action focused on the issues of pay, pensions and job security. The 2013 agenda was industrial action focused on the issues of pensions, falling pay rates, inequality, zero-hour contracts, job security, workload, living wage and funding surplus. Depending upon the demography as well as the effect on pay, pensions and job security, the injustice agendas were grouped together for making sense for the affected HE employees. While the primary focus of the research was to study action mobilization, represented by strike vote behaviour, since the mobilization theory says that strike vote behaviour depends on consensus mobilization represented by union participation, the researcher first studied consensus mobilization and then action mobilization.

The objective of the survey was to find answers to the following research questions, which are focused on both consensus and action mobilization:

1. What are the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers?
2. Are these determinants in line with the predictions from the union participation literature?
3. What are the determinants of action mobilization by trade union among workers?
4. How does action mobilization vary depending on the level of consensus mobilization?

The researcher first studied question 1 and 2 and then studied question 3 and 4.

5.1 Consensus Mobilization (Question 1 and 2)

1. What are the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers?
2. Are these determinants in line with the predictions from the union participation literature?

As mentioned in the methodology, the data was collected in 2011 and 2013 to understand the variation in voting behaviour of Birkbeck UCU members. Industrial action took place for different issues; therefore, data was collected at different time frames related to the issues relevant for each strike.

In the literature review the researcher could not find any scales specific to pension, pay and jobs, so multiple scales were designed, grouping related items together. To check the internal consistency of each scale, the Cronbach alpha value was calculated.

- i. Multiple injustice scale – This scale was designed using items measuring falling pay rates, inequality, zero-hours contracts, job security, workload, living wage and funding surplus. Data related to these variables was collected in 2013. To check the internal consistency of these variables Cronbach's alpha value was calculated ($\alpha = 0.911$). The higher score reflects the fact that these 7 items are positively correlated with each other.
- ii. Pension injustice scale – Data for 3 items (greater pension contribution, increase in pension age and lower benefits) related to this scale was gathered during the survey conducted in 2011, as this strike took place for issues related to pensions. For the pension injustice scale Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.841$.

- iii. Pay and job security injustice scale – Data for the 3 items (increased work with no increase in pay, pay cuts and pay freezes) related to this scale was gathered through the survey conducted in 2011. For pay and job security scale, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.815$.
- iv. Pension pay and job insecurity injustice – Since the strike action in 2011 was specifically related to issues of pay, pensions and job security, a combined scale was created from 6 related items (greater pension contribution, increase in pension age, lower benefits, increase in work with no increase in pay, pay cuts and pay freezes). For this scale, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.895$.

Instrumentality, identity and ideology are the core factors responsible for mobilization (Klandermans, 2005). Various strikes in academia were influenced by instrumentality, identity and ideology. However, it was not clear which factor might have influenced which subgroup category to vote for the strike or to participate in the strike action. These factors were grouped together with relation to pensions, pay and job security and strike action. The following scales were developed to understand voting and strike behaviour.

- i. Pension strike instrumentality, identity and ideology – The data for the 5 items (strike is the only way to fight for pensions, the pension issue should be resolved through discussion, unfair treatment for staff triggers strike, pensions change is inevitable no point resisting, a strike is caused by a strong union) in this scale was collected in 2011 and for this scale Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.695$. Although the internal consistency

value is not very high, it is expected that the pension identity ideology is positively correlated to the action mobilization (strike behaviour).

- ii. Pay and job security instrumentality, identity and ideology – This scale gave Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.657$. This data for the 4 related items (unfair treatment of staff triggers strike, a strike is caused by a strong union, strikes are the only way for pay and job security, pay and job security issues should be resolved through discussion) was collected in the year 2011. Pay and job security instrumentality yielded low significance. It is possible that factors covering the pay and job security instrumentality and ideology were less important compared to strike instrumentality, identity and ideology.
- iii. Strike instrumentality, identity and ideology 2011 – The data for the 7 items related to this scale was collected in 2011 (a strike is only way to protect pensions, a strike is only way to protect pay and job security, pension issues should be resolved through discussion, pay and job security issues should be resolved through discussion, unfair treatment to staff trigger a strike, no point in resisting pension change, a strike is caused by a strong union). The scale showed high internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.914$). The strike behaviour was influenced by the strike instrumentality, identity and ideology.
- iv. Strike instrumentality, identity and ideology 2013– Data related to the 5 items (strike is the only way, issues should be resolved through discussion, unfair treatment to staff trigger a strike, a pay cut is inevitable so no point in resisting, collective action is caused by a strong union) of the scale was collected in 2013. The 2013 strike was

about multiple issues and therefore the scale covered injustice issues in general (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.850$). Multiple injustice agenda (zero-hours contracts, funding surplus, workload, living wages, etc.) has positively influenced action mobilization.

- v. Union message contact – The data for the 6 items (regular union communication from UCU, regular updates on UCU website, information pamphlets distributed by UCU, attending UCU committee meetings, news through print and visual media, social media – Facebook and Twitter, discussion and updates from colleagues) related to this scale was collected in 2013 and for this scale Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.754$. Union message contact is positively correlated to action mobilization.

None of the variables from the above-mentioned scales were dropped, as the results for factor analysis did not show a very high correlation between the variables in each scale. The reason for this low correlation is these variables are independent of each other.

The above discussion about scale, variable and internal consistency is presented in Table 5.1 – Scale, Variable and Internal consistency below:

Scale	Variables	Internal consistency (α) – 2011 survey	Internal consistency (α) – 2013 survey
Multiple Injustice	Falling pay rates Inequality Zero-hour contract Job security Workload A living wage Funding surpluses	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2013 strike.	0.911
Pension Injustice	Greater pension contribution Increase in pension age Lower benefits	0.841	Not Applicable as these items were mainly part of the 2011 strike
Pension Pay Job Security Injustice	Greater pension contribution Increase pension age Lower benefit Increase work with no increase in pay Pay cut Pay freeze	0.895	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2011 strike.
Pay Job security	Increase work with no increase in pay Pay cut Pay freeze	0.851	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2011 strike.
Pension strike instrumentality identity ideology (2011)	Strike is only way to fight for pension Pension issue should be resolved through discussion Unfair treatment for staff triggered strike Pension change inevitable no point resisting Strike caused by strong union	0.695	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2011 strike.
Pay Job security strike instrumentality identity ideology	Unfair treatment of staff trigger strike Strike caused by strong union Strike only way for pay and job security Pay and job security issues should be resolved through discussion	0.657	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2011 strike.
Strike instrumentality identity, ideology (2011)	Strike is only way for pension Strike is only way for pay and job security Pension issue should be resolved with discussion Pay and job security should be resolved with discussion Unfair treatment trigger strikes No point in resisting pension change Strike caused by strong union	0.914	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2011 strike.
Strike instrumentality, identity, ideology (2013)	Striking is the only way Issues should be resolved through discussion Unfair treatment for staff triggered strike action Pay cut inevitable no point in resisting Collective action driven by strong union	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2013 strike.	0.850

Scale	Variables	Internal consistency (α) – 2011 survey	Internal consistency (α) – 2013 survey
Union message contact	Regular union communication from UCU Regular update on ucu website Information pamphlets distributed by ucu Attending UCU committee meetings News through print and visual media Social media – Facebook and Twitter Discussion and updates from colleagues	Not Applicable as these items were part of 2013 strike.	0.743
Union Participation	Served on a union committee or ran for union office Spoke up at a union meeting Attended a function designed to show the union's strength Convinced other members to join the union Discussed a work-related problem with a union representative Voted in a union election Attended a union meeting or information session Read the newsletter Helped a new union member learn the ropes at work or in the union	0.937	0.906
Job Satisfaction	Pay Job security The recognition for the work Fringe benefits Opportunities for advancement Ability to have input into the decisions that affect the job Job overall	0.940	0.895
Workplace Injustice	I know what is expected of me on the job Unbiased evaluation of the job by the superior Some people get special treatment because they are friendly with supervisors Employees are not held accountable for poor performance Employees are not held accountable for bad behaviour The workload is not divided up fairly among the staff The people who work the hardest get ahead My supervisor listens and acts on my concerns and ideas	0.673	0.674

Scale	Variables	Internal consistency (α) – 2011 survey	Internal consistency (α) – 2013 survey
Union instrumentality	Representing your interests before parliament Protecting your wages and fringe benefits Answering questions about your rights on the job Providing you with educational opportunities Building a cohesive union Keeping you informed about new laws and policies that affect you Being a watchdog over management on a day to day basis Helping you advance in your career	0.854	0.882
Union procedural justice	Accurate information is collected before decisions are made Members can successfully appeal or change decisions All members know about important meetings Members get good feedback on why the union does what it does Members can seek clarification of union decisions Decisions are made in a consistent manner Decisions are reached democratically	0.960	0.964
Union interactional justice	Acting on member concerns Treating members with dignity and respect Going extra mile to help members out Dealing with members in a truthful manner Adequately explaining decisions to the membership Responding slowly to member requests for clarification or assistance	0.969	0.901

Table 5.1 – Scale, Variables and Internal consistency

5.2.1 Consensus mobilization

The researcher first tested mobilization theory as proposed by Kelly (1998) and extended by Johnson and Jarley (2004), as well as articulated by Klandermans (1984, 2005, 2007) using the scales for variables like union participation, job satisfaction, workplace injustice, union procedural justice, and union interactional justice (defined in Johnson and Jarley (2004)). Along with these adapted scales (see Methodology – Chapter 4), a few new scales were developed to understand

the strike-related issues such as pay, pension and job security. However, along with these issues there were multiple other issues which also were influential for the strike action. Some issues were directly relevant to the fixed-term contract and zero-hours employees and some issues were directly relevant to employees in specific age groups such as pension contributions and retirement age. The issue of a gender pay gap was relevant for female employees. Also, there were some issues which were relevant to people across all the demographics such as workload, pay freeze, lower benefits, living wage and job security.

These issues were identified through various sources, such as the UCU website, ballot forms related to the pay, pensions and job security strikes, union newsletters, handouts, meetings, discussion with various Birkbeck UCU members, as well as consultation with union officials and subject experts.

First, the researcher describes the regressions done for the 2011 survey data which focused on union participation and views on strike action and its results. The following models were tested using ordinary least squares regressions with union participation as the dependent variable.

Model1	Model2	Model3	Model4
Age	Age	Age	Age
Gender	Gender	Gender	Gender
Education	Education	Education	Education
Years in Union	Years in Union	Years in Union	Years in Union
Type of Employment	Type of Employment	Type of Employment	Type of Employment
Term of Employment	Term of Employment	Term of Employment	Term of Employment
Interest in Politics	Interest in Politics	Interest in Politics	Interest in Politics
Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group
Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pension strike	Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pension strike	Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for strike	Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for strike
Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pay job security strike	Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pay job security strike	Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pay job security strike	Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pay job security strike
Union trustworthiness	Union trustworthiness	Union trustworthiness	Union trustworthiness
	Job Satisfaction		Job Satisfaction

Model1	Model2	Model3	Model4
	Union Instrumentality		Union Instrumentality
		Pension pay job security injustice	Pension pay job security injustice
		Workplace injustice	Workplace Injustice
		Union Procedural Justice	Union Procedural Justice
		Union Interactional Justice	Union Interactional Justice

Table 5.2 Union Participation models - data collected in 2011

The regression results for 2011 data are summarized below.

Pension pay job security Regression Results	Model1 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model2 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model3 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model4 Coefficient t-statistic Significance
Constant	0*** 2.871 0.005	0*** 2.876 .005	0 1.298 .198	0 1.404 .163
Age	-0.081** -0.816 0.0416	-.085 -.856 .393	-.085 -.872 .386	-.087 -.885 .378
Gender	-0.016 -0.187 0.852	-.033 -.389 .698	-.039 -.476 .635	-.044 -.525 .600
Education	-0.161** -1.975 0.050	-.149* -1.806 .073	-.111 -1.354 .178	-.107 -1.287 .200
Years in Union	0.155 1.405 .162	.146 1.307 .193	.181 1.633 .105	.171 1.505 .135
Type of Employment	-0.087 -1.085 .280	-.081 -1.014 .318	-.095 -1.207 .229	-.091 -1.144 .255
Term of Employment	0.091 1.013 .313	.120 1.306 .194	.087 .953 .342	.104 1.084 .280
Interest in Politics	0.016 0.187 .852	.022 .258 .797	.005 .065 .948	.009 .108 .914
Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	0.1 1.175 .242	.099 1.157 .249	.044 .501 .617	.045 .503 .616
Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pension strike	0.075 0.835 .405	.067 .739 .461	.080 .898 .370	.075 .825 .411
Percentage of employees in department who you think voted for pay job security strike	0.126 1.424 .156	.122 1.358 .177	.104 1.181 .239	.103 1.154 .251
Union trustworthiness	0.126 1.418 .158	.144 1.147 .253	-.030 -.265 .791	-.031 -.264 .792
Job Satisfaction		-.119 -1.395 .165		-.058 -.580 .563
Union Instrumentality		.035 .363 .717		-.004 -.036 .972

Pension pay job security Regression Results	Model1 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model2 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model3 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model4 Coefficient t-statistic Significance
Pension pay job security injustice			.189** 2.299 .023	.176** 2.047 .042
Workplace Injustice			.075 .936 .351	.050 .558 .578
Union Procedural Justice			-.013 -.113 .910	.005 .042 .967
Union Interactional Justice			.234* 1.808 .073	.232* 1.768 .079
R2	.138	.150	.193	.196
Adjusted R2	.073	.073	.108	.097
Sig	.022	.030	.007	.016
Change in R2		0.012	0.055	0.046 0.003
N = 154				

Table 5.3 Union participation models and significance 2011

The model 1 column reports the results for the model that contains only the control variables. These accounted for approximately 7.3% of the variation in union member participation with age and education having statistical significance. Their negative coefficients indicate that senior and more educated union members participate less in union activities, which could be because they may be less affected by pay, pension and job security injustice. Employees with lower education and lower age group who are more affected by the pay, pension and job security injustice tend to participate more in union activities. This may be due to the direct effect of retirement age and more pension contributions for a longer duration. The remaining variables such as union instrumentality, job satisfaction, workplace injustice, union procedural justice, and union interactional justice failed to achieve statistically significant coefficients. Therefore, they are not included in the equation.

The model 2 column reports results after adding job satisfaction and union instrumentality measures to model 1. Education is significant, but age is not

significant. This is difficult to interpret, since there may not be any obvious reason for low age people with high educations to participate more in union activities. The researcher notes that the sample is biased towards highly educated academic staff and collected in the context of a strike when union participation is at a high level. This model explains the 7.3% variation.

The model 3 column reports results after adding the justice variables (excluding strike instrumentality due to pension injustice), job satisfaction and union trustworthiness to model 1. Workplace injustice, union procedural justice and union interactional justice failed to yield any statistical significance. However, pay, pension and job security injustice are statistically significant. This model explains 10.8% variation.

The model 4 column reports results after adding the justice variable (excluding strike instrumentality due to pension injustice) to the model 1. Union interaction justice and pay, pension and job security injustice are significant. This model explains 9.7% variation.

The results show that control variables (demographic variables, measures of group pressure and measures of union trustworthiness) explain 7.3% of the variation in union participation. Amongst the demographic variables, age and education are statistically significant. Job satisfaction and union instrumentality are not significant in explaining the variation in union participation. However, injustice variables (union interactional justice, pay, and pension and job security injustice) are significant and explain 9.7% of the variation. While other injustice variables like union procedural justice and workplace injustice do not significantly explain the variation in union participation. Even when all the variables are put together (Model

4) union interactional justice and pay and job security justice are significant and other variables do not show any statistical significance. This model explains a 9.7% variation.

The data seems to indicate that, more than injustice in day-to-day work and justice in union procedures, the union's ability to support workers and with the issues of pension, pay and job security seems to have driven mobilization of workers as measured by union participation.

The 2013 strike was a multi-agenda strike where the main points were falling pay rates, inequality, zero-hours contracts, job security, workload, a living wage and funding surpluses. The following models were tested using ordinary least squares regressions with union participation as the dependent variable.

Model1	Model2	Model3	Model4
Age	Age	Age	Age
Gender	Gender	Gender	Gender
Education	Education	Education	Education
Years in Union	Years in Union	Years in Union	Years in Union
Type of Employment	Type of Employment	Type of Employment	Type of Employment
Term of Employment	Term of Employment	Term of Employment	Term of Employment
Interest in Politics	Interest in Politics	Interest in Politics	Interest in Politics
Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group
Percentage of employees in the department who you think voted for multi-agenda strike	Percentage of employees in the department who you think voted for multi-agenda strike	Percentage of employees in the department who you think voted for multi-agenda strike	Percentage of employees in the department who you think voted for multi-agenda strike
Union trustworthiness	Union trustworthiness	Union trustworthiness	Union trustworthiness
	Job Satisfaction		Job Satisfaction
	Union Instrumentality		Union Instrumentality
		Pension, pay, job security injustice	Pension, pay, job security injustice
		Workplace injustice	Workplace Injustice
		Union Procedural Justice	Union Procedural Justice
		Union Interactional Justice	Union Interactional Justice

Table 5.4 Union Participation models - data collected in 2013

The regression results of 2013 data are summarized below.

Multi-agenda Regression Results	Model1 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model2 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model3 Coefficient t-statistic Significance	Model4 Coefficient t-statistic Significance
Constant	0** 2.379 .021	0** 2.327 .024	0** 2.610 .012	0** 2.612 .012
Age	.058 .453 .652	.060 .450 .655	.047 .378 .707	.038 .307 .760
Gender	-.273** -2.266 .028	-.280** -2.208 .032	-.346*** -2.944 .005	-.375*** -3.136 .003
Education	-.058 -.481 .632	-.053 -.417 .678	.148 -1.186 .241	-.138 -1.106 .274
Years in Union	.211 1.581 .120	.204 1.493 .142	.205 -1.634 .109	-.202 1.619 .112
Type of Employment	-.195 -1.523 .134	-.243 -1.640 .107	-.068 -.544 .589	-.190 -1.268 .211
Term of Employment	-.162 -1.294 .201	-.154 -1.201 .235	-.177 -1.508 .138	-.165 -1.377 .175
Interest in Politics	-.065 -.402 .689	-.087 -.522 .604	-.185 -1.210 .232	-.257 -1.612 .114
Union trustworthiness	.249 1.574 .122	.247 1.208 .233	.051 .227 .821	.070 .304 .763
Percentage of employees in the department who you think voted for multi-agenda strike	.174 1.329 .190	.172 1.290 .203	.116 .868 .390	.109 .792 .432
Collective Action is a group activity and if you do not participate then you are not part of the group	.297* 1.845 .071	302* 1.841 .072	.150 .905 .370	.181 1.083 .285
Job Satisfaction		.109 .683 .498		.266 1.526 .134
Union Instrumentality		-.039 -.201 .841		-.054 -.269 .789
Multiple injustices			.326** 2.381 .021	.386** 2.503 .016
Workplace Injustice			.023 .195 .846	.130 .941 .352
Union Procedural Justice			-.369 -1.671 .101	-.469* -1.808 .077
Union Interactional Justice			.592** 2.643 .011	.562** 2.499 .016
R2	.335	.342	.480	.505
Adjusted R2	.208	.184	.329	.333
Sig	.012	.029	.001	.002
Change in R2		0.007	0.138	0.163 0.097
N = 63				

Table 5.5 Union participation models and significance

The model 1 column reports the results for the model that contains only the control variables. These control variables accounted for approximately 33.5% of the variation in union member participation with gender and the variable 'collective action is a group activity and if you do not participate you are not part of the group' being statistically significant. The coefficients have also not changed much in magnitude or in statistical significance for other models. The remaining variables such as union instrumentality, job satisfaction, workplace injustice, union procedural justice, and union interaction justice failed to achieve statistically significant coefficients. The model 2 column reports results after adding job satisfaction and union instrumentality measures to model 1. As expected, gender and the collective action variable are statistically significant; however, age failed to yield a statistically significant coefficient. This model explains the 34.2% variation. The model 3 column reports results after adding the justice variable to model 1. Workplace injustice, union procedural justice and union interaction justice failed to yield any statistical significance; however, gender, multiple injustices and union interaction justice are statically significant. This model explains the 40% variation. The model 4 column indicates that gender, multiple injustice, union procedural justice and union interaction justice are statistically significant. This model explains the 50% variation.

The results show that control variables (demographic, measures of group pressure and measures of union trustworthiness) explain 33.5% of the variation in union participation. Amongst the control variables, gender is statistically significant in explaining union participation. Job satisfaction and union instrumentality are not significant in explaining the variation in union participation. However, injustice variables (union interaction justice, multiple injustices) are significant and explain

50% of the variation. Other injustice variables like union procedural justice, workplace injustice do not significantly explain the variation in union participation, even when all the variables are put together (model 4). Union interaction justice and multiple injustice are significant and other variables do not show any statistical significance. This model shows 50% of variation.

The 2013 data seems to have indicated that the female workers were less mobilized than male workers, as well as less mobilized compared to female mobilization in 2011. The standard deviation (SD) of male mobilization and female mobilization have both decreased. This indicates increased convergence of views. The mean for male mobilization is nearly the same but the mean for female mobilization has decreased significantly, which might be because no tangible proposals had been made to address the gender pay gap and address other gender-related issues as part of the strike agenda. The data also indicates that solidarity might have increased with the mobilization, since workers have indicated that if they do not participate in the collective action then they do not feel part of the group.

Initially, the union procedural justice (ref. 2011 data) did not matter; however, with multiple collective actions (ref. 2013 data) this variable plays a significant role in mobilizing workers. Although the 2011 results indicate that the more established and educated male participation was significantly correlated with higher union participation, there is no such pattern in the 2013 data. This may also indicate that mobilization has spread across age groups and education levels and union procedural justice has become significant, as the union has played an important role in sustaining mobilization by preventing demobilization. Work procedural justice was not significant in either cases (2011 and 2013), which might be

because most union members are highly educated, aware of their rights and able to enforce them due to structured policies and an environment with little ambiguity.

Other interpretations of the above differences between the 2011 and 2013 survey data might be that the small size and response rate of the 2013 sample compared to 2011 may have caused the differences. Similarly, while the higher R-squared for the 2013 regression compared to 2011 indicates that the 2013 independent variables explain a larger proportion of the variance in the 2013 union participation; however, since the sample is smaller, it might mean that the sample is biased, despite the researcher not being aware of any identifiable bias in the sample.

5.2. Action Mobilization (Question 3 and 4 as mentioned in the introduction section)

3. What are the determinants of action mobilization by trade unions among the workers?

4. How does action mobilization vary depending on the level of consensus mobilization?

While the researcher has found consensus, mobilization represented by union participation does indeed depend on the variables mentioned in the literature. Based on Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (1984, 2009), action mobilization is influenced by consensus, as well as other variables such as injustice instrumentality, identity and ideology and union message contact (used in 2013 survey). The researcher tested mobilization theory, as articulated by Klandermans (1984) and Kelly (1998), using the variables Pension strike vote, Pay and Job

Security strike vote, Multi-agenda strike (2013) vote, Union Participation, Pension Injustice, Pay and Job Security Injustice, Multiple Injustice, Pension Strike Instrumentality Identity Ideology, Pay Job Security Strike Instrumentality Identity Ideology, 2013 Strike Instrumentality Identity Ideology and Union message contact. The researcher did this by running multiple logistic regression models with strike vote as a measure of action mobilization, union participation as a measure of consensus mobilization of workers, union message contact as a measure of how frequently the frames (injustice, instrumentality, identity, ideology, etc.) used by the union have been successfully transmitted via networks and social and digital media to the union members, and strike related injustice and strike instrumentality-identity-ideology measures as the motivating factors for the action mobilization due to the above frame transmission. While the Klandermans (2007) model describes that action, mobilization is also impacted by barrier variables, the present survey could not capture other barrier variables directly.

First, the researcher describes the regressions done for pension strike and the results from it, and then describes the regressions done for pay and Job security strike with the results and finally describes the regressions done for the multi-agenda strike in 2013 including the results.

The regression results for pension, pay and job security and multi-agenda strike are summarised below

Pension Strike Vote as dependent Variable			Pay and Job Security Strike Vote as dependent Variable			Multi-agenda 2013 Strike vote as dependent variable			
Model1	Model2	Model3	Model1	Model2	Model3	Model1	Model2	Model 3	Model 4
Union Participation from 2011 Strike	Union Participation from 2011 Strike	Union Participation from 2011 Strike	Union Participation from 2011 Strike	Union Participation from 2011 Strike	Union Participation from 2011 Strike	Union Participation from 2013 strike	Union Participation from 2013 strike	Union Participation from 2013 strike	Union Participation from 2013 strike
	2011 Pension injustice	2011 Pension injustice		2011 Pay and Job	2011 Pay and Job		2013 Multiple injustice	2013 Multiple injustice	2013 Multiple injustice

Pension Strike Vote as dependent Variable			Pay and Job Security Strike Vote as dependent Variable			Multi-agenda 2013 Strike vote as dependent variable			
Model1	Model2	Model3	Model1	Model2	Model3	Model1	Model2	Model 3	Model 4
		2011 Pension strike instrumentality ideology			2011 Pay and Job security strike instrumentality ideology			2013 Strike instrumentality ideology	2013 Strike instrumentality ideology
									Union message contact

Table 5.6 Union participation models and significance 2011 and 2013

Variable	Pension Strike Vote as Independent Variable			Pay and Job Security Strike Vote as Independent Variable			Multi-agenda 2013 Strike vote as independent variable			
	Model1 B Significance Exp(B)	Model2 B Significance Exp(B)	Model3 B Significance Exp(B)	Model1 B Significance Exp(B)	Model2 B Significance Exp(B)	Model3 B Significance Exp(B)	Model1 B Significance Exp(B)	Model2 B Significance Exp(B)	Model 3 B Significance Exp(B)	Model 4 B Significance Exp(B)
Constant	-1.460** .015 .232	-.4671** * .000 .009	-10.586*** * 0 0	-1.571** * .003 .208	-3.427** * .000 .032	-7.516** * .000 .001	-1.868* * .039 .154	-4.867** * .003 .008	-9.179** * .001 .000	-9.996** * .006 .000
Union Participation from 2011 Strike	.105*** .000 1.110	.106*** .000 1.111	.076** .025 1.079	.082*** .000 1.086	.071*** .001 1.073	.044* .075 1.045				
Union Participation from 2013 strike							.145*** .002 1.156	.102* .068 1.107	.094 .148 1.098	.164* .061 1.178
2011 Pension injustice		.508*** .000 1.662	.468*** .001 1.597							
2011 Pay and Job security injustice					.379*** .000 1.460	.372*** .000 1.450				
2013 Multiple injustice								.292*** .002 1.339	.261*** .006 1.299	.436*** .004 1.546
2011 Pension strike instrumentality ideology			.421*** .000 1.523							
2011 Pay Job Security strike instrumentality ideology						.380*** .000 1.462				

Variable	Pension Strike Vote as Independent Variable			Pay and Job Security Strike Vote as Independent Variable			Multi-agenda 2013 Strike vote as independent variable			
2013 Strike instrumentality identity ideology									.299** .023 1.348	.384** .016 1.468
2013 Union message contact										-.484* .036 .616
Cox and Snell R2	.123	.252	.398	.106	.221	.343	.203	.384	.443	.490
Nagelkerke R2	.177	.361	.569	.142	.298	.463	.291	.550	.634	.703
Sig	.684	.433	.822	.924	.315	.567	.164	.085	.576	.975
Change in R2		0.184	0.208		0.156	0.165		0.259	0.491	0.399
% of 0 cases correctly predicted	11.1	42.2	64.4	50	60.9	65.6	88.9	55.6	66.7	77.8
% of 1 cases correctly predicted	96.4	91.1	94.6	75.3	77.4	80.6	97.8	95.6	91.1	93.3
Total % of cases correctly predicted	72.0	77.1	86.0	65	70.7	74.5	81.0	84.1	84.1	88.9
N = 154										

Table 5.7- Regression Results for Pension, Pay and Job Security and Multi-agenda

Model 1 of pension and strike vote as independent variable explains the 17% variance in pension strike voting behaviour. This model predicts strike votes in 72% of the cases. Adding pension injustice (model 2) explains the 36% variance in the pension strike voting behaviour. This model predicts strike votes in 77% of the instances. Adding pension instrumentality, identity, ideology (model 3) explains the 56% variance in strike behaviour and this model predicts strike votes 86% of the time.

The 2011 regression show that strike voting behaviour is correlated with the level of generic consensus mobilization (union participation), specific injustice agenda for strike (pension injustice, pay and job security injustice respectively) and justification of action mobilization (measures of strike as the only option, intensity

of injustice and union membership identity expression). Adding each of these variables incrementally explains additional variance significantly.

Model 1 of pay and job security strike explains the 14% variance in pay and job security voting behaviour. This model predicts strike votes in 75% of the cases. Adding pay and job security injustice (model 2) is significant and it explains the 29% variance in pay and job security voting behaviour. This model predicts votes 77% of the time. Adding pension instrumentality and identity, ideology (model 3) explains the 46% variance in strike behaviour. This model predicts strike votes 74% of the time.

The 2011 regression show that strike voting behaviour is driven by the level of generic consensus mobilization (union participation), specific injustice agenda for strike (pay and job security injustice respectively) and justification of action mobilization (measures of strike as the only option, intensity of injustice and union membership identity expression). Adding each of these variables incrementally explains additional variance significantly.

Model 1 of the multi-agenda strike (2013) explains the 20% variance in strike behaviour. This model predicts strike votes 81% of the time. Adding multiple injustices (model 2) explains the 38% variance in the multiple injustices strike behaviour. This model predicts strike votes 84% of the time. Adding strike instrumentality identity ideology (model 3) explains 44% of strike behaviour. This model predicts strike votes in 84% of cases. Adding union message contact (model 4) explains the 49% variance in the multi-agenda strike behaviour. This model predicts strike behaviour 88% of the time.

The 2013 regression show that strike voting behaviour is driven by the level of generic consensus mobilization (union participation), union message contact as a measure of how frequently the frames (injustice, instrumentality, identity, ideology) used by the union have been successfully transmitted via the networks and media to the union members and strike related injustice and strike instrumentality-identity-ideology measures as the motivating factors for the action mobilization due to the above frame transmission. The negative constant indicates that the probability of a strike vote, if all variables are zero, is very low and the negative coefficient for the union message contact variable indicates that, as a worker is successfully exposed to union messages through more and more channels, the odds of them voting for a strike decrease. This is consistent with the researcher's experience that the union leadership was reluctant to send multiple messages regarding the above survey to union member, potentially indicating that they are aware of this trend. The positive coefficients for the non-union-message-contact variables indicate that, as these variables increase in magnitude, the probability of voting for a strike rises. Adding each of these variables incrementally explains the additional variance significantly.

5.3 Comparative analysis of 2011 and 2013 data

Both the 2011 and 2013 survey data sets show that lower age groups and upper age groups voted less for strikes than intermediate age groups, but this could merely represent their proportions in the population. However, among the intermediate groups, the younger groups voted more for strikes on an average in both services than the older groups. This could be due to the higher impact of

strike-related issues on the younger group, as well as their higher belief in the instrumentality of the strike.

The 2011 survey data shows that male groups voted less than female groups for strikes, but the 2013 survey data shows that male groups voted almost as much as female groups for strikes. This indicates that male mobilization might have increased, and female mobilization decreased in the period between 2011 and 2013.

The survey data for both 2011 and 2013 show that very highly educated (PhD) groups voted more for strikes than other groups and the least-educated group voted least for strikes. This could merely represent the dominance of academics in the population, but it could also represent the fact that the highly educated groups are more secure and aware of the issues related to strikes than the least-educated groups.

Groups having spent most years with the union voted most for strikes, according to both the 2011 and 2013 survey data and that groups with full-time employment and permanent employment voted the most for strikes, compared to other groups. Both sets of survey data also show that groups with a higher interest in politics voted more for strikes than those with less interest in politics and that groups trusting the union voted more for strikes; as trust in the union increases, the voting for strikes increases. This indicates that trust in the union is a good metric of action mobilization.

Both the 2011 and 2013 survey data show that a group's degree of belief that if you do not participate in strikes then you are not part of the group increases, the

group's strike voting also increases, except that in both the surveys the group with maximum belief voted less than the group with the next highest level of belief.

Conclusion

The researcher tested the determinants of consensus mobilization measured by union participation and found these to be in line with the literature (Kelly, 1998; Klandermans, 2005; Johnson and Jarley, 2004).

The 2011 data shows strike behaviour was influenced by strike instrumentality, identity and ideology. In 2013 the multiple injustices agenda (zero-hours contract, funding surplus, workload, living wages, etc.) positively influenced action mobilization. Union message contact is positively correlated to action mobilization. The data seems to indicate that, more than injustice in day-to-day work and justice in union procedures, the union's ability to support workers and the injustice in pensions, pay and job security seems to have driven mobilization of workers, as measured by union participation.

The 2011 regression shows that strike-voting behaviour is correlated with the level of generic consensus mobilization (union participation), specific injustice agenda for strike (pension injustice, pay and job security injustice respectively) and justification of action mobilization (measures of strike as the only option, intensity of injustice and union membership identity expression).

The 2013 regression shows that strike-voting behaviour is driven by the level of generic consensus mobilization (union participation), union message contact as a measure of how frequently the frames (injustice, instrumentality, identity, ideology) used by the union have been successfully transmitted via networks and the media to the union members, and strike related injustice and strike instrumentality-

identity-ideology measures as the motivating factors for action mobilization due to the above frame transmission.

The researcher would like to conclude that action mobilization (strike-voting behaviour) is driven by the level of generic consensus mobilization, specific injustice agenda for strikes, strike justification from instrumentality, identity ideology viewpoints and union message contact.

Union message contact is a direct measure of how the frames (injustice, instrumentality, identity, ideology, etc.) transmitted by the union have been successfully transmitted via network categories and media to the union members and sympathizers. The other measures are also indirectly dependent on the union's organizing activity. The data indicates that when the union is not transmitting frames about injustice and strike instrumentality-identity-ideology benefits, union participation and injustice and workers perceive strike benefits from instrumentality, identity and ideology viewpoints are all low, the probability of a strike vote is low. While increasing overall union participation is correlated with an increase in the probability of voting for any strike, high injustice specific to the strike agenda and worker perception of specific strike benefits from instrumentality, identity and ideology are correlated with a further increase in the probability of voting for specific strikes but increasing the frequency of targeting individuals with messages regarding these can reduce the probability of voting for a strike.

This study may prove to be useful to successfully mobilize individuals and groups. It provides a framework for unions to generate and sustain the right level of consensus mobilization measured by union participation ahead of preparing for action mobilization. Unions should focus on the latter by transmitting frames to various network categories and sub-groups via social and digital networks to

arouse the motivation factors (including emotions) necessary to influence the independent variables to the level needed for strike voting but being careful not to increase the frequency of targeting individuals with the frames, since the latter can reduce voting for a strike.

Essentially, the researcher has tested a combination of research conducted by Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (1984, 2007) and found their combined predictions to hold in the context of strike voting behaviour, but the researcher has also found that increasing union messaging activity can reduce the probability of voting for strikes. This is one of the rare studies in the industrial relations literature and this study helps to highlight the drivers of strike voting behaviour theoretically and empirically.

Chapter Six: Analysis and Discussion: Mobilization, Frames, Networks and Emotions

This chapter begins with a brief discussion about consensus and action mobilization. As this research uses a mixed-methods approach, this discussion helps in further strengthening the quantitative results discussed in the previous chapter.

The survey data was conducted during strike action taken in 2011 and 2013. As mentioned in previous chapters, mobilization is about more than merely participating in the union. Participation is a good measure of consensus mobilization in collective actions and involvement in strikes is a good measure of action mobilization. Unions make efforts to convert consensus mobilization to action mobilization and use frames, social/digital networks and emotions in consensus mobilization and action mobilization. At the same time, demobilization efforts are made by other parties involved such as the employer, the government, the state and their representative organizations. The qualitative data collection through interviews, observations and secondary data analysis has helped to understand how individuals make sense of the events happening around them. It has helped to understand the determinants of mobilization (consensus and action), as well as how SMOs and unions use frames, social/digital networks and emotions for mobilization.

6.1 Research questions

- A. What are the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers? Are they in line with predictions from the union participation literature? What are the determinants of action mobilization by trade unions among

workers? How does action mobilization vary depending on the level of consensus mobilization? What are the motivations and barriers to participation?

B. How do trade unions leverage framing to mobilize workers for collective actions like strike and actions short of a strike?

1. How do trade unions leverage injustice frames, justice frames, oppositional frames, hegemonic frames, equal opportunity frames, and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective actions?

2. How do trade unions engage in diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and action framing to mobilize workers for collective actions?

3. How do trade unions leverage frame alignment processes (bridging, amplification, extension, transformation) and framing activities (resonance, disputes, contests) to proactively or reactively, increase or decrease the level of collectivization between members and collaborating actors in the face of attempts by opposing actors to reduce such collectivization?

C. While Tilly (1978) and Kelly (1998) briefly mention the role of the density of networks in describing organizations of workers and the role of friendship networks in reducing barriers (with reference to Klandermans 1984, 1987, 2007) to participation in collective actions, the breadth and depth of the role of networks in mobilization of workers by trade unions is not described adequately. There is a need to study how trade unions leverage networks to mobilize workers for collective actions like strike and actions short of a strike.

1. How do various ties such as past experience, intensity and centrality to trade union's recruitment networks impact workers participation in collective action and intensity of participation in collective action proposed by union?
2. How does the number of common categories among social networks impacts mobilization?
3. How does the function of social networks in mobilization vary by context and time from socialization through providing opportunities to participate and influencing participation decisions? How does the relevance of such functions contribute to increasing the intensity of participation change over time?
4. What is the impact of the participation of workers in formal organizations culturally close to trade unions on their willingness to participate in collective action of different intensities?
5. What are the other structures and mechanisms independent of the SMO by which information, resources, expertise and solidarity circulate through various networks and categories?

D. While Kelly (1998) briefly mentions how leaders make emotional appeals in order to mobilize workers, the breadth and depth of the role of emotions in mobilization is not described. How do unions leverage emotions to mobilize workers for collective actions like strike and actions short of strike?

1. Does increase in the emotions (particularly of anger) trigger a higher degree or timing of participation in collective action when collective action is the only or prime means of expressing the anger, and when there are other means?
2. How are the barriers to mobilization due to the emotion of fear mitigated through the actions of SMOs (mass meetings, strong collective identity and

belief in divine protection, ensuring the strikes are legal and improving the strength of social network connecting the individuals to the SMO)?

3. How do SMOs try to arouse a feeling of hope through collective action so that participants get satisfaction from action (acting in face of those denying capacity for courage, dignity and coordination) as well as furthering the goals of the action?

The discussions focus on the questions and issues below.

6.2 Consensus and action mobilization

6.2.1 Determinants of consensus mobilization

To discuss the determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions, the researcher has built on Klandermans' (2007) mobilization model. In the context of trade union mobilization (in this research, UCU), consensus mobilization refers to union members who have already asserted their approval of a high-level consensus of the need for a movement organization called a trade union, by becoming members of UCU.

Five male respondents who were union committee members mentioned that they have witnessed a membership increase, which indicates some success in the process of consensus mobilization. Another committee member mentioned, "Our branch runs several recruitment activities including a presence at the new staff induction day, emails to new starters, social events, open meetings and distribution of membership forms. Nevertheless, it's undoubtedly the case that our best recruitment is during periods of dispute. Our branch has grown to its largest ever size since the pay dispute began. An increase in the number of members is a good

measure of success of our efforts in striking”. (Male, Respondent #4, interviewed on 3/12/13).

Yet another union committee member commented, “Whether the strike is successful depends on how you define success. We have not got our demands fulfilled, but we have managed to raise awareness, we have recruited new members, it has been constructive”. (Male, Respondent #1, interviewed on 3/12/13).

The above interview quotes indicate that UCU has managed to improve consensus mobilization, which is a necessary condition for improving action mobilization.

6.2.2 Consensus mobilization to action mobilization

However successful organizers are in mobilizing consensus, however large the mobilization potential, if mobilizers do not have access to recruitment networks in each sub-group, the potential cannot be realized. This step separates sympathizers into different target groups.

Strike action in 2011 and 2013 had various agenda points, which affected various sub-groups of employees in different ways. However, the pay issue is large in scope and affected many sub-groups across all levels, including full-time, part-time and hourly-paid employees. These are some of the sub-groups which may have large potential to be mobilized, i.e. to be converted from consensus mobilization to action mobilization.

Along with strike action, UCU has made continuous efforts to mobilize these sub-groups. These efforts are visible from the ballot, and from updates on the website that specifically targeted each sub-group. For example, union activists and

leadership discussed these issues in meetings and in the media, and updates about negotiations were uploaded on the website. The union also sent periodic newsletters and emails to update union members and a larger audience. Issues related to part-time and contract employees were discussed along with issues of permanent employees. Students were also kept updated about the strikes, as well as possible disruption due to strike action. The union conducts various training programmes for sub-groups such as stress management, how to make your voice heard and training programmes for ethnic minorities. It is evident that the union puts continuous effort into mobilizing various target groups and sub-groups.

In October 2013, three unions (UCU, Unite and UNISON) organized a coordinated strike; therefore, there were more chances for reaching the sub-groups who could be potential recruits. It was observed that, during the strike action, volunteers on the picket lines were trying to hand leaflets/handouts to the employees who were not part of the strike to stop people entering the college building. Essentially, one of the respondents the researcher spoke to was part of the recruitment network reaching out to potential recruits.

Another participant raised the question, “Where are the managers? More has got to be done to get the managers to participate in the strike” (Male, Respondent #10, interviewed on 3/12/13).

This statement of the participant was endorsed by other picket line volunteers, one of whom said agitatedly, “My manager laughs at me and he thinks I am an idiot to participate in the strike. They (managers) say why should we lose money for you?” (Male, Respondent #11, interviewed on 3/12/13).

One of the volunteers on the same picket line mentioned that managers do not strike because they get paid well. Similar views were shared by another female respondent who criticized unions for not reaching out to employees earning high salaries and being unable to get their solidarity, “These bureaucratic union leaders must understand that just turning up on the picket line does not help. They must start engaging with staff in advance, before even they plan strike. They must especially engage with people earning high salaries. It does not make a difference to them (employees earning high salaries), so they don’t show solidarity. Unions must talk to people beforehand. These days universities recruit more managers than lecturers” (Female, Respondent #2 interviewed on 3/12/13).

The union membership data also shows that, out of the 506 members, only 4 managers and 2 senior managers are union members. From the above observations, interviews and union data, the researcher would like to point out that the union may have not been so successful in mobilizing managers, which forms a major sub-group. Unions have to make more efforts to reach out to the managers.

One of the respondents was showing banners to non-participating employees and was trying to stop them from entering the building; he was successful in stopping a few people. Another of the respondents was not so successful in stopping people, as indicated by his response, “Let’s see how successful I get in stopping people getting inside the building. College has practically declared a holiday so there are not many people to stop” (Male, Respondent #3, interviewed on 31/10/13).

However, most of the respondents mentioned that students have been very supportive and are aware of the issues involved in the strike action. Being a PhD student member of UCU, the researcher received regular updates about the strike, the reasons for the action and the possible disruption to taught sessions. Students had put on a music show and participated in the rally to show their solidarity with striking employees. During interviews, most of the student participants were well aware of the issues relating to the strike. This shows that the student sub-group had been targeted well.

6.2.3 Motivation to Participate

Motivation to participate is a function of the cost and benefits of motivation (instrumentality, identity and ideology) perceived by the potentially participating individual. In this step, mobilizers must communicate to potential participants the extent to which collective and selective incentives (related to their respective instrumentality, identity and ideology motivations) are controlled or influenced by mobilizers through the collective action. These messages must be passed on and strengthened based on feedback through multiple channels to the targeted sub-groups. There were a few common agenda points across all sub-groups, particularly a shared sense of injustice regarding fair pay.

Comments from the 35 interviewees will make clear the cost-benefit analyses and their views of the strike.

Most interview participants were aware of the strike issues, of pay, pensions and the pay gap as well as the cost of participation in the strike. The first participant

(female) interviewed on 31/10/13 spoke about the issue of pay and she even defended the strike action. "I care for my fair pay. This year they have given an increase of 1% but overall, we have lost 13% pay. Having said that [...] I am also showing solidarity to those who are affected by zero-hour contracts. I mean this action is so necessary. It is for the first time three unions have joined hands to fight this injustice. You may not see lot of people gathering here but there are lots of people who have sacrificed their day's pay" (Female, Respondent #1, interviewed on 31/10/2013).

Another female employee also shared similar views about the strike, "Cost of living is soaring [...] enough is enough, it is not tolerable. Poverty has increased. In last 10 years, childcare has increased by 100%. It is not sustainable. All of us will benefit with a fair pay" (Female, Respondent #13, 31/10/13).

In a detailed interview on 31/10/2013, participant number 6 discussed the impact of the strike, of how unions could build more pressure by going on strike during assessments. The participant also discussed the rising cost of childcare, the increase in retirement age and the issue of more work without extra money, "I am here to protect my pay, pension and job. There has been an increase in people who have recently joined the union. Maybe people are more aware of their rights and UCU has managed the campaign and communication well. There is one more (strike) coming up on 4th December and maybe one at the time of assessment. I think the strike during assessment will have major impact. We do care about the students; however, we have our families and children to look after. The cost of living and childcare has gone sky high and the salary does not match to our requirements. They also expect us to take more workload without extra

money. The retirement age had increased twice in 5 years. Why should we pay for the mess we have not created? It is difficult to comment or pass judgment on the free riders. That issue will always be there. But as I said, there has suddenly been an increase in membership as well” (Male, Respondent #6, interviewed on 31/10/2013).

Participant number 9 (male) also discussed his financial struggle and lack of benefits as an hourly-paid employee. He also discussed pay disparity between staff and Vice-Chancellors. He also mentioned that, for economic growth, people should feel comfortable to spend. “I am getting less pay and I am contributing more towards my pension contribution. I am not even sure at what age will I retire, and will I really get my pensions. Till recently I was an hourly-paid employee and had a lot of financial struggle. I was doing my PhD and I thought the system would support me, but I had to do multiple jobs to support my studies. I could never claim any sick pay or any other benefits. To me this is a good way of creating pressure to get your rights. The Directors and Vice-Chancellors are paid so much more than most of us. They should increase our pay to have a decent living standard. The economy will not grow unless people feel comfortable spending money” (Male, Respondent #9, interviewed on 31/10/2013).

Females have been impacted on by multiple issues, as well as the gender pay gap. This participant mentioned that she could afford to lose strike pay because the strike is a collective stand and she argued that everyone will have to lose a day’s pay to stop management from bringing in negative changes. “1% pay rise is tricky. We need to push the efforts for further rise. The pay difference between people at higher pay and people at lower end is too much. I can take the hit of

losing a day's pay to strike. Those who can't take the hit are not striking. People at the lower end and higher end both will have to lose a day's pay. Strike to me is a practical and collective stand as well as a symbolic issue. Workers have voice. We are fighting for better terms and conditions. If we don't complain, it is easy for management to roll out negative changes" (Female, Respondent #6, interviewed on 03/12/13).

One non-participating member mentioned the affordability of the strike. Affordability is an important aspect of calculating the cost-benefit before making a decision to become part of the union and even participate in activities such as strikes. "I participated in the previous strike. I cannot participate in this strike. I cannot afford to lose £100. I pay £14 per month to the union. I am a union member and the people standing out on the picket line are my friends. They are nice people. I feel guilty for not joining but I have a family to look after. I discussed with my wife and we agreed on not participating in this strike" (Male Respondent #17, interviewed on 03/12/13).

Resonating similar views of affordability, one young male participant argued, "I always thought that I was a reasonably paid employee. It's been too long that my money is not keeping up. It costs me more for travel, food and bills. I am unable to fulfil simple demands of my kids. I get tired of telling my kids, next month, next month for every demand of theirs. They (employer and government) have brought us to bad state" (Male Respondent #5, interviewed on 03/12/13).

One of the male participants criticized the top bosses and defended the strike action. He mentioned, "Universities are public resources and they are for everyone and they are not business of the bosses. Students' learning experience matters

more than fancy building. These bosses should think about at the lower end employees. The pay gap is absolutely unfair” (Male, Respondent #16, 3/12/13).

Another non-participating member mentioned that she knows the union will protect her if she gets in trouble with the employer, but she was still worried about losing her job. “I sympathize with the strikers. I know that UCU may protect me in case I get in trouble with my employer. However, my fear for not becoming a UCU member is, I am on work permit (employer sponsored work permit) and I am scared of losing my job if I participate in any union activities” (Female, Respondent #18, interviewed on 03/12/13).

Based on these interviews, the researcher would like to highlight that respondents were well aware of the costs and benefits of participating in the industrial action. The major dissatisfaction about the fair pay issue revolved around the offer of a 1% pay rise and the loss of 13% pay in real terms since 2008. The cost of living and inflation have risen; however, salaries have not risen proportionately. The participants were ready to lose a day’s pay to protest further losses. The agenda of injustice was that the employers expected more work for less pay. Most respondents acknowledged the fact that there is money in the system, but it does not reach the accounts of the relevant people. The pay gap between Directors, Vice-Chancellors and other employees was again an important injustice agenda.

Different sub-groups and categories of people had different instrumentality, ideology and identity and their motivation to participate was dependent on the level at which they were affected. The incentives for some participants were related to the sub-group-specific dimension of instrumentality and identity in terms of fairness of pay, benefits and job security, and the shared identity was the sense of

injustice regarding these. For example, the pay gap between genders was expressed as a concern by female respondents and also endorsed by some of the male respondents. One of the student respondents clearly suggested that the college should either give decent money to the teaching staff or reduce tuition fees. There were sympathies expressed towards hourly-paid employees for not having sick pay, holiday pay and other benefits. Participating employees were also concerned about zero-hours contracts, expressing solidarity due to the latter not having job security. The incentives for some participants were related to the sub-group-specific dimension of ideology, for example, one respondent mentioned that the economy will not grow unless people feel comfortable to spend.

6.2.4 Barriers to participation

Motivation and barriers interact to influence participation. The more people are motivated, the higher the barriers they can overcome. This opens up two strategies for mobilizers: maintaining or increasing motivation, and/or removing barriers. The specific barriers and any actions to overcome them also depend on the specific sub-group of mobilizable people targeted (Klandermans, 2007).

During the data collection of the 2013 strike, it was observed – and the interview participants also confirmed – that there were several things which acted like barriers. For example, the group of picket volunteers confirmed that the college had declared the strike day as a holiday, and therefore not many people turned up to participate in the strike. Talking about the 2013 strike, one of the union officials said, “One may not see too many people at the picket line but that does not mean people are not participating in the strike. The reason for this was, the strike

coincided with the schools' mid-term break and some striking employees may have preferred spending time at home with children than to come to the picket line to show solidarity" (Female, Respondent #4, interviewed on 31/10/13).

Some picket line volunteers mentioned that the back door to the college was open, making it possible for non-strikers to enter the building without having to engage with the strikers and picket line volunteers and this may have been a hindrance in increasing participation.

The issue of free riders was perceived differently by different respondents. This was visible in statements such as, "People who have not participated are stupid" (Male, Respondent #2, interviewed on 31/10/13).

However, one of the participants mentioned, "This is a democratic country and people can make their own choices. I don't care if people don't participate. I don't even know how many people from my department are participating. I am here to protect my pay" (Female, Respondent #1, interviewed on 31/10/13).

During the strike, it was observed that a few employees crossed the picket line without making contact with union volunteers. Most of the employees entering the building pretended to be busy on their phones. One of the volunteers mentioned, "Some non-strikers always do that – they don't want to engage with us, and they pretend to be busy on the phone. Some make reasons that they have experiments running and they want to take the readings. Some just give reasons of submissions, etc." (Male, Respondent #15, interviewed on 03/12/13).

Not being able to make contact or engage with a non-striking employee is a major barrier and a lost opportunity to arouse consensus mobilization, to create solidarity or even to raise awareness.

However, the things which were positive for overcoming barriers were that students were aware of the underlying issues of the strike and were supportive. 3 unions joining together was encouraging and motivating for participants and the funds collected from the strike were to be given to the student hardship fund and this was very encouraging for participants.

Some respondents mentioned that the ambience of the October 2013 strike was good, and that Halloween added to the spirit of the strikers. The participants were aware that this was a legal strike and they did not feel threatened as they felt protected by law. One of the respondents commented, "No, no [...] Not at all, this is a legal strike and I am well protected" (Female, Respondent #1, interviewed on 31/10/13).

Another participant thought 3 unions coming together would help to reach out to non-striking employees and it would also show them the relevance of organized efforts, "Pay rise is a biggest issue. Strikes are not planned to harm students. Students suffer due to strike is a poor argument. Unity is always good. 3 unions coming up together will send message to non-striking employees. It is necessary that these non-strikers understand that this is not some small group doing something, but it is an organized effort for everyone" (Female, Respondent #13, interviewed on 31/10/13).

Multiple barriers have been addressed to encourage participation and improve solidarity with students and other sub-groups. The legal strike gave confidence to participants to join the strike or to join the picket line. 3 unions joining together was

encouraging for people to remove barriers as a group and create solidarity. However, the college declaring a holiday was a hindrance and took away an opportunity to encourage greater participation.

Having analyzed the qualitative data, it is clear that the employees who are more affected by the injustices are more likely to participate in the strike action. Joint efforts by different unions was perceived as a major barrier-reduction effort.

6.3 Framing Perspective and Mobilization

1. How do trade unions leverage injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective actions?

- i. Injustice frames – These focus on the violation of fairness or equity norms. UCU has widely used injustice frames to mobilize its members, sympathizers, potential recruits and onlookers. This point will be clarified with contents from UCU strike handouts: Fair pay for the job: in the last four years, pay in real terms has fallen by almost 15% for most support staff in Higher Education. This has eroded living standards and we believe this year's 1% offer is inadequate, squeezing incomes for all and hitting the lowest paid especially hard as living costs out-strip pay rises (Strike handout, October 2013, www.ucu.co.uk). High pay for some – pay restraint hasn't been applied equally. Since 2009, the number of staffs paid over £100,000 has increased substantially, with over half of Vice-Chancellors earning over £242,000. At the same time, the amount spent on your salaries is falling (Strike handout, October 2013, www.ucu.co.uk).

Funding surpluses – Higher education institutions continue to add to their reserves. In the last two years, surpluses in the sector have been over £2 billion. Student fee income has more than offset cuts in government grants. There is large-scale investment by universities in everything except staff pay (Strike handout, October 2013, www.ucu.org.uk).

UCU also used injustice frames on the website. The messages were consistent in every source of communication. The following example looks more focused on arousing action mobilization.

“Doing nothing is not an option. Unless you stand up now, the situation will not improve. Unless we stand together, your employers will continue to make below inflation offers, believing that staff will accept the crumbs they offer. If we keep silent, they will feel free to ignore our concerns on pay, equalities, workload and job security” (www.ucu.org.uk).

From the above examples it is evident that UCU widely used injustice frames to demonstrate violation of fairness. It may also help in creating consensus and encouraging action mobilization.

ii. Justice Frames – Providing justification for actions or people involved.

UCU justified strike action as, “the pay claim is affordable – the money is there. And by taking strike action now this will send a clear message that our jobs cannot be outsourced, and our terms and conditions slashed. If we don’t stand together now, we will be walked all over by the employers in the future” (www.ucu.org.uk).

The issue of work-life balance and workload was also used for justifying the collective action. For example, “Workloads – staff deserve a reasonable work-life balance. Surveys show around 30% of staff are working over 50 hours a week. Workloads in HE are increasing as you are asked to work harder for no more money” (www.ucu.org.uk).

iii. Oppositional frames – These are framing perspectives that focus on how movement and movement actors construct identity and meaning through framing processes that directly contradict that of another oppositional movement.

The government has been blaming trade union strikes for destroying the economy and blaming teachers for creating problems for parents during strike time. On 29 November 2011, the then Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, attacked striking teachers saying that, “Educators want families to be inconvenienced by the strikes or that they want people to lose pay.” This opposing frame was used to appeal to families who may have been affected by the strikes.

The UCU website reported in November 2011 that they witnessed a record number of lecturers joining the union. Almost 300 people joined the UCU, which was more than people joined during either of the first two weeks of the month. There had been a steady increase in union membership in November 2011, but this spike was more than double the previous working day’s total of 143. The same time the previous year, 33 people joined the union. The increase in

membership triggered by Michael Gove's speech shows that the union sympathizers were transformed into union participants.

Criticizing Michael Gove's statement, UCU General Secretary, Sally Hunt, said, "Despite being possibly the only minister to have stood on a picket line, Michael Gove is still symptomatic of this government's complete lack of understanding of trade unions and working people. Educators are far from mindless militants and to suggest they want to inconvenience anybody is incredibly insulting. They would rather be in the classroom than on the picket line tomorrow, but they will fight to save their pensions. They want proper negotiations to secure a resolution to the dispute and it is time for government to deliver. Strike action will always be quite a last resort and for Michael Gove or anyone in the government to suggest otherwise exposes the contempt with which they hold hard-working public servants" (www.ucu.org.uk).

iv. Rights frames – These highlight unjust differences in life circumstances, which are attribute encrusted discriminatory structural arrangements to the victims' imperfections. (Snow and Benford, 1992: 39)

Thousands of members of the UCU and other education trade unions descended on Parliament on 26 October 2011 to lobby their MPs about potential changes to their pensions. Hunt, said, "We are meeting with MPs today to dispel government myths about the need for pensions reform. Our members are unlikely militants, but they will not stand by while their pensions are raided to pay for a crisis they did not create" (www.ucu.org.uk).

“Over 4,000 staff are currently paid below the Living Wage. Employees in higher education want to live – not just exist. We are fighting for a Living Wage, to give a decent standard of living to those of you on the lowest pay” (www.ucu.org.uk).

v. Equal opportunity frames – This is an example of rights frame where discrimination is presented as happening based on grounds of gender, ethnicity, age, disability, term and type of employment, etc. “Inequality – Higher education has a greater gender gap than the rest of the public sector. Yet, in the last decade, little positive action has been taken by the employers to address our concerns at the national level” (Strike handout, October 2013).

The October 2013 strike was based on multiple-injustices agendas such as zero-hours contracts, job security and inequality. Equal opportunity frames were widely used to mobilize various sub-groups and categories.

vi. Hegemonic frame – This is when information within a frame is consistent across various sources and there is no alternative solution; the result is a hegemonic frame that dominates a channel of communication. This frame serves as an instructional enlightening source and a specific prism for society members to understand the world and leads to the construction of a particular social reality (Gamson, 1992).

The UCU website and strike pamphlets (2013) suggested that there were many agenda points for multiple strikes by UCU, as well as the combined strike of three unions (UCU, UNISON and Unite). The members of all the unions, representing all staff who work in HE, have voted to take action because they know that, unless they do, things will just get worse. They feel justified to strike

for a modest pay rise, to tackle the problems of falling pay levels and to ensure that all universities pay a living wage to their lowest-paid workers.

To justify why university staff should be paid more, their shared hegemonic frame is based on the belief that the introduction of market forces into HE funding is forcing universities to make rash economic decisions, including incentivizing them to engage in 'beauty contests' rather than investing in the underpinnings of a quality education. Unions think that the wasteful excesses caused by these 'beauty contests' should be reduced, and investment should be made in terms of better pay for staff to improve the quality of education. Between them, the universities have amassed a surplus of more than £1.1 billion, but they are refusing to spend any of this on investing in the staff who make universities work. If universities do not start to invest some of the money, they have amassed on tackling the problems of low and falling pay in UK universities, their reputation will suffer and so will the quality of education that students receive. This is a problem for everyone, and it is holding back a real recovery in the UK economy. In this context, unions have asked for a modest pay rise that begins to tackle the problems of falling pay and to ensure a living wage for the lowest paid. This will be a fair deal for staff, as well as other working people and it will help tackle the growing cost-of-living crisis and ensure a stronger recovery. (www.ucu.org.uk)

The above secondary data from the UCU website and strike handouts demonstrate how trade unions leverage injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective action.

2. How do trade unions engage in diagnostic, prognostic and action framing to mobilize workers for collective actions?

Diagnostic framing actions (types and means of information-sharing, highlighting the features of social situations to elicit a sense of grievance) and the prognostic framing actions (to articulate solutions) are used by trade unions to increase levels of worker identification with unions and thereby the mobilization level of workers. Essentially, these types of framing are related to building consensus mobilization.

i. Diagnostic framing plays an important role in helping workers to make sense of events happening around them. In both the strikes studied, both unions and employers used various frames, including diagnostic frames.

The union handouts and the UCU website had plenty of information helping people to make sense of the event. For example, UCU explained the reasons why employers want to cut pension benefits. The website mentioned, “The employers argue that it is the issue of affordability. They claim that the sector cannot afford to pay more than the current 16% and they want to cut benefits to prevent future increases in employer contributions. The employers have made it clear in negotiations that their aspirations are for all staff, not just new starters, to move from final salary scheme to CARE (career average valued earning) scheme” (www.ucu.org.uk)

A diagnostic frame was also used to explain under what circumstances the union will escalate the action. The UCU website said, the action will escalate from stage one (work to contract) to stage two (strike action) if the employers

refuse to return to the negotiation table over the next few weeks (News UCU website, 21 January 2011).

Hunt said, "USS is still following the employers' line and is proposing to scrap the final salary scheme and make it cheaper for employers to sack people on the grounds of redundancy. This has got a lot to do with saving the employers money and not enough to do with ensuring the long-term sustainability of the scheme" (News UCU website, 21 January 2011).

ii. Prognostic framing is used for information-sharing and articulating the solution. In a collective action, SMOs use prognostic frames in spreading awareness about the situation and proposing possible solutions. For example, while explaining the effects of the imposed pensions changes, the UCU website stated that, "the average lecturer set to lose over £100,000 over the course of their retirement. Existing staff faced increased contributions, less protection against inflation and substantial reduction in their pension if made redundant – a particular worry for staff at the present time, while an inferior pension scheme, with no final salary element, has been inflicted on new starters.

The employers have initially proposed to move all staff onto the inferior new scheme. UCU fears that they will seek to make this move again in a few years once those in the new scheme outnumber those with existing benefits".

(www.ucu.org.uk)

Using the prognostic frame, UCU also proposed a solution, stating what universities can do to settle the dispute. On its website, UCU proposed that the union will review the work to contract action at universities who publicly

call upon employers to re-enter negotiations with a view to reaching agreement and who do not subject members to punitive and unfair deductions.

The UCU proposed changes to the USS based on UCU member inputs which were accepted in part by the USS board. In this context, UCU general secretary, Sally Hunt, said, “Our members not only voted against the proposed changes to USS, but they also told us why they opposed the employers’ plans. We are pleased that the USS board has taken some of that on board and we look forward to seeing the modifications to the proposals (www.ucu.org.uk)

iii. Action framing seeks to translate the consensus built through diagnostic and prognostic framing into individual-level participation in the proposed collective action through socially constructed ‘vocabularies of motive’, which are used to provide a compelling account for engaging and sustaining participation. Essentially it is a tool for action mobilization. Injustice, justice, oppositional, equal opportunity and rights frames bundle to form action frames, in turn, helping in mobilizing and demobilizing workers.

In this case, injustice frames were widely used by UCU and the frames focused on fair pay for fair job, the pay gap, funding surplus and economic factors. Justice frames were focused on why it was justifiable to take collective action and on affordability for the employer to give reasonable pay rises, also that HE employees deserve better working conditions and a decent living. Various oppositional frames were used by the government and the UCU. The government blamed striking employees for creating disruptions and adding to economic loss where the UCU leaders defended their actions

and blamed the government and employers for the current industrial actions. Rights frames were widely used to emphasize the employees' right to protect their pensions and to have a decent living wage. Equal opportunity framing highlighted the inequality in HE in terms of the gender pay gap and discrimination against disabled employees and ethnic minorities. Hegemonic frames were used, which were consistent among UCU, Unite and UNISON, which primarily focused on the idea that the introduction of market forces into HE funding is forcing universities to make rash economic decisions.

3. How do trade unions leverage frame alignment processes (bridging, amplification, extension, transformation) and framing activities (resonance, disputes, contests) to proactively or reactively, increase or decrease the level of collectivisation between members and collaborating actors in the face of attempts by opposing actors to reduce such collectivisation?

Members of UCU, Unite and UNISON walked out on 31 October 2013 in a row over pay for staff working in HE. Staff were angry at the employers' refusal to budge from a 1% pay offer, which represented a real term pay cut of 13% since 2008.

UCU, Unite and UNISON aligned their frames around fair pay. Their demand was against falling pay rates, inequality, zero-hours contracts, job security, workloads, living wage and funding surplus.

The strike handout collated by UCU stated that, "whilst we may lose a day's pay through strike action, we stand to lose much more if we accept another pay increase below inflation. We are taking strike action in support of all staff, and we urge everyone to support the strike in whatever way you can. The best way

of avoiding a prolonged dispute is for us to demonstrate to the employers that the pay campaign has widespread support, and that both classes and services will not run if the employers are not prepared to negotiate a better deal. For three unions, this is an official dispute. We are confident that senior management will respect our right to take legitimate industrial action, we also want to make sure that lower levels of management accept this too. If you are facing pressure not to support our action, we want to know this so that we can deal with it – please raise this with your union representative immediately. Action can win! When we acted together in 2005, we won an above inflation pay rise. If we do not fight this, there is no chance that the employers will improve their offer, and we will see the value of our wages declines still further”.

The shared frame between UCU, Unite and UNISON regarding why university staff should be paid more was based on the belief that the introduction of market forces into HE funding is forcing universities to make rash economic decisions, including incentivizing them to engage in beauty contests rather than investing in the underpinnings of a quality education. Unions think that the wasteful excesses caused by these beauty contests should be reduced and investment should be made in terms of better pay for staff to improve the quality of education. Between them, the universities have amassed a surplus of more than £1.1 billion, but they are refusing to spend any of this on investing in the staff who make our universities work. If the universities don't start to invest some of the money, they have amassed on tackling the problems of low and falling pay in UK universities, UK university reputation will suffer and so will the quality of education that students receive. This is a problem for everyone, and it is holding back a real recovery in our economy. In this context, unions have asked for modest pay rise

that begins to tackle the problems of falling pay and ensure living wage for the lowest paid. This will be a fair deal for staff, as well as other working people and it will help tackle the growing cost-of-living crisis and ensure a stronger recovery. The combined strike did show a spirit of solidarity across all levels of academic staff, as well as among students. The participants did mention that the strike was a major success as three unions united in making a forceful demand for fair pay. Even the solidarity of the students was visible. The students' union at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) had put on a music show in solidarity with the staff members.

Framing contests with external parties (opponents or critics) are situations where opponents promote frames which challenge the interpretive schemes of the trade union. Although union leaders were demanding an improved pay offer from universities, the Universities and Colleges Employers Association (UCEA) was of the opinion that employers understood that the 1% pay offer was "frustrating to these trade unions", but it disputed whether the strike action had widespread support among university staff, pointing out that only "5 per cent of the workforce" had voted for strike action. They claimed staff understand the reality and the current environment and would not want to take action that could harm their institutions and their students.

According to the Times Education News, UCEA claimed the strike caused minimal disruption to campuses. A spokesman of UCEA said, "Today's [31 October 2013] action is passing off with only minimal disruption but since fewer than 5 per cent staff voted to support this strike this was not surprising".

Another example of a contesting frame is UCEA's briefing document for students which tried to explain the impact of the strike on students. The document

mentions, “The recent strike day caused very limited disruption. The overwhelming majority of staff realised that the unions’ continuing demands for even higher pay increases are neither affordable nor sustainable and they have no wish to cause any disruption to their institutions, and especially their students. “The employers acknowledge the pressure on real wages across the UK economy during the present economic downturn. UCEA has done extensive joint work with the union on looking at HE pay growth and examining the challenging financial issues facing the sector. So, it is disappointing that trade unions continue to deny the evidence about the real earnings growth that HE staff have seen and to portray surpluses as if it were a pot of unallocated money.”

“Employers are now paying and backdating the 1% pay increase and in time for Christmas to ensure the great majority of staff who are not playing any part in the dispute are no longer disadvantaged. The employers have been very clear that there is no scope to increase the 1% pay uplift. Staff have been waiting patiently since August for the pay award and employers want to see the increase implemented in time for Christmas”.

“HE will always make students their priority. Employers will seek to protect students as best they can from any adverse impact resulting from strikes or any other form of industrial action taken by staff”. Opponent frames such as these help to express the contrasting views of opponents and their relevance for the larger audience operating in the strategic action field.

Discussion: framing and mobilization

Framing is the most important weapon for any collective action or social movement. It helps individuals and organizations make sense of the events

happening around them. In the strategic action field, frames and counter-frames coexist and get tuned with the strategic actions of opposite parties. The involved parties such as the SMO leadership, employers' representatives, the state, ministers and so on, use opposite frames to counter-argue with each other and appeal to individuals who are affected by the event. In the case of this study, framing becomes important for UCU to construct collective identities, and to recruit and mobilize workers. For example, trade unions extensively use injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity, and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective actions. Trade unions leverage diagnostic, prognostic and action framing to mobilize workers for collective actions, and leverage frame alignment processes and framing activities to proactively or reactively, increase or decrease the level of collectivisation.

In this research, diagnostic and prognostic frames were used for consensus mobilization. UCU widely used injustice frames which were focused on fair pay for a fair job, pay gap, funding surplus and economic factors. UCU also widely used justice frames, which were focused on justifying the necessity of collective action. They also used equal opportunity frames which were based on gender equality. In 2013, hegemonic frames were used, and they also showed some success as 3 unions participated in combined collective action. These frames were based on the belief that universities have money; however, the money is not reaching its employees. In this research context, prognostic frames did see some success. UCU proposed solutions to finish the dispute between the union and employees. In the ballot of members over the employers' final offer for 2014-15, 83.7% of members who voted, voted to accept the offer and call off a planned marking boycott. The turnout was 52.6%.

Actors make continuous efforts to build solidarity and to reach out to larger numbers of audiences. Frames help various actors to attract media and public attention. Due to advancement in technology and digital media, it has become easier for various players to reach out to large numbers of people in a short time, especially the younger audience. Frames can influence political structures and policies of the state. Although frames help us to understand the strategic action field in detail, framing perspective demands greater investigation about why some frames are more successful than others, how they move across various movements and how they differ in various cultures and geographies.

6.4 Networks and Mobilization

While Tilly (1978) and Kelly (1998) briefly mention the role of density of networks in describing the organization of workers and the role of friendship networks in reducing barriers (with reference to Klandermans, 1984,1987, 2007) to participation in collective actions, the breadth and depth of the role of networks in mobilization needs detailed investigation.

1. How do various ties such as past experience, intensity and centrality to trade unions' recruitment networks impact on workers' participation in collective action and intensity of participation in collective action proposed by the union?

The social ties to SMOs tend to increase with the time one is associated with them and the intensity of the association. The survey data demonstrates that young employees, or the employees who have been members of the union for less than a year have a very low rate of participation in the union. This could be due to insecurities and weak ties

with the network, having just started their career. However, the highest level of participation comes from employees who have spent more than 10 years with the union. Ties with the union become stronger as one spends more time with the network, providing more opportunities to interact with union members. It also provides more chances to form friendship networks. A better understanding of union instrumentality, identity and ideology develops along with more experience of collective action. Most union leaders at Birkbeck have spent a long time as members and have strong ties with the union network. They were more vocal on the picket lines and provided in-depth answers to interview questions.

2. How does the number of common categories among social networks have an impact on mobilization?

The higher the number of common CATegories among the social NETwork, the higher the mobilization. Commitment to an identity (which can come through membership of a similar organization or social network) and ties to participants determine mobilization more than ties to a formal SMO structure. The level of solidarity of workers with their social network determines their mobilization.

The quantitative data indicates that there are 280 female union members as compared to 221 males. It showed gender as an independent variable was statistically significant.

The qualitative data indicates that people with more overlapping impacted categories seem to be more mobilized than those with fewer. For example, females in the 40 to 50 age group who were affected

directly both by the gender pay gap and the change in retirement age were more vocal and intense in their participation in the strike actions. While the researcher was conducting interviews of UCU female members, a group of approximately 15-20 women walked up to the researcher and volunteered to participate in the research. The group mentioned that they were part of UNISON and Unite. They wanted their voice to be heard as a most affected section. They were vocal about how the gender pay gap and changes in the retirement age had affected them.

Furthermore, non-teaching staff (particularly cleaning staff) were vocal and intense in their participation because they were directly impacted upon both by reduced job security and the pay cut. Similarly, during the combined strike, the researcher witnessed that UNISON and Unite recruits were very active in trying to make their voices heard. This indicates that commitment to the shared identity (through membership of UNISON and Unite) and ties to participants (due to being from Birkbeck) had triggered their mobilization. The quantitative survey data shows that over 38% of participants in the survey data agreed that collective action is a group activity and if one does not participate then they are not part of the activity.

The pay gap between genders was expressed as a concern by female respondents and endorsed by some of the male respondents. Most student participants suggested that the college should either give decent money to the teaching staff or reduce the fees. There were sympathies and solidarity towards hourly-paid employees for not having sick pay,

holiday pay and other benefits. Participating employees were also concerned about zero-hours contracts. They definitely were in solidarity with employees on zero-hours contracts due to the latter not having job security. Many participants were sensitive towards the significance of solidarity and it did come across as an important factor in their responses. For example, one of the respondents said, “I am here to show solidarity to our teachers’ strike. I have participated in many rallies and demonstrations. I am not part of any union so technically I am not part of strike, but I do care” (Male, Respondent #5, interviewed on 31/10/13). In this case, the respondent is not a member of the union, but is participating to show solidarity. The funds collected from the strike were to be given to the students’ hardship funds (as confirmed by Male, Respondent #8, interviewed on 31/10/2013), which was very encouraging for participants and was a method for strike participants to express solidarity with students. One of the female respondents said, “I do not mind losing my day’s pay. Losing my pay does not make a difference for me. However, I care for the employees who cannot afford to lose pay and they cannot participate in the strike” (Female, Respondent #12, interviewed on 31/10/13). The above observations and interview remarks indicate that common categories impact mobilization.

3. How does the function of social networks in mobilization vary by context and time from socialization through providing opportunities to participate and influencing participation decisions? How does the relevance of such

functions contribute to increasing the intensity of participation change over time?

Mobilization triggers collective action, which, in turn, triggers further mobilization. However, mobilization can also increase through a bandwagon effect. Strike action periods are the best time to make the unions' presence felt and convert sympathizers to potential recruits for future collective actions. For example, one of the union officials commented,

Our branch runs several recruitment activities including a presence at the new staff induction day, emails to new starters, social events, open meetings and distribution of membership forms. Nevertheless, it's undoubtedly the case that our best recruitment is during periods of dispute. Our branch has grown to its largest ever size since the pay dispute began. Our members hear from us around once a month, and much more frequently during a dispute. New members of staff hear from us shortly after joining. We maintain a blog and Twitter account, and occasionally create a newsletter. I'd like to see improvements in our capacity to connect with the wider media over the coming months and want to see press releases in advance of future action (Male, Respondent #1, interviewed on 03/12/13).

Don't understand the numbers here. Are you talking about the percentage of respondents who were fixed term or the percentage of fixed term employees who voted for strike action? In any case you can't necessarily infer an increase because the change in numbers could reflect differences in sample composition. The longitudinal and repeated

measure survey data has demonstrated that there has been an increase in fixed-term employees voting for participation in strike action. In the first survey (2011), 16.39% were fixed term; however, in the 2013 survey the percentage for strike voting had increased to 29.09%. Similarly, the preference for strike voting of employees who have spent one to five years with the union increased from 22.94% to 35.48%. This may indicate that mobilization increases due to strike actions, particularly for union members who had low ties with other union members during the initial strike, since strike action tends to increase the ties between these members and the SMO social network.

Almost 300 people nationwide joined the union within a week after the speech, which was more than the number who joined during either of the first two weeks of the month before the speech. There was a steady increase in union membership in November, but this spike was more than double the total of 143 that had joined before the speech. This time last year 33 people joined the union (www.ucu.org.uk). Clearly the news spread through the social networks, rapidly triggering the bandwagon effect in terms of increasing the membership of the union.

4. What is the impact of the participation of workers in formal organizations culturally close to trade unions on their willingness to participate in collective action of different intensities?

Initial participation by sub-groups depends on ties to individuals, but longer duration participation is driven by ties to linking organizations. Mobilization for higher-intensity activity is easier when people with ties

from previous collective action are targeted, while mobilization for low-intensity normal issues is easier through social networks.

The survey data demonstrates that the young employees, or the employees who have been members of the union for less than 1 year, participated less. The lower participation could be due to insecurities and weak ties with the network; however, the data demonstrates that almost 40% of employees who spent more than 10 years in the union voted to strike. This indicates that the ties with the union become stronger as one spends more time with the union network. What does the 40% figure mean? 40% did what, exactly?

The survey data shows that the employees who have spent more years with the union and also have past experience of strike participation demonstrate a higher intensity of participation in collective action. The observations, interviews and attendance at union meetings also show that the employees who hold positions in the union show more intensity of participation (militant behaviour) such as volunteering on the picket line.

The union's efforts to mobilize people to participate in strike action and non-intense collective action vary extensively depending upon the timeframe. For example, the intensity and frequency of the union's strategies to reach out to potential participants is higher during mobilizing for strike action; however, the data shows that employees who have previous experience of strikes are more likely to participate again.

During the longitudinal study, the researcher had an opportunity to interview several participants on two occasions. All these participants confirmed that they have experience in participating in strikes. They are aware that the strike is legal, and that they are protected, and they do not mind playing an active role in the strike.

5. What are the other structures and mechanisms independent of SMOs by which information, resources, expertise and solidarity circulate through various networks and categories?

Social relays and social agitators determine the structure of social movement free spaces which cause the circulation of information, resources, expertise and solidarity through their activities connecting various networks and sub-groups. The primary sub-groups are based on gender, term and type of employment and each has its networks. Some employees form connections with sub-groups, for example, certain students are part of hourly-paid networks; permanent female staff members might be part of permanent employees' networks as well as female networks, or black staff members could be members of their own sub-group. Sometimes people in one social network are attached to another social network through change in type and/or term of employment. Through such connections, the circulation of information, resources, expertise and solidarity happens within the overall social network during the process of frame alignment.

One of the female respondents, who was more vocal and engaging, was in solidarity with other staff and said,

“I am raising awareness among staff and students. Understanding is better now among all types of staff. I was first a freelance employee then I became a full-time and salaried employee. I found out about UCU when I joined as a full-time faculty. My motive for participation is to express solidarity with other staff. Despite different staff being in different pay related situations, we all need to make our common voice strong enough to be heard by management” (Female, Respondent #6, interviewed on 03/12/13).

This female respondent also shared her views about strikes and action short of a strike. She was advocating industrial action; however, she was of the opinion that action short of a strike may have its complications. She added, “action short of a strike has complexities because labour is not withdrawn but less work is done. However, the quality and quantity of production is important for the teaching staff member in both strike and action short of strike. e.g. I am writing an article and I stand to lose the quality of my production due to the strike. How should I deal with the impact of today’s loss of work on the quality of my article? I am supposed to read something for the article. I am contemplating if I should just send the article unfinished. But my reputation will get affected. Do you know what I mean?” (Female, Respondent #6, interviewed on 03/12/13).

It is obvious that action short of a strike may have its complications. However, few participants were of the opinion that action short of a strike will create more buzz and awareness of the issue, “We must have more action short of strike and lunchtime demonstrations. People are not blind. They will see what’s happening. We can create more awareness

by lunchtime demonstrations” (Male, Respondent #12, interviewed on 03/12/13).

Another respondent who previously was part of the hourly-paid employee group and is now a full-time member of staff said,

“I am getting less pay and I am contributing more towards my pensions contribution. I am not even sure at what age will I retire, and will I really get my pension. Till recently I was an hourly-paid employee and had a lot of financial struggle. I was doing my PhD and I thought the system would support me, but I had to do multiple jobs to support my studies. I could never claim any sick pay or any other benefits. To me this is a good way of creating pressure to get your rights. The Directors and Vice-Chancellors are paid so much more than most of us. They should increase our pay to have a decent living standard. The economy will not grow unless people feel comfortable spending money. The British academia has an excellent reputation across the globe. This reputation will definitely get affected by industrial unrest. Students demand quality education and with poor salary how will the universities attract good talent. They should think seriously about the damaging reputation of the universities” (Male, Respondent #9, interviewed on 31/10/13).

These participants who have been part of different networks understand the issues from different perspectives. For example, somebody who has been part of a freelance teaching network and is now full-time shows solidarity with different networks to which they belong.

Discussion: networks and mobilization

Connections and circulation of information, resources, expertise and solidarity happen within the overall social networks and categories during the process of frame alignment. Mobilization through networks may vary in different contexts and times. It uses different communication messages to connect with various groups.

It is possible to reach many people simultaneously. It is easier to maintain a website or use social media for a quick update and to collaborate nationally and internationally with similar organizations. There is a high probability that individuals with strong ties with SMOs may show a higher level of participation. There is a possibility that individuals may simultaneously be part of multiple networks. It is easier to share ideas or borrow ideas from similar organizations. It is necessary for SMOs or employers and other actors to tune their communications to appeal to the sub-group(s) they are trying to target. It is necessary to gather feedback to check whether the communication strategy is working to reach the targeted group. Shared identity and ideology play important roles. Ideology influences network participation and networks further influence the ideology. For successful mobilization, the influencing organization should understand the demography, network categories and sub-groups better so that they can communicate more effectively.

6.5 Mobilization and Emotions

We describe below the list of key points from our data regarding the relationship between Mobilization and emotions

A. While Kelly (1998) briefly mentions how leaders make emotional appeals to mobilize workers, the breadth and depth of the role of emotions is not described. Several questions are still to be answered. For instance, does an increase in anger increase participation in strikes, and how does a SMO try to overcome the emotional barriers which may act as a hindrance to participation? Does an increase in the emotion of anger result in a higher degree of participation in collective action when the collective action is the only or prime means of expressing that anger, and when there are other means?

The survey data (2011 and 2013) shows that anger over pay, pensions and job security triggered the decision to vote in the ballot and to participate in the strikes. Out of the 35 interview participants, 25 voted for the strike action for pay, pensions and job security. That means over 70% of the interview participants were in favour of the strike. During the interviews and while attending committee meetings, it was observed that the participants were agitated about the pay gap between the Vice-Chancellor and other staff members. The participants were also angry about the employers' announcement of the deduction of a day's salary for participating in two-hour strikes. The UCU website also discussed the issue of anger over this decision.

During the interviews with the participants, most were of the opinion that the strike was the only option. However, a few participants thought that a 2-day strike would create a larger impact than a single day's strike and some thought that two-hour strikes should happen more frequently, as it would spread more awareness among other employees. A number of people had the idea that boycotting assessments would have a larger impact and would trigger further negotiations.

The level of anger varied between the employees, and so did the opinions about strikes and action short of a strike.

It was also observed that there were various levels or intensities of participation. This depended on the level of anger and sense of injustice. Some employees voted for strike action but did not participate in the strike and others participated in the strike but did not volunteer on the picket line. Different types of behaviours were also exhibited by different participants. For example, some volunteers were more forceful and more engaging in convincing non-strikers not to enter the building. Some volunteers were tentative in convincing or even talking to non-strikers.

For example, one reluctant interview participant mentioned, "I am volunteering on the picket line. This is my first time I have participated in a strike. Let's see how successful I get in stopping people getting inside the building. They have practically declared holiday so not many people to stop." (Male, Respondent #3, interviewed on 31/10/13). This respondent was not particularly keen to engage further with the researcher and looked uncomfortable to answer any further questions.

During the interviews, some participants used harsh language to demonstrate their anger. One of the respondents said, "I am participating in today's strike. I am participating because it is one of the biggest strikes. All the major unions and students are participating. I am fighting for fair pay. Our salary is reduced by 13% from 2008. I have lost so much [...]. I don't mind losing my day's salary to protect future loses. Where are the managers? I don't see managers participating. Those who don't participate are stupid. But it's a good ambience here. Can you see

people dressed for Halloween? Yeh! We have enough monsters around us.” (Male, Respondent #2, interviewed on 31/10/13).

One of the respondents said, “You [the researcher] should speak to the managers and also create a report and present it to the master.” (Male, Respondent #10, interviewed on 03/12/13). This statement demonstrates the level of anger and frustration, in that the respondent was looking to reach people or have his voice heard through the researcher. This statement also shows the emotion of hope. The participant is hopeful that through the researcher, it is possible for him to make his voice reach to the manager and the master.

One other angry male respondent said, “I have never participated in a strike before. I used to work for a charity and was never part of any union. I was made redundant during the time of change in the government and I could not do anything about it. I was not protected. I feel very angry. Now I have got a job and I am protected; I can participate in the strike. There are around 12 agenda points for the strike. I am striking because there is a lot of money in the system, but it doesn’t reach our accounts. To me the most important agenda is the pay gap between the genders. This is so unfair.” (Male, Respondent #7, interviewed on 31/10/13).

Emphasizing the importance of solidarity one of the participants mentioned, “Everyone in the university must realize that the strike is a joint effort, and everyone must show solidarity. I get asked, why should we strike? Every public sector employee is taking pay cut. I believe, some groups must stand up and resist the injustice and other groups can do the same. This resistance will help to

develop argument against the bosses. Strikes are relevant for every public sector organization.” (Female, Respondent #13, interviewed on 31/10/13).

From the interviews and observations, it was evident that injustice frames and equality frames had worked well for helping employees to show anger. Specially, the emotion of solidarity is very evident from the interview quotes.

B. How is the barrier to mobilization due to the emotion of fear mitigated through the actions of SMOs (mass meetings, strong collective identity, belief in divine protection, ensuring the strikes are legal and improving the strength of the social network connecting the individuals to the SMO)? Fear plays an important role in generating participation in any collective action. Along with UCU members, the researcher also interviewed four non-UCU members. Three non-UCU members were interviewed on the day of the 2013 strike and one interview was conducted telephonically on the same day. One of the non-UCU members commented, “I sympathize with the strikers. I know that UCU may protect me in case I get in trouble with my employer. However, my fear for not becoming a UCU member is, I am on work permit and I am scared of losing my job if I participate in any union activity.” (Female, Respondent #18, interviewed on 03/12/13).

Another UCU member who did not participate in the strike mentioned, “I fear of losing more money for each strike day, which I cannot afford.” (Male, Respondent #17, interviewed on 03/12/13).

Several universities deducted a day's pay for participating in a two-hour strike, and that created a threat in the minds of participating members. Having looked at these examples, some of the picketers confirmed that they were not afraid to participate as these strikes are legal and they are protected. This showed that some members have managed to overcome the fear of participating in the collective action and being legally protected was an encouraging factor for the participants.

It was also observed, and witnessed during union meetings, that volunteering on picket lines as a group gave a sense of collective identity and solidarity.

- C. How do SMOs try to arouse a feeling of hope through collective action so that participants gain satisfaction from action (acting in face of those denying capacity for courage, dignity and coordination) as well as furthering the goals of the action?

The majority of workers were hopeful that the strike will help them to fulfil their demands. When the researcher asked about the success of the strike, some participants said that they were hopeful that the employer will come back to the negotiation table and that the combined strike would create a larger impact. 3 unions coming together after a long period of time gives a hope of winning the battle collectively.

A sustained campaign of a series of strikes, actions short of a strike and boycotting assessments created hope for success for participating employees. For some employees, increasing the size of the union membership created hope for becoming stronger.

It was evident that injustice and equality frames had worked well for helping employees to show emotions of anger. The more people are motivated, the higher the barriers they can overcome. The emotions of injustice, solidarity, fear and hope play very important roles.

Discussion: emotions and mobilization

Although emotions occupy the centre stage for any mobilization, it has not received much attention in the literature of industrial relations. Discussing the role of emotions in social movements helps to enhance an understanding of mobilization processes. Kelly (1998) discussed the ways in which leaderships arouse the emotion of anger, which is associated with injustice. However, the data suggests that, apart from anger, there are other emotions like solidarity, hope, fear guilt, moral shock and trust that also play a role in mobilization. The intensity of participation in strike activity depends on the level of anger a participant experiences, and the pay gap in universities has been a major focus for anger, despite individual differences. Some picket line volunteers were more forceful in engaging with non-striking employees while others engaged less.

Similarly, the emotions of hope and solidarity helped to improve consensus and action mobilization. Helping employees deal with the emotion of fear, for example, by stressing the legality of the strike, which reduced barriers to participation in the collective action.

Consensus Mobilization or Mobilization Potential – Mobilization potential refers to the individuals in a society who could be mobilized by a social movement. Frames act like a major tool of communication to potential participants. Different groups of individuals differ in identity, instrumentality and ideology. The union used

various frames for communicating with different networks of sub-groups. The data shows diagnostic frames and prognostic frames are used to build consensus mobilization. Action frames such as injustice, justice, hegemonic and equal opportunity frames are used to improve and sustain the collective action.

Action Mobilization – This step separates sympathisers who are targeted and those who are not targeted. The union makes continuous efforts to increase its membership and sustain collective action by reaching out to various networks of sub-groups. Depending upon the type of sub-group being targeted, for example, full-time, part-time, female, etc. and the purpose of mobilization (recruitment/collective action), the union changes the frequency and intensity of the framing activities. It makes efforts to maintain the level of consensus and action mobilization through its targeted efforts to reach various sub-groups.

Motivation to Participation – Involvement in a particular collective action is a function of the perceived cost and benefits of participation. This depends on the type of motivation (instrumentality, identity, ideology) of the potentially participating individual. Most of the participants were aware of the cost and benefits of the participation in strike action. Pay, pensions and job security were common agenda points across all sub-groups; however, there were selective and collective incentives to participants' respective instrumentality, identity and ideology. For example, there were specific agenda points for female employees, zero-hour employees, etc.

Barriers to participation – Unions have tried to address the issue of barriers of participation. The legal strike action was encouraging for many participants to be

involved in the strike and to join the picket line to play a more active role. Three unions joining together created solidarity amongst participants.

Conclusion

UCU continuously makes efforts to mobilize employees and sympathizers. Technology has provided more social digital network channels for mobilizing workers. Employee demographics are more diverse than in the past and so mobilizing them involves more sub-groups than before, requiring targeted framing.

Whilst testing the mobilization theory, the researcher found that networks, framings and emotions play important roles in mobilization. UCU has leveraged injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective action. UCU has engaged in diagnostic, prognostic and action framing to mobilize workers for collective actions. UCU has leveraged frame alignment processes and framing activities to proactively or reactively, increase or decrease the level of collectivization between members and collaborating actors.

Multiple strategies are used by UCU for connecting with potential recruitment networks such as presentation at induction week, inviting potential recruits into events conducted by unions, periodically publishing newsletters, and providing updates through their website and via social media. It makes sure its presence is felt at times of industrial unrest.

UCU made efforts to leverage emotions like anger, fear, moral shock, guilt and hope to trigger a higher degree and timing of participation in collective action. By reducing the barriers to participation, UCU tried to improve participation in collective action. It arranged coordinated actions to reduce the barrier of fear and

made efforts to show the success of collectivization in order to arouse the emotion of hope. They also worked towards creating sympathizers into participants and created moral shock to increase emotions of injustice and anger.

Targeted efforts were made to improve consensus and action mobilization. Sub-groups are associated with sub-networks and resonate to different frames and so need different messages to arouse their emotions. Union leaders played important role in arousing the emotion of anger, which is associated with a sense of injustice. An increase in a sense of anger increased the probability of action mobilization. Unions also made efforts to improve mobilization by removing barriers to participation, which may exist in the form of fear.

Technology was employed by UCU to reach out to various sub-groups simultaneously. However, mobilization is a continuous process with various well-thought-out strategies. The wave of industrial action improves the chances of unions to be more visible. For unions to arouse consensus is much easier than to transfer consensus mobilization into action mobilization.

Throughout the above discussions, the researcher has tried to emphasize the significance of consensus mobilization for action mobilization, and how networks, emotions and framing perspectives help to increase levels of mobilization.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusion

Mobilization Theory, as articulated by Kelly (1998), provides a solid framework to understand the trade union movement and its collective action; however, the current field of industrial relations, particularly in Britain, has gone through a lot of changes, especially in terms of technological advancement, the changing demographics of workers, and the impact of the austerity measures of the coalition and current government, alongside the recent economic crisis. Technology has provided more channels for mobilization and worker demographics are now more diverse than in the past. The economic crisis and related reforms have triggered a large wave of worker mobilization activity in the economy. In this context, there is an opportunity to investigate the structure and content of the mobilization efforts of trade unions afresh with a focus on framing, social/digital networks and emotions. This chapter delivers concluding remarks on this research project and gives an overview of how the gaps identified in the literature can be filled with an augmented mobilization model that focuses on the roles of frames, social/digital networks and emotions.

Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (1984, 1987, 2007) explain different aspects of the micro-structure and macro-structure of mobilization better than other theories in the area of industrial relations; however, there are gaps in their accounts of mobilization. The framing, networks and emotions literature help to understand how trade unions frame issues over space, parties and time, how they transmit frames to various parties based on the networks connecting the trade union to these parties, and how unions seek to provoke positive emotions which can enhance mobilization and seek to reduce the impact of negative emotions which

can reduce mobilization. The thesis, therefore, addressed four main research questions. First, what are the determinants of consensus and action mobilization for collective actions organized by trade unions among workers? Second, how do trade unions leverage framing to mobilize workers for collective actions like strikes and actions short of a strike? Third, how do trade unions leverage networks to mobilize workers for collective action? Fourth, how do trade unions leverage emotions to mobilize workers for collective action?

To address these questions, the researcher has applied the case study method, collecting both qualitative and quantitative data at different time points, between 2011 and 2014, in the British HE system.

The research tested mobilization theory and found the determinants of consensus and action mobilization using survey research. The qualitative data collection through interviews, observations and secondary data analysis helped to establish how individuals make sense of the events happening around them and to understand what the determinants of mobilization (consensus and action) are, as well as how SMOs and unions use frames, social/digital networks and emotions for mobilization. This is a rare study in industrial relations literature, which explains, in detail, the drivers of consensus and action mobilization.

The union message contact variable was proposed as a direct measure of how various frames are transmitted by unions through different networks and media to reach union members and sympathizers. The data indicates that when the union is not transmitting frames about injustice and strike instrumentality-identity-ideology benefits, then union participation, the sense of injustice, perceived strike benefits and the probability of a strike vote are all lowered.

In the strategic action field, frames and counter-frames coexist and get tuned with the strategic actions of opposite parties. In this research, diagnostic and prognostic frames were used for consensus mobilization. UCU frequently used injustice frames, which were focused on the fair pay for the job, the excess pay gap between higher and lower-paid employees and the funding surplus. UCU also made frequent use of justice frames, which were focused on justifying the necessity of collective action. UCU also used equal opportunity frames which were based on gender equality. In 2013, hegemonic frames were used, and they also showed success as 3 unions participated in combined collective action. The hegemonic frames were based on the belief that universities have money; however, the money is not reaching its employees. In this research context, prognostic frames did see some success. UCU proposed solutions to finish the dispute, which came to an end in 2013 when the conditional pay offer was made for 2014-2015.

Depending on the sub-groups and networks, the trade union generated and transmitted frames for building consensus regarding the views of the trade union, resulting in an increased participation by workers in union activities. They also used frames to construct collective identities of various levels, and to recruit and mobilize workers.

The data shows that employees with strong ties with their network have shown high levels of participation in union activities. There is also a possibility that employees may be part of multiple networks. It is necessary that unions and various actors in the collective action field communicate to a variety of targeted sub-groups. For effective communication, it is necessary that unions understand the demography, network categories and sub-groups of the targeted organization.

Discussing the role of emotions in social movements helps to enhance an understanding of mobilization processes. The data suggests that, apart from anger there are other emotions like solidarity, hope, fear, guilt, moral shock and trust that play a role in mobilization. The intensity of participation in strike activity depends on the level of anger a participant experiences and the pay gap within universities has been a major focal point for anger.

Similarly, the emotion of solidarity helped to improve consensus and action mobilization. The emotion of hope also helped in in this regard. For improving and sustaining participation in collective action, the union have made efforts to arouse the emotions of anger, hope and solidarity and made efforts to reduce barriers to participation in collective action. This is done by helping employees to deal with the emotion of fear, which is reduced by making sure the strike is legal. Collective identity also seems to be working in improving participation in collective action.

UCU made use of technology to reach out to various sub-groups simultaneously. However, mobilization is a continuously evolving process and it requires well thought out strategies. Industrial actions, strikes and unrests provide opportunities for unions to improve their visibility. Consensus mobilization is comparatively easy to arouse; however, action mobilization requires more organized efforts with reference to frames, networks and emotions.

Throughout the above discussions, the researcher has tried to emphasize the significance of consensus mobilization to action mobilization, and how networks, emotions and framing perspectives help to increase levels of mobilization.

[7.1 The contribution to existing knowledge](#)

1. The researcher has tested the determinants of consensus mobilization predicted by the union participation literature and finds that the determinants of consensus mobilization by SMOs, as measured by union participation are instrumentality, procedural justice, job satisfaction and workplace injustice. However, the researcher finds that union framing activities targeting various networks, sub-groups and categories for arousing their emotions form the process by which these independent variables influence union participation.

2. Based on the extension of theoretical and empirical frameworks from the literature (Kelly, 1998; Klandermans, 1984, 1987, 2007; Johnson and Jarley, 2004), the researcher has analyzed how the level of action mobilization varies depending on the level of consensus mobilization, the specific injustice agenda for the strike, measures of justification for action mobilization and barrier reduction efforts (in the form of number of contacts with union messaging). Based on this analysis, the researcher has proposed a quantitative model for the same. However, the researcher finds that union framing activities targeting various network and sub-groups for arousing their emotions form the process by which these independent variables influence action mobilization.

3. Along with testing the mobilization theory quantitatively, this research helps to understand the role of framing, networks and emotions in the actual mobilization process, which goes beyond union participation and discussion about injustice, leadership and collective action both theoretically and empirically.

7.2 Results

The findings focus on the determinants of mobilization. The research began with testing mobilization theory for consensus and action mobilization and identifying

the gaps. The researcher found that framing, social/digital networks and emotions play important roles in mobilization.

1. Determinants of mobilization

The determinants of consensus mobilization by trade unions among workers, viz. union participation, job satisfaction, workplace injustice, union procedural justice, and union interactional justice are in line with the predictions from the union participation literature (Kelly, 1998; Klandermans, 1984, 1987, 2007; Johnson and Jarley, 2004). Action mobilization by trade unions among workers depends on the level of consensus mobilization as well as generic consensus mobilization (union participation). It also depends on a specific injustice agenda for the strike (pay, pensions and job security, and related injustices such as zero-hours contracts, workloads, funding surpluses, and the gender pay gap), justification of action mobilization (measures of strikes as the only option, the intensity of injustice and union membership identity expression), barrier reduction efforts (union message contact) were also examined. Adding each of these variables incrementally explains additional variance significantly. Union message contact signifies the intensity and frequency of the union messages using different media to reach workers, which is a measure of the barrier-reducing efforts by the union.

2. Mobilization and role of frames

The literature suggests (Gahan and Pekarek, 2013; Zald, 1996; Gamson and Mayer, 1996; McCarthy, Smith and Zald, 1996) trade unions leverage injustice, justice, oppositional, hegemonic, equal opportunity and rights frames to help workers make sense of the context of collective actions. They also engage in diagnostic, prognostic and action framing to mobilize workers for collective actions and leverage frame alignment processes (bridging, amplification, extension,

transformation) and framing activities (resonance, disputes, contests) to proactively or reactively, increase or decrease the level of collectivization between members and collaborating actors in the face of attempts by opposing actors to reduce such collectivization. In the existing research, diagnostic and prognostic frames are extensively used to build consensus mobilization. For example, using diagnostic frames UCU continuously helped people to make sense of the unrest. It also provided information about the circumstances under which the union will take strike action. Using prognostic frames, the union spread awareness of the issues and provided a solution to end the unrest. Action frames are used to transform consensus mobilization built through diagnostic and prognostic frames into action mobilization. For example, UCU used injustice frames, which focused on the fair pay for a fair job, the pay gap, funding surplus and economic factors and they used justice frame to justify the collective action.

3. Mobilization and the role of social and digital networks

Social and digital networks play a key role in the mobilization of workers (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987; Oliver and Marwell, 2001; Passy and Giugni, 2001; Tindall, 2015; Diani and Mische, 2015). The type (intensity, centrality, past experience) and number of ties by which a worker is recruited and connected to a trade union network has an impact on their willingness to participate in collective actions of different types and costs (for example, militant vs. non-militant). The extent to which SMOs' mobilizing messages and cultural orientations in their social sub-networks align with dominant orientations in society determines the type and level of recruitment and participation through that social sub-network. The function of social networks in mobilization varies by context and time, from socialization

through providing opportunities, to participating in and influencing participation decisions. The relevance of such functions in increasing the intensity of participation changes over time. The level of centralization in social networks impacts on mobilization, which impacts on the efficiency of the diffusion of new types of collective action. The participation of workers in formal organizations culturally close to the trade union affects their willingness to participate in collective action of different intensities. Finally, there are structures and mechanisms like social relays, which the SMO can leverage for circulating information, resources, expertise and solidarity through various sub-networks. This research confirms that, for effective consensus mobilization, UCU reaches out to a larger audience to build solidarity. Using social relays is a very effective mechanism for building consensus mobilization with the least effort. However, for action mobilization, UCU focuses on specific individuals and sub-groups related to the collective action, for example, targeting women for collective action on the issue of the gender pay gap. The union also focuses on network ties, past experience and centrality for higher levels of action mobilization. More overlapping networks provide an opportunity for consensus and action mobilization, for example, a black female employee being part of a female network and a full-time staff network, as well as an ethnic minority network.

4. Mobilization and the role of emotions

Emotions play a key role in mobilization (Goodwin et al., 2001; Flam and King, 2005; Wettergen, 2005; Klandermans, 2015). SMOs can take action to increase or leverage emotions (especially of anger, fear, solidarity, moral shock, guilt, trust and hope) for triggering a higher degree or timing of participation in collective

action. SMOs can take mitigating actions to reduce barriers to mobilization due to the emotion of fear such as mass meetings, strong collective identity and belief in divine protection, ensuring the strikes are legal and improving the strength of the social network connecting the individuals to the SMO. As part of its action mobilization efforts, SMOs can take actions to arouse a feeling of hope through collective action so that participants get satisfaction from the action itself (acting in the face of those denying capacity for courage, dignity and coordination) as well as furthering the goals of the action. SMOs can use appeals to widespread moral emotions and apply such emotions to new cases as part of their action mobilization efforts and can work towards increasing the solidarity of sympathizers and onlookers to convert them into social movement participants. SMOs can create the emotion of moral shock to improve participation. UCU leverages the emotion of solidarity to build consensus and anger, fear, moral shock, guilt, trust and hope to trigger action mobilization. Moreover, the data shows emotions of solidarity, hope and anger play a significant role in action mobilization.

7.3 Proposed mobilization model

The occurrences of strikes are rare, and so the existing literature is relatively sparse in studies related to strike actions. The existing literature is mainly focused on mobilization as a process of participation in unions. According to the proposed mobilization model, participation happens in two phases – consensus mobilization and action mobilization – and through related actions such as motivation to participate and removing barriers to participation. Each of the participation steps

coincides with subsequent drivers of mobilization, which is explained in detail in the coming paragraphs.

Mobilization Potential – At the level of a society (polity), Tilly (1978) and Tilly and Tarrow (2012) do not describe the specific causes of individual collective actions (mobilizations) but lay out the specific strategic action fields (strategic contexts) in which mobilizations occur.

Mobilization potential refers to the polity who could be mobilized by a social movement. Kelly (1998) and Klandermans (1984, 1987, 2007) describe how individuals are mobilized based on the goals of the collective action. According to above mentioned mobilization theories, different sub-groups of individuals are mobilized for collective actions due to different goals and reasons. However, these theories do not focus on the way the diagnostic and prognostic framings about the goals of collective actions are communicated to the individuals, beyond describing how these different individuals may be part of different dense social sub-networks, depending on their social categories and how the frames communicated arouse emotions like solidarity and trust among them.

Typically, messages for mobilizing individuals towards collective action reach them through social networks, social sub-groups and/or the media. To maximize the number of individuals mobilized for a given collective action, the framing for each sub-group (CATNET) must be customized to that sub-group yet share enough in common that they will be willing to participate due to the emotions of solidarity, hope and union trustworthiness.

Typically, the SMO is connected to different target sub-groups through a network of representatives and/or the media. Depending on the way the SMO is connected,

the prioritization of sub-groups and networks for consensus mobilization can be achieved, since some types of connections are more conducive to consensus mobilization than others. For example, 'social relays' can be strategically used to trigger and/or sustain consensus mobilization with less effort.

The SMO gathers input from the strategic action field and the different CATNETs and undertakes strategic diagnostic and prognostic framing to mobilize target sub-groups for collective actions by sending messages to sub-groups through its representatives in the various sub-groups or through the media. The quality of the messages and the trust of the sub-groups in the representative or media channel influence the response of the individuals in the sub-groups to the message.

The successful mobilization of one sub-group for collective action can increase the trust of other sub-groups in the representative or media channel (particularly if shared) for subsequent mobilizing messages and trigger group pressures to increase the overall mobilization.

Action Mobilization – However successful mobilizers are in gaining consensus and however large the potential, if mobilizers do not have access to recruitment networks (member or media networks) in each mobilizable sub-group, the potential cannot be realized. Trade unions constantly seek to increase the reach and effectiveness of their recruitment networks in order to increase membership and to mobilize members for collective actions.

Depending on the nature of the sub-groups being targeted, the nature of the ties and networks connecting these to the trade union mobilizers and the purpose of the mobilization (recruitment/collective-action), the frequency, intensity and messages used for targeting may vary, depending on the framing activity of the

union. This is a key ongoing strategic activity to ensure the right level of consensus and action mobilization, depending on the context of its member sub-groups, employer-groups and the wider polity at any given point in time. This step separates sympathizers who are targeted and those who are not.

Motivation to Participate – Engaging in a particular collective action is a function of the perceived cost and benefits of participation. This depends on the type of motivation (instrumentality, identity, ideology) of the potentially participating individual.

In this step, a mobilizer's action framing must communicate to potential participants the extent to which collective and selective incentives (related to their respective instrumentality, identity and ideology motivations) are controlled or influenced by mobilizers through the collective action. These messages must be communicated and strengthened based on feedback through multiple channels to the target sub-groups and sub-networks.

Barriers to Participation – Motivation and barriers interact to activate participation in a particular collective action. The more individuals are motivated, the higher the barriers they can overcome. This opens two strategies for mobilizers: maintaining or increasing motivation and/or removing barriers. Both require action framing that leverages sub-groups and sub-networks. The former strategy is closely related to the arousal of motivation, while the latter requires knowledge of barriers and recourse to remove them. In the latter strategy, the specific barriers and actions to overcome them depend on the specific sub-group of mobilizable individuals targeted and could involve appeals to trigger specific mobilizing emotions using frames.

In summary, mobilization happens in four interconnected steps: mobilization potential, action mobilization, motivation to participation and barriers to participation. The increase and decrease in the mobilization process is influenced by how the networks of groups and sub-groups are targeted, how effectively the framing process is used and how the SMO manages to arouse the emotions of the targeted individuals and groups.

7.4 Application of the research for increasing the success of mobilization

Against the backdrop of the current economic crisis, reforms, austerity measures and the neoliberal ideology of the coalition and current government, there are continuous efforts made to weaken the unions. The unrest in the public sector is more visible than ever. Zero-hours contracts and an insecure labour force form the new face of employment relations. The Trade Union Act 2016 has made it more difficult for unions to organize strikes. It is necessary that unions reappraise their existing organizing strategies to counter these demobilizing efforts made by the government and employers. Strike voting behaviour is driven by the level of generic consensus mobilization, a specific injustice agenda, justifications for action mobilization, and union messaging. Unions should leverage the above mobilization model to influence these variables and conduct the strike ballot only when they are sure that the result will be in their favour.

Unions must continuously work towards making its presence felt in labour politics. They must use motivational factors (instrumentality, identity and ideology) to help workers to understand the collective action in context. Unions must make continuous efforts to mobilize workers and sympathisers, to increase its membership and help its members to convert from consensus mobilization to

action mobilization. To attain increased mobilization potential, unions must try and reach out to mobilizable sub-groups through various recruitment networks and social networks. They must understand diversity of the workers' demographics better. For example, unions should be aware of its sub-groups and networks (full-time, part-time, teaching, non-teaching, male, female, minorities, etc.) and must leverage technology to reach out to various networks.

Targeted framing must be used by unions to mobilize various sub-groups. For example, injustice, justice, diagnostic frames, etc. may be applicable across demographic; however, unions may use equality frames to appeal to female workers. Depending on the purpose of mobilization (consensus or action) as well as the nature of the targeted sub-group, unions must vary the frequency and intensity of the messaging and must ensure the right level of consensus and action mobilization. Unions must be aware of the perceived cost and benefits and motivation of the potentially participating workers. Action framings must be used to communicate the collective and selective incentives to motivate potential participants. These messages must be further strengthened with feedback from various sub-groups and networks.

Emotions like anger, fear, moral shock, guilt and hope must be leveraged to trigger sustainable participation in collective action proposed by unions. Potential barriers to participation must be acknowledged and unions must work towards removing the barriers and improving motivation to participation in collective action, for example, coordinated collective action may help in reducing the fear of participation. Thus, unions must realize the importance of building consensus mobilization for action mobilization and use frames, networks and emotions to increase level of mobilization.

7.5 Weaknesses of the research

The primary weakness of the research is that the researcher has used only UCU as a case study. If the researcher had studied other trade unions or other branches apart from Birkbeck UCU, it would have helped comparisons between multiple organizations. However, this was beyond the delimited scope of this study. The second weakness of the research is that the data is skewed towards union members as the researcher conducted very few interviews with non-union members. The third weakness of the study is that the researcher has not studied the demobilization process. This would have helped to get a holistic view of the strategic action field of mobilization.

The fourth weakness of the study is that the researcher has faced difficulty in interviewing the same participants in order to compare changes in views, which would have helped provide more nuanced and richer descriptions. In maintaining the anonymity of the participants, for example, the researcher missed the opportunity to analyze the change in views during the surveys conducted in 2011 and 2013. This consistent longitudinal data may have been useful in understanding whether there have been any changes in the views of individuals regarding participation in the vote and strike action.

7.6 Future research agenda

Demobilization is an important feature of the mobilization process. As the researcher could not study the demobilization process, it thus would be worth studying in the future. Studying the demobilization process would help to understand the mobilization process in greater detail. It would also help the parties

involved to measure their success and to understand the reasons for demobilization. As a part of a future research agenda, it is necessary to understand the views of individuals who are not mobilized, individuals who are not part of unions, and why and how free riders benefit from the success of social movements.

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Copy of Survey Questionnaire

Background and Research Context

Currently we are witnessing a wave of collective actions in British Higher Education sector over pensions and pay. The aim of my research is to study the factors responsible for collective action decisions.

I expect my research to help us understand the main factors responsible for participation in collective action such as injustice, union membership, union procedures, shared meanings of collective action and attitudes towards the union and collective action.

To achieve my research objective, I need to gather data from employees in the higher education sector.

The data will be confidential. Each survey is anonymous, and no individual can be identified from the responses. The results will be published as research articles and thesis.

Survey questionnaire and consent form will be sent using data collection tool, survey monkey.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Prerna Tambay

Birkbeck, University to London

Questionnaire to study the variation in employees' views on collective action at UCU Birkbeck College, University of London

1. Age: 20-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70

2. Gender: Male Female

3. Level of Education: PhD Professional Post-Graduate Graduate Undergraduate
(Please tick more than one category if applicable)

4. Years in University and College Union membership (UCU) and its predecessor union
Less than 1 year More than 1year but less than 5-year 5 year and above

5. Type of Employment: Full Time or Part Time Fixed Term or Permanent

6. Did you vote for industrial action for pensions? Yes / No

7. Did you vote for industrial action for pay? Yes / No

8. If your answer to Q.6 or Q. 7 is No, then what would have been your preference if you would have voted and had more time for voting ballot:
 - I. Vote for Industrial action for pensions? Yes / No
 - II. Vote for industrial action for pay? Yes / No

9. Was your decision to vote driven by plans for greater pension contribution for staff or increase in pension age or lower benefits or all of these issues?
1= To greater extent 2= To some extent 3=Not at all

10. Was your decision to vote driven by Increase in workload without commensurate increase in pay or pay cut / freeze or both?
1= To greater extent 2= To some extent 3=Not at all

For following statements please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each one.

11. Strike is the only option to deal with current issues on pensions.
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
12. Strike is the only option to deal with current issues on pay.
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
13. Issues related to Pensions can be resolved by discussion not strike action.
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
14. Issues related to Pay should be resolved by discussion rather than strike action.
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
15. It is the unfair treatment of University staff that has triggered the recent strike action.
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
16. Radical pensions reform is inevitable so there is no point in resisting it.
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
17. Is Collective action driven by strong presence of union in your organisation?
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
18. What percentages of people in your department do you think were in favour of strike action over pensions or pay?
1=0% 2= 0-25% 3=26-50% 4= 51-74% 5= 75-100% 6=Don't know

19. University and College Union (UCU) Participation

Please indicate how frequently over the last two years you:

- I. Served on a union committee or ran for union office
1= Never, 2= Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 3=Often, 4= Always
- II. Spoke up at a union meeting to ask a question or give an opinion
1= Never, 2= Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 3=Often, 4= Always

- III. Attended a function designed to show the union's strength
1= Never, 2= Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 3=Often, 4=
Always
- IV. Convinced another employee to join the union
1= Never, 2= Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 3=Often, 4=
Always
- V. Discussed a work related problem or issue with a union representative
1= Never, 2= Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 3=Often, 4=
Always
- VI. Voted in a Union Election
1= Never, 2= Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 3=Often, 4=
Always
- VII. Attended a union meeting or informal session
1= Never, 2= Rarely, 3= Occasionally, 3=Often, 4=
Always
- VIII. Read the union newsletter and /or national union magazine
0= Never, 1=Just once, 2= Rarely, 3=Often, 4= Always
- IX. Helped a new union member to learn the ropes at work
0= Never, 1=Just once, 2= Rarely, 3=Often, 4= Always
- X. Helped a new union member to learn the ropes in the union
0= Never, 1=Just once, 2= Rarely, 3=Often, 4= Always

20. Job Satisfaction

Please indicate how satisfied you are with

- i. Your Pay
1= Very dissatisfied, 2= Dissatisfied, 3= Neither Dissatisfied nor satisfied
4= Satisfied 5 = Very Satisfied
- ii. Your Job Security
1= Very dissatisfied, 2= Dissatisfied, 3= Neither Dissatisfied nor satisfied
4= Satisfied 5 = Very Satisfied
- iii. The recognition you get for the work you do you
1= Very dissatisfied, 2= Dissatisfied, 3= Neither Dissatisfied nor
satisfied 4= Satisfied 5 = Very Satisfied

- iv. Your fringe benefits
1= Very dissatisfied, satisfied 2= Dissatisfied, 3= Neither Dissatisfied nor
4= Satisfied 5 = Very Satisfied
- v. Your opportunities for advancement
1= Very dissatisfied, satisfied 2= Dissatisfied, 3= Neither Dissatisfied nor
4= Satisfied 5 = Very Satisfied
- vi. Your ability to have inputs into decisions that affect your job
1= Very dissatisfied, satisfied 2= Dissatisfied, 3= Neither Dissatisfied nor
4= Satisfied 5 = Very Satisfied
- vii. Your job overall
1= Very dissatisfied, satisfied 2= Dissatisfied, 3= Neither Dissatisfied nor
4= Satisfied 5 = Very Satisfied

21. The Union

Please indicate how good a job you think the union is doing in each of the following area listed below

- i. Representing your interests before the parliament
1= can't say, 2=Poor, 3=Fair, 4=Good, 5= Excellent
- ii. Protecting your wages and fringe benefits
1= can't say, 2=Poor, 3=Fair, 4=Good, 5= Excellent
- iii. Answering questions about your rights at work
1= can't say, 2=Poor, 3=Fair, 4=Good, 5= Excellent
- iv. Building a cohesive union
1= can't say, 2=Poor, 3=Fair, 4=Good, 5= Excellent
- v. Providing you with education or any training opportunities
1= can't say, 2=Poor, 3=Fair, 4=Good, 5= Excellent
- vi. Keeping you informed about new laws and policies that affect you
1= can't say, 2=Poor, 3=Fair, 4=Good, 5= Excellent
- vii. Helping you advance your career
1= can't say, 2=Poor, 3=Fair, 4=Good, 5= Excellent

22. Workplace Procedures

Please indicate your views on the following items

- i. I know what is expected of me on the job
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- ii. My performance is evaluated in an unbiased manner
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- iii. Some people receive special treatment because they are friendly with line managers
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- iv. Employees are not held accountable for poor job performance
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- v. Employees are not held accountable for bad behaviour
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- vi. The workload is not divided up fairly among the staff
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- vii. People who work the hardest get ahead
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- viii. My Head of department listens and acts on my concerns and ideas
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

23. Union Procedures

Please indicate how strongly you agree that the union's internal procedures guarantee that

- i. Accurate information is collected before decisions are made
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- ii. Members can successfully appeal or challenge decisions
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

- iii. All members know about important meetings
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- iv. Members get good feedback on why the union does what it does
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- v. Members can seek clarification of union decisions
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- vi. Union decisions are made in a consistent manner
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- vii. Union decisions are reached democratically
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

24. Interaction among union members

Please indicate how strongly you agree that union representatives have a reputation for.....

- i. Acting on member concerns
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- ii. Treating members with dignity and respect
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- iii. Going the extra miles to help members out
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- iv. Dealing with members in a truthful manner
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
- v. Adequately explaining the decisions to the membership
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

vi. Responding quickly to member requests for clarification or assistance
1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

25. Is your union trustworthy in representing your views and concerns correctly?

1= Yes 2= No 3= can't say 4=don't know

26. Collective action is a group activity and if you don't participate then you are not part of the group?

1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither Disagree nor agree, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

27. How strong is your interest in politics?

1= very Strong 2= Strong 3= Not very strong 4= Very weak

	Interview Schedule 1	
No	Interviewee	Date of interview
1	Female	31/10/13
2	Male	31/10/13
3	Male	31/10/13
4	Female	31/10/13
5	Male	31/10/13
6	Male	31/10/13
7	Male	31/10/13
8	Male	31/10/13
9	Male	31/10/13
10	Female	31/10/13
11	Male	31/10/13
12	Female	31/10/13
13	Female	31/10/13
14	Male	31/10/13
15	Female	31/10/13
16	Male	31/10/13
17	Male	31/10/13

	Interview Schedule 2	
No	Interviewee	Date of interview
1	Male	03/12/13
2	Female	03/12/13
3	Female	03/12/13
4	Male	03/12/13
5	Male	03/12/13
6	Female	03/12/13
7	Male	03/12/13
8	Female	03/12/13
9	Female	03/12/13
10	Male	03/12/13
11	Male	03/12/13
12	Male	03/12/13
13	Male	03/12/13
14	Female	03/12/13
15	Male	03/12/13
16	Male	03/12/13
17	Male	03/12/13
18	Female	03/12/13

31 October

STRIKE

FOR

FAIR

PAY

“ Over 4,000 low-paid staff are currently paid below the Living Wage. We are fighting to give HE staff a decent standard of living. ”

“ Over half of vice-chancellors earn over £242,000. At the same time, the amount spent on your salaries is falling. ”

#fairpayinHE

The pay claim is affordable

- the money is there in the universities
- higher education staff are worth it!

Why you should strike for fair pay:

- falling pay rates
- inequality
- zero hours contracts
- job security
- workloads
- a Living Wage
- funding surpluses



If you are not already in a union now is the time to join. Unions are your voice at work. In addition unions offer a range of discounts, savings and special offers to make your money go further. Talk to your university union representatives to find out more.

31st OCTOBER ALL OUT!



On 31st October members of UCU, UNITE and UNISON will strike in defense of pay and conditions. It will be the first time all 3 unions have taken strike action together.

Support the strike by refusing to cross their picket lines. If you work in higher education join the strike and do not come to work. If you are a student do not go to classes or visit the library.

There is plenty of money in higher education. If we take action together we can ensure the pay rise we deserve and need.

**SUPPORT THE STRIKE
DECENT PAY FOR EVERYONE**



Support our strike

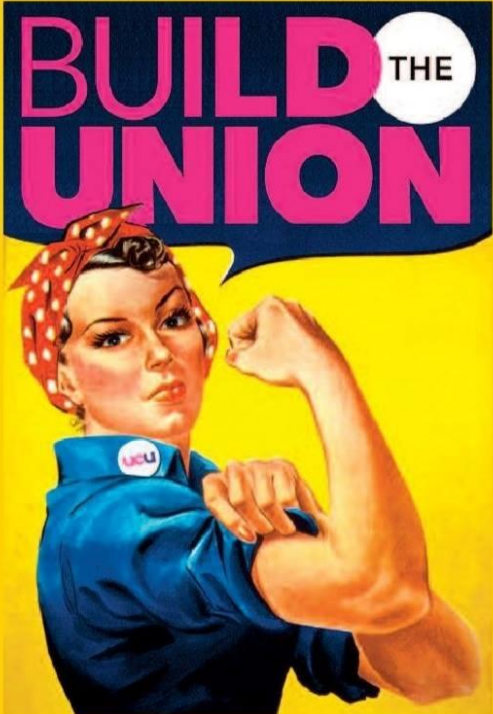


- 1 The value of our pay has declined
- 2 Shameful pay inequality
- 3 The scandal of casualisation
- 4 Significant increases in vice-chancellors' and principals' pay

www.ucu.org.uk

Unite and fight. Join the Union. Join the strike #fairpayreal.

3. UCU poster 31st October 2013 strike



BUILD THE UNION

A woman's place is in the union

International Women's Day

- women's voices, visions and vote
- celebrated on 8 March every year
- recognises women's achievements in all spheres.

MAKE A DIFFERENCE
Join UCU in fighting for equality and better rights in the workplace.
www.ucu.org.uk/join

DEMAND A BETTER DEAL FOR WOMEN
www.ucu.org.uk/women

Join your union!

UCU
University and College Union

4. International Women's Day poster UCU



5. UCU membership promotion poster



6. UCU vote appeal for further education

Trade union density in Higher Education



Based on responses from 115 out of the 150 affected HEIs. Trade union density figures represents reported trade union membership as a percentage of either all support staff (GMB, UNISON, Unite) or all academic staff (EIS, UCU) at HEIs with members of that trade union.

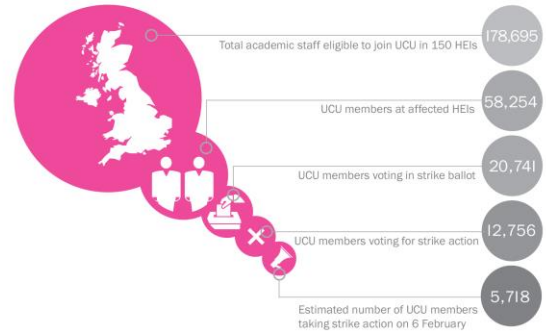
Proportion of staff taking strike action

* Estimates based on UCEA member surveys

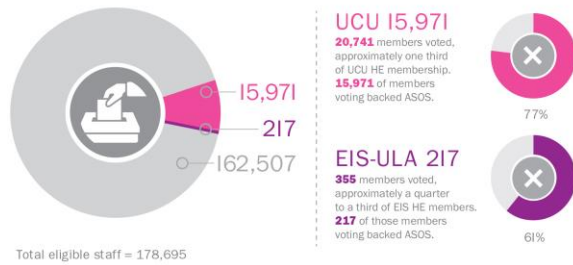


Sources: UCEA member surveys, HESA and Electoral Reform Services

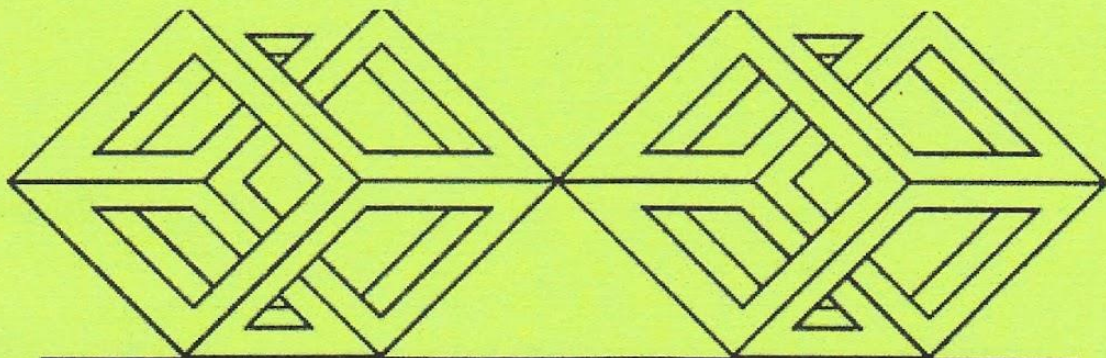
UCU members' support for strike action



Proportion of academic staff voting for 'action short of a strike' (ASOS)



7. Analysis document of ucu related to strike voting and strike participation



We're asking you not to go in to university today to support our strike.

>> *What's the strike all about?*

Education workers are suffering one of the largest sustained wage cuts any profession has suffered since WWII. The pay gap between the highest and lowest paid staff in higher education is the biggest pay gap in the public sector. The government's refusal to increase our wages is already having damaging effects on universities: education staff are on zero-hour contracts, some are being threatened with outsourcing, and, since 2008, academics' wages have fallen by 13%.

Today the three main higher education unions (UCU, UNISON and Unite) are striking together over this attack. As well as teaching staff, many of the support staff that manage our buildings and keep the university running are also on strike. A 13% cut over 8 years in real terms pay is even more brutal when you are only earning about £12,000 a year. It's really positive that the unions for both teaching and support staff are co-ordinating but this is obviously only the start of the kind of collective action that needs to take place both inside and beyond our unions. A one day strike isn't enough, but it is a start.

>> *But this dispute doesn't affect me.*

It definitely does. Even if you don't work here, it is your tutors and support staff on strike today and they need your support. Moreover, it's a labour market. Bad wages and conditions become an excuse to attack the living standards of all workers.

>> *But I only want to go in to do research / buy a coffee!*

A strike only works by stopping everything from working. The clearest and easiest way you can support the strike today is by not crossing the picket line. This sends a clear message to management that the strike is supported by students and other workers. By crossing the picket you are undermining how effective today's strike will be. It's your education and future working conditions under attack too!



1. Picture from the 31st October 2013 Halloween strike



2. Picture from the 31st October 2013 Halloween strike



2. Student support at 31st October 2013 strike



4. UCU recruitment and display October 2011