How the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate manifests within unions: a comparative study.

Jonathan Bigger

Dissertation submitted for MA International Labour and Trade Union Studies

August 2014

Ruskin College, Oxford

Word Count: 20,629

Abstract

Trade unions have been suffering a period of prolonged decline in many parts of the world. One possibility for renewal looks back to previous surges in membership and industrial action and suggests that rank and file activity and organisation is the best method for renewal. The rank and file versus bureaucracy debate describes the relationship between members, activists, senior leaders and full time officers of a union. It suggests that the motivations of those who are considered rank and file members and activists is different and sometimes contrary to the motivations of the bureaucracy. The counter to bureaucratisation is a trade union democracy based on direct participation (Cohen 2006:2).

This paper assesses how that debate manifests itself within the Public and Commercial Services (PCS) union in the UK and the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) in the USA. It includes primary research gathered from interviews with activists and senior officials in both unions. It also focuses on rank and file initiatives in both unions: the Civil Service Rank and File Network in PCS and the Caucus of Rank and File Educators in the CTU.

The research concludes that the debate manifests itself within unions in complex ways. The tensions between the rank and file and the bureaucracy may be constant but the circumstances within unions are not. The self-organisation of rank and file activists has the power to increase membership and lead to trade union renewal but rank and file groups will find considerable forces against them. These can be side-stepped if they are not overcome.

Key words: trade unions, union renewal, democracy, bureaucracy, rank and file.

Contents

List of Figures

Figure

Introduction

Trade union decline has been highlighted through a number of factors. Globalisation and neoliberalism (Harvey 2005:1) have altered the way sectors of the economy work. A decline in collective bargaining and membership has affected how effectively unions operate (Hyman 2004:18).

This research considers the case for trade union renewal using the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate as a theoretical framework. The unions assessed in the research are the Public and Commercial Services union in the UK and the Chicago Teachers Union in the USA. The research uses interviews and focus group material to answer four research questions. These are:

- How do rank and file movements threaten the dominant union hegemony?
- To what extent do rank and file organisations avoid bureaucratisation?
- What is the importance of social movements and horizontal forms of organising?
- To what extent are rank and file networks more militant in terms of their action than traditional structures?

The literature on the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate is presented in the next chapter. Then some context is provided on the PCS and the CTU. There then follows a chapter detailing the methodology and methods used throughout the research. In the findings and analysis chapter the results from the research are assessed. Finally a conclusion draws all the main themes together.

Introduction

As discussed in the introductory chapter this paper uses the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate as a framework for investigating trade union renewal. We will now turn to consider the literature on the issue. This chapter will first describe the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate and then consider specific issues in relation to the four research questions.

The first section details why the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate is crucial within the idea of trade union renewal and it will assess how the debate has developed over time. There then follows focus on areas associated with the debate. This will include a look at militancy and leadership and discuss how unions can learn from social movements, activist groups and new forms of workers' organisation.

Bureaucracy

The 'iron law of oligarchy' posited by Michels (1911) sets out that organisation tend to lean towards formal hierarchical structures and leadership. As unions grew they started to develop bureaucratic structures to enable work to be done more efficiently (Webb, S., and Webb, B., 1896:431). Ideas of democracy whereby the membership took the major decision in general meetings and important roles were carried out by rote were gradually eroded (Webb, S., and Webb B., 1896:432). By employing experts to help with the job of organising workers and negotiating with management unions could manage their workloads more efficiently. However, this created a new dynamic within the trade union movement and new relationships between the unions

themselves, who they represented and the people they negotiated with. Hyman (1975:62) and Cohen (2006:151) make the point that when unions become established organisations they can become a focus of loyalty in their own right making them ill equipped to meet the needs of members. There are exceptions however, the most notable being the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) which was founded in 1905 (IWW 2014). This world-wide union does not have paid officials and organising is done amongst the workers by the workers themselves. The emphasis is on educating each other to be able to perform the tasks needed (Forman 2013:6-7).

As well as employing experts some unions also have elected full time officers (FTOs) drawn from the activist level. Michels laments on the situation of radical trade unionists who rise through the ranks and end up becoming part of the trade union elite. The example of union leaders becoming parliamentarians and even cabinet ministers is a useful reminder of how far removed from the membership leaders can become (Michels 2001:210). In assessing working class parties and by proxy trade unions Michels asserts that as these grow they tend to hark back to previous glories to attract membership but they become inert and sluggish and can start to resemble the very things they claim to oppose (Michels 2001:221). FTO's often act cautiously with the desire to achieve stability and continuity rather than seeking industrial action (Darlington and Upchurch 2012:1). FTOs might look towards employers and the state just as much as they look to members (Cliff and Gluckstein 1986:5). It could be said that FTOs enter a new social stratum when they take up such a post (Hyman 1975:78). When trade union bureaucracy started, becoming an FTO could mean a new circle of friends and upward social mobility as well as their new responsibilities which include loyalty to the union rather than to members (Darlington and Upchurch

2012:1). FTOs get piecemeal results which can prevent the rank and file mobilising as a unified force (Cliff and Gluckstein 1985:5); what Hyman refers to as "controlled militancy" during which officials promote militant action in order to ensure that it is largely demonstrative (Darlington and Upchurch 2012:9). Top-down leadership plays a crucial role in framing the position of the union and future action that it needs to take and this can be a force of de-mobilisation (Frege and Kelly 2003:20). The growing level of lay officials in senior positions has been described the "bureaucratisation of the rank and file" (Darlington and Upchurch 2012:1). This creates a complex set of social relationships within a union in which activists face pressure towards bureaucratisation (Darlington and Upchurch 2012:2). Thus it is possible to view unions as institutions on the one hand and in the form of a movement on the other (Cohen 2006:149).

Union democracy

Trade unions form for class reasons. Class based analysis cannot be divorced from the work of Karl Marx. For Marx the proletariat are a class with common interests in as much as they are exploited by capital (Calhoun 1982:215). Fairbrother (1984:89) claims that by their very definition trade unions are working class organisations and furthermore they exist to promote some form of socialism and a better world. In order that trade unions advance the interests of their members and their class then they must at an organisational level understand what their members want. Democratic structure therefore plays an important role in gathering the views of members, gaining a mandate from them and advancing their interests. As McIlroy (1990:153) points out trade unions should not be seen as mere debating chambers:

ideas need to be formulated and then acted upon. McIlroy goes on to point out that the practice of moving from idea formulation to activity can be a messy process. Indeed, a case can be argued that efficiency and democracy are opposing forces in trade unions. Building on the "iron law of oligarchy", Fairbrother (2006:6) claims that bureaucratisation of unions is inevitable but that democracy is the counter to it. Schmidt and van der Walt (2009:189) prefer to label both oligarchy and democracy as tendencies that emerge in the trade union movement. While an ideal trade union democracy may be a messy process it starts from the principle that members should elect delegates rather than representatives (Fairbrother 1984:24). The key features revolve around ensuring that the delegates espouse the views of the members and report back on their activities. There is an important distinction here between methods of direct democracy, which are seen as the ideal and representative democracy in which people are elected on a platform and then are expected to carry out that mandate. Cohen and Fosh (1988), quoted in McIlroy (1990:162), detail activities designed to enhance participation in order to improve feelings of collectivism. This relies on a commitment to pursue the aims of the membership. This creates a dual role for local activists acting as a point of information for the membership on relevant issues and at the same time gaining an understanding of the views of the members and the action that they wish to take on the matters discussed (Cohen 2006:2-4). It should also be noted that the general ethos of direct democracy as described in relation to the trade union ideal is closely associated with the syndicalist movement (Schmidt and van der Walt 2009:188) and in turn it is associated with the democracy of anarchism.

The development of the rank and file

Historically, surges in union membership have gone together with strong rank and file organisation and major strike activity. This can be seen in the periods 1910-20, 1935-43 and 1968-74 (Darlington 2010:32). In this regard it could be said that rank and file trade union activists have the power to kick start the revival of the labour movement (Darlington 2010:126, Cohen 2006:3). This is posited alongside the idea that the working class has agency within the capitalist system and that worker self organisation is the means by which society can be changed (Moody 1993:xx). The trade union activist, with their immediacy to the workplace and to members, their community networks combined with their knowledge of and passion for the movement place them in a unique position between the membership at large and union leadership (Cohen 2006:2).

In the UK the syndicalist movement grew rapidly from 1910 to 1912 with a rise in industrial militancy (Hinton 1977:101). The syndicalists rejected the Parliamentary path to change and instead opted for a revolutionary transformation from below (Darlington: 2013:2). Politics was deemed to be the "echo" of industrial warfare leading to the conclusion that the emancipation of the working class must therefore be an act of the working class (Darlington: 2013:24). Darlington takes the view that syndicalism simply means revolutionary trade unionism (Darlington: 2013:5) but many of the tactics and activities taken on by the syndicalists have also become synonymous with rank and file activists. As shown by Schmidt and van der Walt (2009:149-178) anarchism was key in developing the syndicalist movement.

In 1912 the South Wales Miners published their pamphlet "The Miner's Next Step". In it they detail their discontent with the leaders and collective bargaining describing the relationship between union leaders and the rank and file as containing 'antagonism' (Unofficial Reform Committee 1991:12). The pamphlet goes on to detail the ideal of a worker controlled, democratic union.

The rank and file have been described in various ways. They could be said to be the workers on the job as opposed to paid union leadership (Lynd and Lynd 1973:3). Darlington and Upchurch (2012:11) define rank and file union members as the mass membership below full time officer level. A further definition refers to rank and file activists as opposed to workers. Lynd and Lynd (2011:xi) describe rank and file trade union activity as "solidarity unionism". They note that rank and file workers have been known to organise networks that cut across communities, workplaces and trades to offer mutual support. They were writing about a specific period of American history in which the bureaucratic structures of trade unions were yet to emerge and trade unionists had few rights. The testimonies contained in their work show how much was achieved by wildcat action, go-slows and spontaneous walkouts. The fight for the American rank and file in the 1930s was a fight for democracy. They wanted this democracy to seep through all layers of society and in particular to end the tyranny of the workplace bosses (Lynd and Lynd 2011:1). Within a few short decades these unions were very different organisations: bureaucracy had set in, communists had been removed during the McCarthyite era and Cold War dogma seeped into the movement (Moody 2010:107).

New unionism from 1889 onwards presented a dramatic change in activism. The union movement began to be seen as a respectable part of normal relations in the UK (Bedarida 1979:66). The London docker's strike of 1889 was followed by a

period of intense worker organisation which gave the movement a socialist edge and revolutionary leaders (Clarke 1977:12). Ideas of socialism began to inspire trade union members and activists (Cohen 2011:373).

Union Hegemony

Moody (1993:xvi) describes how class consciousness should be viewed in terms of the working class being a force acting in relationship and opposition to capitalism. The development of trade unions therefore provided working people with a "sword of justice" (Hyman 1999:1) in their battle against the bourgeoisie. In this way they can be seen as transformational organisations aiming to eradicate societal inequalities (Fairbrother 1984:89). This is a battle of hegemony.

The theories on this matter espoused by Antonio Gramsci (Gramsci 1999: 189-221) are useful in terms of understanding class struggle. The word hegemony is used in different ways to mean the dominant political and cultural ideology but also as a process of mechanisms that ensure consent amongst the masses (Pozo 2007: 59). In this analysis the organisations of civil society, for example the press, act as a buffer between the people and capital. The logical implications of a state ruling through hegemonic process and thereby gaining consent from the masses is the development of a counter hegemonic process by the working class (Adamson 1983:170) designed to undermine the viewpoints disseminated by the ruling class.

In representing workers trade unions challenge ruling class hegemony. Just as unions exist to oppose ruling class hegemony, the internal structures create hegemonic forces that some activists and officers come to protect. Cliff and

Gluckstein (1986:5) describe trade union bureaucracy in relation to the Roman god Janus who looks forward and back with two faces. The movement looks to employers and the state just as much as it looks to its members. Bureaucrats, whose outlook is towards the institution may find the idea of mass mobilisation from below and the concept of direct democracy a major challenge as their loyalty is to the institution (Cohen 2006:151). As has been discussed earlier the tendency among the bureaucracy for compromise and negotiation can result in the rank and file activists of a union wishing to go further than the union as institution will allow. This shows the more militant nature amongst the rank and file and this term needs further analysis.

Militancy

The word militant includes the latin root *mille* and originally referred to those people willing to go the full mile (Bosteels in Badiou 2012:Location 160). Militants can therefore be contrasted with those who talk but do not act or those who propose actions but then do not carry them out. However, this is simplistic as the word has come to be overused and has different meanings. For this reason Gall (2003:23) explains that the term militancy has become devalued. Allen takes the view that militancy is good union practice in which the aim is to get the best possible terms and conditions for members within the market (Gall 2003:10). Kelly meanwhile juxtaposes militancy against moderation in terms of achieving aims for union membership (Gall 2003:12). Allen (1972:18) suggests that militancy is about methods rather than aims. A further issue surrounding militancy is that it can have both negative and positive connotations. Militancy is often referred to negatively in

popular parlance and yet in the trade union movement it can be seen as a desirable trait. As Allen (1972:18) observes many trade union activists want to be seen not only as a militant but as militant as any other activist.

Direct Democracy, Leadership and Horizontalism

"Whether or not union democracy is an efficient method of achieving union objectives, it is subversive of the very rationale of unionism to divorce democracy from the formulation of these objectives". Hyman (1975:84)

As unions grew union democracy became defined by references to ballot procedures (Fairbrother 1984:25). Representatives became elected by secret ballot and at best a separation of powers restricted them from taking absolute control in a given area. Representatives could be held to account at election time and during conferences (Fairbrother 1984:25) but normally outside of those times they could and did act independently. This form of democratic structure has become common in the trade union movement in the UK following reforms by successive Conservative governments in the 1980s (McIlroy 1990:145). The Tories saw union activity in the preceding decades as being forced upon a passive membership by union leaderships (McIlroy 1990:169).

In the UK the Donovan report with its aim of bringing greater order into workplace relations began to be taken more seriously in the1970s and this generated a bureaucratisation of workplace structures (Cohen 2006:40 and Donovan Report 1968, from Industrial Relations vol. 23 No.4:689). This form of bureaucratisation has become more common in the trade union movement in the UK following reforms by

successive Conservative governments in the 1980s (McIlroy 1990:145). Some writers label this as "Tory Democracy" with the plans designed to create unions with narrower concerns and reduce the number of strikes (Fairbrother 1984:26). From such a perspective we can conclude that ruling class, attempts such as this actively decrease the level of democracy in the union movement because they make it harder for members to combine together and pursue class interests. This is a good example of Gramsci's theory of hegemony in action and links with Harvey's description of the internal conflict within neoliberalism around the rights of the individual and those of the collective (Harvey 2005:69).

The current trends in new forms of worker organisation bring us full circle to the issues of union democracy and avoiding bureaucratisation in order to achieve tangible results for working people. It also links current rank and file activists with the examples of social movements and activist groups in relation to direct democracy and structure. As Lynd (2014;xi) points out "a qualitatively different practice is evolving everywhere. It is horizontal rather than vertical. It relies not on paid union staff but on the workers themselves".

Ness (2014:5) traces new forms of worker organisations from syndicalist movements from 1895 onwards. In this way they are linked to the early revolutionary unions which rejected compromise with the bosses (Ness 2014:5).

Attracting new members

Hyman (2004:18) looks at the historical aspects of trade unionism and makes the point that, broadly, there was a 'traditional' trade unionist. Unions have struggled

with that image of being male dominated and found it hard to recruit female members and to provide female role models. Ledwith (2006) claims that trade unions were once successful in being the voice of the workers but this was predicated on those institutions often being organised to protect the vested interests of the 'traditional worker'. Unions can be inflexible organisations, out of touch with their potential membership base (Ledwith, 2006:95).

The IWW has a rich history not just of rank and file militancy but in organising workers other union bodies tended to ignore (Newsinger 2012: 34 and Cannon 2009:92). Women and ethnic minorities have always been organised by the IWW and the model of organising used by them has been taken up by union bodies around the world and used as a strategy for recruitment and education purposes (Simms, Holgate and Heery 2013:40). In 1995 with a change of leadership at the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organisation (AFL-CIO) in the USA came a change in emphasis away from business unions and a drive in organising (Cohen 2006:109). In the UK the idea of organising has been subverted from that original IWW ideal. Since 1998 the Organising Academy has trained over 240 union employees rather than activists (Simms, Holgate and Heery 2013:43). The record of the IWW, in terms of industrial action, wildcat strikes, sabotage and militancy provides the answer to what this training might have achieved if it had been conducted amongst the activists instead (see Newsinger 2012, Cannon 2009 and Lynd and Lynd 2011). The TUCs organising agenda can be seen as a missed opportunity in terms of enhancing the role of the rank and file and increasing membership outside of the traditional worker paradigm. As Darlington (2010:127-128) highlights there has been a 25 year decline in workplace representatives in the UK on top of successive Tory and Labour neoliberal legislation. He goes on to

discuss the lowering levels of paid time off for union activities, making unions ever more reliant on paid staff.

The role of leadership within the rank and file

Transformational leadership can usefully be contrasted against transactional leadership. Transformational leaders show the following characteristics: they are charismatic, they come to prominence from within their peer group, they helped the group reach a collective emotional bond and they transformed the group (Cregan, Bartram and Stanton 2009:705). Meanwhile transactional leaders see their performance in terms of exchanging rewards and punishments to their subordinates by the use of the power they have from whatever formal position they hold (Rosener 1990:120).

Transformational leaders can inspire new members and activists to rise up often with a radical agenda (Cregan, Bartram and Stanton 2009:705). This in turn can be linked to the class basis for trade unions and *mobilisation theory* (Kelly 1998) showing that leaders can have an incredibly positive effect on class based action and mobilising the rank and file. Transformational leaders create a community around them where they nurture the leading potential of others and form mutual learning opportunities (Antonacopoulou and Bento 2004:88). Leading is often associated with formal roles and positions within on organisation or structure. However, when leading is considered to be experiential then group actions can lead to leadership being a shared experience.

Darlington (2002:99) details the important leadership role of the shop steward and activist. Upchurch and Mathers (2012:8) explain trade unions are political organisations and therefore have political leadership. In their position between the union as an organisation and the membership union activists educate and inform through a two-way process. This corresponds with the dual role of activists described by Cohen (2006:2) and links to the importance of leadership within the process of mobilising workers for action (Kelly 1998:49-51).

Horizontalism, group leadership and consensus decision making

Social movements are a developing network of groups concerned with neoliberalism and globalisation (Graeber 2012:426). They "fill the gap between the individual and the state by harnessing the collective will and agency of many people to steer the process of social change" (Ricketss 2012:20). This network over time became more tangible and united and there are trends in the way the myriad groups do their business (Ricketts 2012) which the trade union movement could learn from. These social movements have run counter to the notion of capitalist realism since the early 1990s with major demonstration around the world against neoliberal economics and globalisation. The slogan "Another World is Possible" rang out and was seen around the world of placards, written not by left wing party members but by social groups (Schmidt and van der Walt 2009:10).

However, a strong current exists around both 'labourism' and around the 'revolutionary' or 'vanguard' party. This is ironic in the sense of the historic failures of both to secure justice for workers either via parliamentary methods or the collapse of capitalism. In the case of the former, the parliamentary road has delivered

piecemeal hegemonic reforms whilst extending the reach of global capital. Meanwhile the latter produced state socialism, Stalinism and one of the bloodiest periods in history. Schmidt and van der Walt (2009:35) provide a clear analysis of the differences between anarchism and the belief in a Marxist party, detailing how equality can only come from the bottom up.

With anarchism there are fewer opportunities for bureaucratisation (Michels 2001:214). Freeman (1970:2) points out that in any group elites tend to form and influence decision making. Groups using direct democracy may have a structure that enables power to be shared equally but inevitably some people within that structure will be able to exercise their power to a greater or lesser extent than others leading to oligarchy. Freeman was writing about the "tyranny of structurelessness" but this is now a largely meaningless phrase because anarchists would not argue that they are proposing structurelessness rather that they propose a horizontal structure with very few formal leadership roles. However the analysis builds on the historical issues in social movements at the time (particularly within feminism). Michels (2001:216) also observed that even anarchists have a tendency towards oligarchy particularly when their structures become formal which suggests that these methods require a continual renewal to remove oligarchy as it forms.

Horizontalism shouldn't be taken to simply mean a lack of hierarchy. The word is a rough translation from the Spanish *Horizontalidad* deriving from protests in Argentina in the economic crisis of 2001. As Sitrin (2013:11) makes clear horizontalidad is a way of communicating on a level plane, it is a rejection of hierarchy and *isms*, it implies direct democracy and consensus but perhaps above all else it is a developing social relationship.

According to Marx there are subjective and objective factors in society and therefore a relationship between social structure and social action (Darlington 2002:95). An individual will therefore be moulded by social structures but they can also attempt to break them with whatever power they have. Paul Mason (2013:45) notes about student movements in the UK in 2010 that old methods were being rejected. These activists were apparently uninterested in rhetoric or leaders.

The example of Mason concerning young activists corresponds with data on political parties in the mainstream. In the UK in 2010 it was estimated that only 1% of the electorate held membership in apolitical party, down from 3.8% in 1983 (McGuiness 2012:2). Parties are in acute membership decline themselves and so whilst it is essential not to lose the broadly political element any surge will surely need (Darlington 2010:132-133) it shouldn't be assumed that it should be *party* political. In considering the issue of 'Left Agency', Cohen (2011:385) describes how revolutionary parties often overlook the potential of workplace resistance which suggests that parties can also hinder unions. The work of social movement in creating spaces and structures that inspire people to become activists should not be ignored by trade unions if they wish to inspire people along the same lines.

Direct democracy should in theory mean that barriers are broken down and each individual or group of individuals can influence decision making without hindrance. This can be seen in SOGs which often work along horizontal lines and without formal leaders. This allows everybody in a group to hold the baton of leadership during group discussion and enables transformational leadership to come to the fore. It's worth bearing in mind that SOGs are often bolted on to established structures rather than becoming the structure itself.

Radical action is an experiential process in which people learn to strike and build such action up in their consciousness (Tilly cited in Upchurch and Mathers 2012:9).

Conclusion

In this chapter the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate has been explained. The issue of trade union democracy has been assessed in relation to how the rank and file can organise effectively. This encompasses direct democracy. The methods of social movements and activist groups add to our understanding of how people can organise for action. If rank and file activity is to lead to renewal consideration should be given to attracting union membership from a wide section of the workforce. Transformational leaders help to recruit new activists. Rank and file movements need to understand how transformational leadership works if they are to renew ther own activist layers and press for militant action.

Context

In the previous chapter the literature on the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate and other relating matters were discussed. Before moving on to establishing how this research was conducted within both the Public Services and Commercial Union (PCS) and the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) it is important to contextualise these two unions and the rank and file initiatives within them.

PCS

The PCS union was the result of a merger in 1998 between the Public Services, Tax and Commerce union and the Civil and Public Services Staff Association, creating a union covering all grades in the civil service below "senior" grades. It represents approximately 270,000 members working in central government departments, their agencies and privatised companies (PCS 2014a). Shortly after the union was formed an election for general secretary was held. Mark Serwotka won with the help of a broad left coalition but Barry Reamsbottom, the incumbent, refused to step down. This resulted in a High Court battle in which Serwotka was confirmed as the general secretary. Subsequent National Executive Committee (NEC) elections delivered overall victories for a faction within the union called Left Unity which has dominated at a national level for over a decade in conjunction with a smaller faction called PCS Democrats. Turnout for these election remain very small (the last NEC election saw just 8% of the overall membership vote (PCS 2014b) which suggests that the activist base within the union does not extend far into the mass membership.

PCS structure and democracy

As a national union PCS is also divided into regions but unlike other UK unions these are mainly concerned with coordinating campaign activity within their areas and working with local Trades Councils and the TUC. They do not play a role in PCS Annual Delegate Conference which is the sovereign body of the union.

The union rules ensure that motions that are considered by Standing Orders Committee must first be submitted, debated and voted on at a ranch members' meeting. The only exception to that are motions submitted by the NEC. Those activists attending conference do so as delegates for their branch mandated to vote in accordance with members' wishes. The union is also split into groups along government sectoral lines. The groups are made up of those branches within the relevant sector. There is also a separate group for those parts of the civil service that have been privatised. The rules clearly provide opportunities for members and activists to influence policy making and compare favourably to other TUC unions in terms of democratic participation.

Left Unity

The PCS NEC members that I interviewed are all associated with Left Unity and for this reason it is useful to briefly consider that organisation. Left Unity claims to endeavour to build a fighting and democratic union, operating at every level of the organisation and influencing the TUC in terms of a socialist agenda (Left Unity 2014). As shall be discussed in the findings and analysis both the PCS cohorts have a view on how this ruling faction operates.

The Civil Service Rank and File Network

The CSRF was formed following a walkout in an HMRC office in Coventry on 18 October 2012 (BBC 2012). The walkout coincided with a visit by Francis Maude the minister responsible for major changes to civil service terms and conditions. He had announced in the run up to a major public sector strike held on 30 November 2011 that people could protest for 15 minutes during their break and then go back to work rather than striking for a day (BBC 2012). Activists in the Coventry workplace put this into operation and it inspired members across PCS to form the CSRF. A major aim of the CSRF was to urge action from PCS itself as those involved considered that the union was not fighting the government forcefully enough on the attacks members were facing. As a CSRF bulletin put it:

> "Rather than waiting for the changes to start falling into place, this attack must be resisted now. When the union calls action, we must be prepared to support it, but equally we should be prepared to take action even where it doesn't." (CSRF 2012a)

The CSRF held a conference in February 2013 and forged links with disability rights groups along the issue of benefit sanctions (CSRF 2013). There was a second conference in October 2013 but this was very poorly attended and shortly afterwards the group appeared to have disbanded. More recently in the HMRC Group of PCS those activists involved in the original Coventry action and others instrumental in the CSRF have organised around the Your Voice banner. This is based in just one government department rather than being civil service wide but it suggests that the dormant rank and file within PCS is starting to get active again.

CTU

The CTU has represented education workers in Chicago, Illinois since the late 1930s (Uetricht 2014a:19). Like PCS the CTU has had a number of caucuses that have vied for control of the union. The Caucus of Rank and File Educators (CORE) took control of the union in 2010. They formed around issues of privatisation: in this case the closing down of publicly funded schools and the setting up of "charter" schools (the US equivalent of Academy Schools in the UK. In relation to a 2012 strike against market reforms Uetricht (2014b:95) points out that "through a radical caucus of rank-and-file teachers in strong partnership with community organizations, the CTU became a totally different kind of union."

Prior to the success of CORE the incumbent caucus that had controlled the union for some time had initially been a rank and file grouping fighting racial injustice (Uetricht 2014a:17). The caucus had ruled the CTU from 1972 onwards (Uetricht 2014b:88) but they had little to say in opposition to school closures and market forces

UPC leaders "paid themselves massive salaries and pensions" and questions were raised over expense accounts (Uetricht 2014a:17). Challenging the power of the UPC was far from simplistic. The rumblings of discontent took years to solidify into CORE as an organisation; it wasn't until 2008 that this movement became a caucus (Uetricht 2014a:25-33). CORE won the Presidency of the union two years later undertook immediate restructuring of the union in the interest of democratic accountability. This included:

- reducing the pay and benefits of union full time officials so that they resembled similar packages to teachers on the ground
- training teachers to be able to resolve workplace issues themselves

- a new programme of union training for teachers in the workplace

- the setting up of an organising department to help members solve workplace issues without the need union officials

- committees in every workplace responsible for keeping members informed (Uetricht 2014a:38-39).

This was a major culture change and just as the UPC was an integral part of the make-up and characteristics of the CTU prior to the election victories of CORE, these changes cemented CORE into the current foundations of the union.

As discussed in the literature review the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate includes the process of bureaucratisation. Both the PCS and the CTU have been subjects of rank and file takeovers. The dominant Left Unity faction in PCS has now been in control for over a decade but it faces opposition from rank and file organisations such as the CSRF and Your Voice.

It is now important to understand the methods and methodology used in this research.

<u>Methodology and methods</u>

<u>Introduction</u>

In the first chapter the literature on the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate was reviewed in relation to the five research questions. There followed a chapter providing context on the Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS) and the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU). This chapter details how the research was undertaken. In particular this chapter will show the methods and methodology used in this research.

It will begin with information on the research questions and how they were formed. It will move on to cover my position within the research, the epistemological approach I have taken, the methods I have used and ethical issues before moving onto how the research was conducted.

<u>The Research Questions</u>

Corbin and Strauss (2008:25) note the importance of research questions in setting the parameters of research. This is especially important when undertaking a project with a limited time frame. They go on to point out that certain questions, for example open questions, are much more suitable for qualitative research. Having established the areas I wanted to research and the questions I wanted to seek answers to, I considered qualitative research was the best approach to take.

The research questions that I have chosen to investigate are designed to answer the overall question: How does the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate manifest itself within unions? What can we learn from this about trade union revival? They

should also be viewed in the context of the literature on the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate discussed in the previous chapter.

This research questions:

1. How do rank-and-file movements threaten the dominant union hegemony?
2. To what extent do rank and file movements avoid bureaucratisation?
3. What is the importance of social movements and horizontal forms of organising?
4. To what extent are rank-and-file movements inherently more militant in terms of their action than traditional union structures?

It is important to understand how these questions were arrived at and refined. They went through a number of iterations as they were honed to suit the research. For example the first question was originally "Do rank and file movements threaten the dominant union hegemony?" In developing the literature review I formed the conclusion that they do from the evidence presented and the history of rank and file activity. Thus the more nuanced question of how they threaten the dominant union hegemony took prominence. As established in the literature review the process of bureaucratisation is a key feature within the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate. The second question was designed to explore this as a process. Similarly the possibility of unions organising in new ways mirroring protest groups and social movements was considered in the literature review with the conclusion that this could be a way to avoid bureaucratisation. The third question was designed to explore that in more detail. A feature of the literature on the issue is that bureaucracies often prevent the rank and file from taking action. The fourth question has been included to assess that.

In relation to the research questions but not covered by them specifically was the issue of a possible merger between PCS and the UNITE union. This arose in the majority of PCS interviews. I have included a small section of the findings and analysis section to look at this in relation to how such a merger might impact on the rank and file. I have taken the judgement that it would be remiss of me as a researcher to ignore the impact of this proposal on the way in which the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate manifests itself within the PCS, although at the time of writing it is unclear if the proposal has a future.

Positionality

In choosing the topic of research and the research questions I have no doubt been influenced by my own history, politics and views on the trade union movement.

As an anarchist I embrace ideas and processes that seek to replace hierarchy and formal leadership. I was a founding member of the Civil Service Rank and File network (CSRF) and sought to influence its development along broad non-hierarchical lines. However, I have also served in elected leadership positions within PCS. I spent some time on the committee with responsibility for overseeing relations with the Home Office. I also worked on the PCS Editorial Board and acted as Vice Chair for the PCS London and Southeast Regional Committee.

As a trade unionist in the civil service I faced victimisation and ultimately dismissal. This has shaped my views on trade unionism and it occurred at a time when I was studying rank and file activism and the merits of worker self–organisation. In many

ways I feel as though I'm searching for ways in which the victimisation I faced can be avoided by others. I see workers' power as essential to that.

The CSRF and PCS top level leaders have provided me with excellent levels of access and this could be because I am seen to fit within both camps to some extent as an 'insider'. This has provided me with access to closed settings (Bryman 2012:435) such as CSRF meetings, facebook discussions and interviews at PCS headquarters with NEC members.

PCS has a complex factional element to its democratic system in which factions vie for positions via elections. For a number of years I was a member of the Left Unity faction from which all the NEC members I interviewed are also from. As a researcher my interest is in how the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate plays out within the union in comparison to the CTU.

Epistemological approach

Theoretical Framework

Corbin and Strauss (2008:39-40) debate the need for and use of theoretical frameworks in qualitative research. Whilst this research does not have an overarching 'grand theory' the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate has provided a framework within which the research can be placed. It is also worth noting that the idea of the 'grand theory' has come under much criticism. It is considered that reality can also be made up of a patchwork of narratives (Levi-Strauss 1967 cited in Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009:192).

As previously discussed the debate suggests that trade unions have become bureaucratic organisations in which full time officers and those elected to full time positions become separate and distinct from rank and file activists and each has different and often opposing roles within a union. Thus this research is positioned to assess how PCS and the CTU operate in relation to that framework. Furthermore the findings and analysis add to the debate itself, providing a more nuanced and detailed picture of how it may work in practice. Whilst a framework from the literature can be used as a basis for research it is important for the researcher to be aware that this can produce an inflexible approach in which the research findings are made to fit the framework (Corbin and Strauss 2008:40). The rigour of this research has prevented that. I have exemplified in the findings and analysis where this research diverges from the framework.

Ethnography

Fetterman (2010:1) describes ethnography as being "about telling a credible, rigorous, and authentic story". Thus ethnography is not just detailed research; it tells us a story about the lives that are being described. I have taken some ethnographic methods, which will be discussed shortly and used them in this research in order to gain rich, credible details in relation to the research questions. As a former PCS activist and one involved heavily with both the leading faction and the CSRF I have been immersed in the subculture of this research for a number of years, which is an important factor in establishing how ethnographic a piece of research is (Bryman2012:465). Even in studies which are wholly ethnographic and study a societal subculture in depth and over time it is not always clear how such accounts

relate to the cultural whole (Baszanger and Dodier 2002:11). Thus ethnography has great advantages in terms of rigorous cultural understanding but clear limits in terms of understanding wide-ranging cultural phenomena and extrapolating generalisations. This research provides rich detailed analysis regarding the views of those people interviewed. How far the themes and issues discovered from the data can be generalised will be discussed in the findings and analysis chapter.

I have used 'participant observation' in my research as well as interviews and a focus group. This allows for 'triangulation', which is an approach that seeks to use different methods in order to form more detail on a given issue or subject (Silverman 2002:25).

Methods

This research is predominantly qualitative and uses a constructivist approach where the researcher assumes that "social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals" (Bryman 2012:380). The rank and file versus bureaucracy debate exemplifies the interactions between union activists, full time officers (FTOs) and elected officials. In a positivist approach to science the data is considered to exist objectively and the researcher's role is to gather that data and analyse it (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009:16-17). However, in societal subcultures the observable reality is not all that there is to establish (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009:18). In taking a social constructionist approach, researchers consider that reality is not something that is naturally given; research establishes how reality is socially constructed (Avesson and Skoldberg 2009:23). I have been aware that the data produced could fit outside of or contradict the rank and file versus bureaucracy

debate as a framework. The findings and analysis chapter will detail where the socially constructed reality differs from the framework and therefore adds to the understanding on the debate itself.

Lincoln and Guba (cited in Bryman 2012:390) proposed four tests in evaluating the trustworthiness of qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. This research has been designed to ensure that these criteria can be applied and this is revisited in the findings and analysis chapter.

- Credibility – this refers to research that has been carried out using best practice techniques.

- Transferability – this refers to research that provides rich and detailed accounts of the subculture being studied. The quality of the data is the ultimate deciding factor over whether, or the extent to which, the research itself is transferable. The research could also be used as a basis to study other unions in relation to the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate or to compare the PCS and CTU at a later stage.

- Dependability rests on whether the research can be audited (Bryman 2012:392). I have included as much material as possible in the appendices of this research and this chapter details the approach taken.

- The concept of confirmability accepts that bias exists in qualitative research but that objectivity should be maintained in terms of the researcher not being swayed by their own views and values Bryman 2012: 392). As discussed in

the section on grounded theory I have approached this research with the intent on establishing meaning through the acquisition and interpretation of data.

On the issue of establishing 'truth' Bryman (2012:396) cites Hammersley's 'subtle realist' approach, which maintains that there is no way of ensuring that an account is the truth. From this it is suggested that any claims should be judged on the evidence available. Wherever possible I have sought to validate information relating to specific events by interviewing respondents on the same matter. For example I have asked all the respondents involved with the CSRF why it was established. I have been in a position to test the viewpoints of those involved and establish evidence accordingly. I have also used of triangulation: using various methods to establish the same information making research more trustworthy (Bryman 2012:717).

I had initially planned to include quantitative data including a questionnaire to gather data from further activists within the three cohorts. Whilst this would have provided primary statistics I became unconvinced during the process of drafting questions that such a method would provide the rich detail I was looking for. It could only provide a snapshot on certain issues and not the detail of the societal subculture.

Ethics

"Ethics concerns the morality of human conduct. In relation to social research it refers to the moral deliberation, choice and accountability on the part of researchers throughout the research process." (Edwards and Mauthner 2008:14).

As Birch *et al* (2008:1) indicate the idea of ethics is no longer simply confined to fields such as philosophy or theology. It is important for researchers to ensure that their research is ethical just as it requires rigour. In dealing with the thoughts and beliefs of individuals, qualitative research requires ethical consideration (Birch *et al* 2008:1). I have given great consideration in ensuring that the research does not misrepresent the views of the respondents.

Grounded Theory

I have used the research to gather data in order to extrapolate meaning and discover theory (Bryman 2012:570). Whereas a deductive approach rakes a theory and sets out to gather data to prove or disprove a hypothesis and revise the original theory accordingly, an inductive approach is when researchers gather data to form theory (Bryman 2012:24-27). It is rare for research to be purely inductive or deductive. The process of establishing how the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate manifests within the PCS and CTU involves inductive processes. As Bryman (2012:27) points out "to a large extent, deductive and inductive strategies are possibly better thought of as tendencies rather than as a hard and fast distinction".

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009:56) refer to grounded theory as focusing on the 'discovery' of theory, which forces the verification of a hypothesis to the background. They were referring to the specific methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. This suggests that the research questions can be seen as a starting point in generating data which then leads to further questions, findings, analysis and recommendations. Using these techniques research can be seen as a cycle of activity. It is actually rare for researchers to use grounded theory to its fullest extent

(Bryman and Burgess 1992:220) because it necessary involves further research and this is not always possible. By using it here, I acknowledge the research can be taken further and encourage others to look into the issues presented in the findings.

Interviews

"The Interview is the ethnographer's most important data-gathering technique" (Fetterman 2010:40). I have used the method of semi-structured interviews, employing an interview guide (Bryman 2012:471). I have provided an example of the interview guide as an appendix to the research.

Bryman (2012:475) details the criteria for a successful interview from work by Kvale (1996). The criteria includes essential items such as being open and knowledgeable about the issue and being clear and critical. Bryman adds ethics to the list talking of confidentiality and balance. I have been mindful of the ethical requirements of me as a Ruskin College student and considered the Code of Ethics at all times (Ruskin College 2012:46-48). I prepared consent forms for my research participants to ensure that I had their permission to reproduce their words. I gave all participants the option of anonymity. In one case I got consent to reproduce the interview but throughout it there were occasions when the research participant requested certain information to be kept out of the research. I have respected this wish and ensured the redacted data has not been included in the coding process. I used 'informed consent' (Alldred and Gillies 2008:157) throughout the process to ensure that research participants not only gave their consent to take part but understood what the research was about and why their views were sought. I also ensured that they knew how I would use the data I was gathering from them noting that there are limits

to how much a researcher can and should tell the research participants, based on issues such as complexity of the research and what forms of analysis would be used (Mason 2002:81). Following each interview I reflected on how it went and could be improved. For example at the CORE focus group I started with a long preamble setting out not just what the research was about but the possibility of cultural differences cropping up which might have caused misunderstanding between me as an interviewer and the respondents. No such misunderstandings arose and as a result I dropped that preamble from the interview with a CORE activist I undertook the following day.

It is important to remember that interviews are a joint production. Whilst there is a view that the perfect interview is one in which the researcher elicits a mirror image of the subject matter from the research participant (Miller and Glassner 2002:99), this idea of a 'pure' interview ignores key factors surrounding the interview as a method. Interviews undergo a developing and dynamic relationship between the research participant and the researcher (Alldred and Gillies 2008:146). They should be seen as a social situation (Mason 2002:64) with all the implications that entails. Research participants may view being interviewed as constraining, whilst others may see it as comforting as it may confirm 'normality' to interact in this way (Alldred ansd Gillies 2008:147). In undertaking interviews researchers hope to gain not only a reflection of the world or subculture they are observing but also the meanings that actors within the subculture attach to specific notions and events (Miller and Glassner 2002:100).

The majority of my interviews have been conducted face to face except one which was conducted via email due to travel issues. One of the benefits of conducting an interview via email is that it allows both the researcher and respondent to conduct matter in their own space (Wirman 2012:156). It should also be noted that

observable phenomena such as body language and pauses before answering a question can be lost using this technique. The respondents in the face to face interviews have answered questions immediately as part of a semi structured conversation, often going back to questions when they have thought a little more about their answers. The result can include pauses, repetition and all the other features of speech. Meanwhile emailed answers arrived in well-structured English, and represent coherent thought-out answers which may have been considered in depth before being typed. In some regards they are very helpful as they can be coded without transcribing being necessary but on balance I consider they lack the richness that can be gleaned from a flowing conversation.

In preparing for each interview I created a set of questions and broad topics for discussion. At the interview I used my laptop to show them as a general guide to ensure I covered all the issues relating to my research questions. This semi-structured approach allowed me the opportunity to investigate areas of interest as they cropped up. It allowed me to cover issues relating to the research questions in greater depth and it also helped create a conversational style during the interview, putting the research participants at ease. A more rigid set of questions would have prevented important issues from being delved into. There were some questions that I asked everyone. For example one of these was a question asking people to define militancy and whether they thought they and their union acted in a militant fashion. As is discussed in the findings this produced many different answers and allowed me to assess the convergence and divergence on this issue across the cohorts.

I also prepared for the interview by producing relevant documents to show research participants where necessary. For example at one interview I presented the participant, with details of the aims of the CSRF to jog their memory of how they

derived and the process of starting the network. This helped frame the question and sparked memories in the research participant that may not otherwise have been forthcoming.

One difference I noticed between interviewing members of the PCS NEC and interviewing those from the CSRF was the setting. Interviews with members of the CSRF were conducted largely in their own time whilst those with members of the PCS NEC were mainly conducted in union time and in union offices. I interviewed one research participant in a social centre next door to a very noisy crèche. This presented obvious difficulties in terms of transcribing the interview later. It also started to become apparent that these interviews were being conducted in such a way that exemplified the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate.

Participant Observation

I have used the method of participant observation within this micro-ethnographic (Bryman 2012:433) research. I have been able to take notes at meetings and observe behaviours. In terms of the CSRF my position within the network changed when I was made redundant in the Civil Service in August 2013. I had been considering researching the group prior to this point but I decided from that moment to become a passive observer in the group. In some regards I have passed from being considered as an insider in the group to having an outsider status, although this can be beneficial to research as a balance between being an insider and an outsider can ensure that a professional distance is kept between the researcher and the participants (Waddington 2004:155). Prior to this I was involved in writing some of the documents that I have used in the research for background information. The

CSRF itself became dormant shortly after the research began and so the scope for any conflict of interests within the research became less significant as it progressed. I have also included in the findings and analysis chapter observations made at the 2014 PCS Annual Delegate Conference and from my fieldtrip to Chicago

Focus Groups

Bryman (2012:501) makes the point that focus groups are different from group interviews. Focus groups tend to be on a specific issue and the researcher is interested in how the participants build up knowledge in answering the questions. I conducted a focus group comprising three members of the CTU as part of my Chicago fieldtrip. I enabled all three to build on the views and the body of knowledge already laid out as the session progressed. I did this by starting with general questions about CORE and how it came into being before moving onto issues such as how they organise and how they are structured. I found parallels between this method and the coding stage of interviews as this also involves the building up of issues and themes. I was later able to triangulate this information with that gained at an interview of a further CORE activist.

Recording and Transcribing the Interviews

The quality of interview recordings and the accuracy of transcriptions are closely associated with the issue of reliability in ethnographic research (Perakyla 2002: 203). My approach to undertaking and maintaining interview records should be seen as an approach to securing reliability in this aspect of the research. Without recording the

interviews I would have had to rely on hand written notes at the time. That would probably have limited my opportunity to understand fully the answers to the questions I was receiving thus adversely affecting potential follow-up questions.

As Bryman (2012:482) makes clear the human memory has its limitations. Dyslexia is closely associated to deficiencies in short term memory (Godwin 2012:2) and as a dyslexic student I found transcribing the interviews a laborious process. Having recordings of the interviews and transcribing the words has allowed me to focus on each interview in great depth. I have spent many hours listening to each of the research participants whilst conducting the interviews and then transcribing them which has helped me to understand better the views, knowledge and experience they were sharing. I have honed my skills as a transcriber by utilising speech recognition software. The process involved listening to the recorded interviews and speaking the words of the respondents which then appeared on the screen automatically. As discussed earlier ethnography helps us to understand rich and complex stories. I found that by transcribing in this method I was able to reach a different level of understanding in comparison to simply writing what the respondents had said. The process of transcribing has helped me to separate those parts of the interviews that do not answer the research questions so that the coding is focused on those parts that do. This adds to the reliability of the research (Bryman 2012:389-390). The speech recognition software does not always choose the correct word and so the transcriptions often had multiple mistakes. This has made me mindful of ensuring that any such mistakes were not replicated in the findings and analysis.

I had the benefit of software called Audio Notetaker which allows notes to be written alongside audio, which is represented as bars on the right of the screen that can be played at the click of a button as shown below.
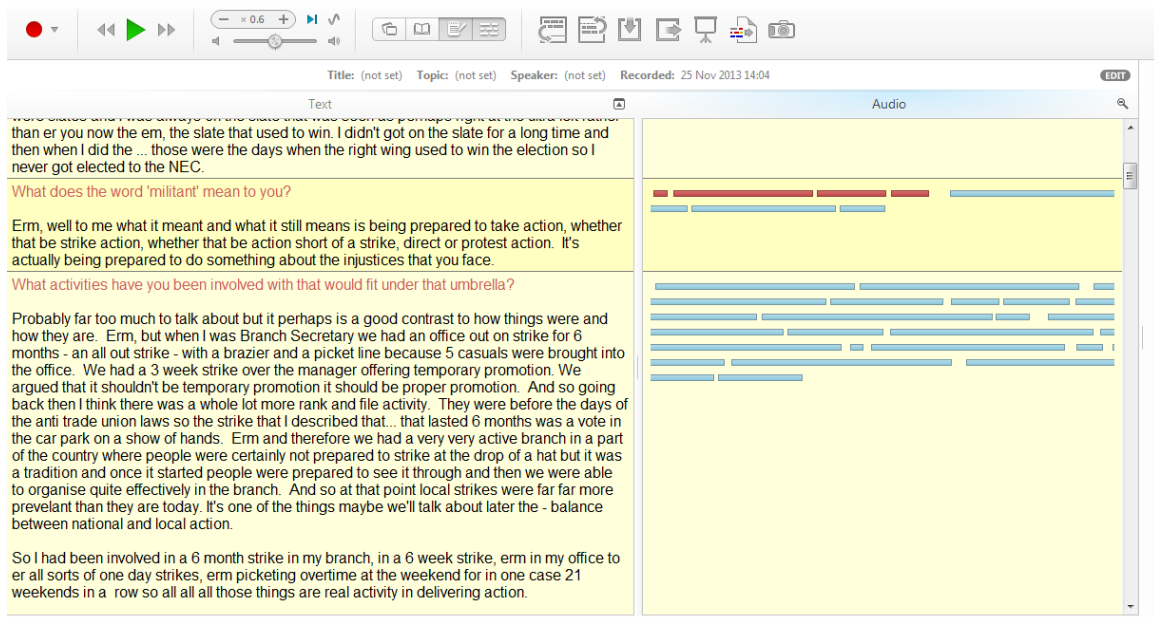
Figure 1: Screen Shot from Audio Notetaker showing how I arranged my transcriptions

This enabled me to split the audio into questions and write the answers as a block. This helped in terms of coding as the answers were already organised and formatted to a certain extent. The use of this programme also means that I have the recording of the interview together with the transcription so that both can be compared with ease to ensure consistency as per ethical best practice.

Coding and Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative research is an ongoing process and as such it is best not to leave the process of coding until all the interviews are conducted(Bryman 2012:484). I was concerned with extrapolating meaning from the data and as such it was important that these were formulated on an ongoing basis. Each new code or category helped to enhance and create the themes presented in the findings and analysis chapter. The findings adapted to new insights creating a dialogue within the research process between the interviews and the extrapolated meaning. This helped me to develop

my interview skills to ensure that I was focusing on the areas that were most relevant.

Coding is one of the tools within the general approach of grounded theory (Bryman 2012:568). It is worth noting that there is some confusion in the literature as to how coding should work in practice. Bryman (2012:569) highlights that Strauss and Corbin detailed three distinct types of coding whilst Charmaz distinguishes between two.

The process I took started with initial coding (described in Bryman 2012:569) where sentences from an interview were assigned a code provided the data corresponded broadly with one of the research questions. As more data was interpreted the codes were grouped into corresponding categories. These categories were then collated into themes. Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009:62) point out that categories can either derive from things actually said by research participants (called in vivo codes) or they can be extrapolated from the data (called in vitro codes). I have used both methods where they have been applicable. This means that some of the coding closely relates to what research participants actually said whilst other sections have required a certain amount of interpretation in relation to the research questions. Each of the themes developed in the research process originates from things said by multiple research participants. This ensures rigour in the process and constant comparison (Bryman 2012:568) in which there was a close relation between the data and conceptualisation.

I alternated between spending time interviewing, transcribing and coding during the research process. In order to keep track of which of the research participants has said what I accorded each with an alpha-numerical code. Members of the CSRF

were in Group A, members of CORE were in Group B and PCS NEC members Group C. People in each Group were assigned a random number.

A further way of handling this data might have been to use a thematic analysis (Bryman 2012:578-581). In this approach a matrix is created that allows for snippets of the data to be shown within columns representing the various themes on the research. This allows a useful comparison to be made of the various research participants and their views on the established themes. Time limits made this impossible but it the data exists in such a way this could be explored.

At an early stage of the coding process when I was first attempting to establish categories I printed out the codes I had at that point and cut them into individual codes. I then took time to place the individual codes on the floor and grouped them physically into categories before updating the spreadsheet. This was a useful first attempt as it helped me form that framework of categories. As I got used to the process I found that I could do this entirely online.

I have already detailed above the general coding process. Now I want to turn to how the data will be presented in the findings. Each research question is dealt with in turn and the findings are illustrated with the themes, categories and codes that emerged in the data relating to that specific question. When an entire theme is illustrated it is presented as below:

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Militancy is experiential	ThB6	The CTU is a militant union under CORE - we are prepared to fight and push the envelope	CatB6A	Militancy is pushing the envelope and seeing what can be achieved.	BC28
				We need to keep pushing the envelope and carry on being militant.	BC33
				Militant is about being willing to fight.	BC89
				The militant questions everything.	BC90
				Whether we're militant or not we've become a visible union through our actions.	BC92
				Under CORE the CTU has become a militant union.	BC93
		I'm militant - CORE has helped me to develop that	CatB6B	I'm a militant. I push the envelope.	BC31
				We should look at having wildcat strikes.	BC32
				CORE taught me how to be a militant. It taught me not to be afraid to stand up and do things.	BC91

Figure 2: Example of a theme

Each code on the right corresponds to something a research participant said during interview. It is important to note that the tables do not include actual quotes from the interview respondents. The categories are made up of similar codes. On the left the overall theme relates to the combination of categories. Each theme, category and code was assigned an alphanumerical tag and these are also displayed. On occasion the data is presented in category form as shown below:

The CTU is a militant union under CORE - we are prepared to fight and push the envelope	CatB6A	Militancy is pushing the envelope and seeing what can be achieved.	BC28
		We need to keep pushing the envelope and carry on being militant.	BC33
		Militant is about being willing to fight.	BC89
		The militant questions everything.	BC90
		Whether we're militant or not we've become a visible union through our actions.	BC92
		Under CORE the CTU has become a militant union.	BC93

Figure 3: Example of a category

These tables show only the codes and a category from an overall theme where it is relevant to the research question. They enable a theme to be analysed in focus. Each cohort was coded separately . This has enabled me to analyse the themes across the cohorts to establish convergent and divergent themes

In order to provides some further triangulation I experimented with word clouds by creating a cloud for each of the bulletins issued by the CSRF. Unfortunately only one of these word clouds produced a meaningful diagram and this has been included in the findings and analysis.

Sampling

Fetterman (2010:35) discusses the ethnographer approach of casting the net wide in terms of interviews to begin and then narrowing down to focus on those people in the subculture that will provide the evidence needed. I took this approach with sampling for the interviews that I conducted with members of the CSRF. A problem associated with this method is that it can lead to an unrepresentative group of people being interviewed. Unfortunately the CSRF had a small number of active members and I tried to interview people that were active with it at one time or another. As Bryman (2012:201) makes clear this kind of non-probability, convenience sampling makes it very difficult to produce generalised findings. However, whilst this technique has its drawbacks it is important to note that the CSRF is a very worthy group to study and to seek to understand as it could represent the start of a growing rank and file initiative within the union and wider sector.

In terms of sampling the PCS leadership for interview I chose a snowball technique, which again is a form on non-probability sampling liable to make generalisations difficult because the sample is very unlikely to be representative (Bryman 2012:203). However, I chose this approach because I was unsure how I would gain access to PCS NEC members. I wrote initially to the General Secretary and requested an interview. This went very well and I asked for access to the NEC. I was quickly introduced to the Vice-President and from this I arranged interviews with two other NEC members. I was hoping to interview two further NEC members including the President of the union but unfortunately, despite several attempts, this could not be arranged.

Bryman (2012:435) explains that the process of getting access can be very difficult. He mentions that sometimes it can come down simply to luck. As a total outsider to CORE I found the process of establishing the interviews exceedingly difficult.

Figure 4: The Merchandise Mart building in Chicago which houses the CTU offices

The process was started early by conducting an internet search for contact details of CORE activists and joining their facebook group. I emailed the main contact on their website twice but got no reply. I also got no response when I posted on the facebook page. I considered at this point that I would have to change the research and perhaps look at some form of case study investigating rank and file activism. However I decided to make one last effort using contacts within the IWW, which has its international headquarters in Chicago. Over the course of the following few weeks I was able to establish a suitable date and time and between us we organised a focus group of 7 people. On the day only 3 turned up and I was able to interview another the following evening. Another person agreed to be interviewed by email but unfortunately never completed the process. The focus group took place at CTU headquarters and effectively CORE chose the respondents. Following the focus group it emerged that CORE had only made themselves available because of the recommendation of an individual from the IWW. This highlights the difficulty that a researcher can face in getting access.

Under the circumstances I interviewed all the people I could in the time I had available but this comes with a several caveats. The first is that this is an extremely small sample and one which has not been arrived at randomly. Secondly, on several occasions CORE activists said they would need to get approval from the CORE Steering Committee for the interview to take place which at the time suggested to me CORE might be an organisation heavily controlled from the centre. This affected my view of the union in the run up to the fieldtrip. By chance triangulation occurred via a separate interview which enabled me to test information from the focus group but these issues should be noted when reviewing the findings.

If the research were to be repeated it would be beneficial to interview a larger cohort and sample participants independent of the caucus itself.

In reaching findings and analysing the data from these cohorts generalisations of the population are impossible but as Bryman (2012:406) makes clear, in qualitative research it is theory that can become generalised. In this instance the nature of the effects of the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate in relation to the cohorts can be compared. Likewise new theories extrapolated from the data can also be seen as a form of generalisation. That these theories can be applied comparatively across two economic areas adds to our understanding of the universality of the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate.

Conclusion

In this chapter the research methodology and methods have been discussed. The research uses the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate as a framework for investigating the research questions within the PCS and CTU. By using triangulation techniques and multiple methods the research seeks to establish themes in how the debate manifests itself within the two unions. This involves methods associated with ethnography such as participant observation, interviews and focus groups. The research method of coding has been used extensively to provide for the discovery of themes which could be used to generate theory or the basis for further research.

The following section on findings and analysis are set in the rigour and trustworthiness of the research methodology.

Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the findings as discussed in the methodology chapter. The

final section in the chapter provides overall concluding remarks on the findings and

recommendations for the PCS and CTU. Presented below is a table showing the

three cohorts, the methods used to gather the data and the appendix where the

complete themes can be found.

Cohort	Respondent	Data gathering method	Annex
PCS NEC	Mark Serwotka	Interview	1
	Sue Bond		
	John McInally		
	Zita Holbourne		
PCS CSRF	Phil Dickens	Interview	2
	Ian Hough		
	Victoria Cuckson		
	John Pearson		
	Margi Henderson	Email interview	
CORE	Jackson Potter	Focus group	3
	Tammie Vinson		
	Al Ramirez		
	Sarah Chambers	Interview	

Figure 5: The cohorts and participants

All three cohorts were made up of dedicated activists willing to freely and frankly

provide their views. In the case of the two PCS cohorts interviews took place

between October 2013 and May 2014. The CORE cohort focus group and

interviews took place on my fieldtrip to Chicago in late May 2014. Being able to

spend time in Chicago not just researching but observing this group and the wider

CTU was fascinating.

Rank and file activists have the capacity in their unique position in the workplace to understand the issues affecting workers and respond accordingly. They operate in a territory between the membership and the bureaucracy (Cohen 2006:2). Thus by challenging the bureaucracy, in the interests of members, the rank and file challenge the dominant union hegemony and with it the tendency for bureaucratisation.

The data from CORE and the PCS NEC (in relation to before they were in power) shows how the environments in which they were organising were incredibly hostile.

One CORE focus group participant said "I think they wrote us off initially as sort of another interest group that was being hyper-critical that didn't really have any concrete solutions to the problems we were raising. That you know were naive, didn't understand Labour relations properly and sort of how to cut a deal and the art of negotiation" (Potter 2014). They went on to point out "I think they felt threatened and so their initial response is to sort of vilify us as those crazy leftists, irrelevant. You know first they ignored us, then they attacked us." (Potter 2014). During an interview a participant said:

> "I think a lot of them dismissed us - they just saw us as radical rabble-rousers, too young because it's a very young group. They didn't really think we had a shot at winning the union, they didn't take us seriously that's what I think. But as it got closer and closer to election time and we gained more of a voice in the house of delegates they saw that other delegates were kind of latching onto us they started shifting slightly I wouldn't say completely shifting their politics but they'd say "oh yeah we should do your protest" and stuff like that but openly they didn't take us too seriously. (Chambers 2014).

In the case of hostility faced by the CTU this included people having the microphone grappled from them or being led out of meetings by off duty police officers if they spoke out.

One participant in the PCS NEC cohort commented "in terms of securing this union for the left, winning it against the most right wing leadership ever in the movement (even more so than Unison incidentally) the right wing in the CPSA [one of the forerunners to PCS] was backed by the state, it had links to the state" (McInally 2014). They pointed out that "most of the time I've had to work in an environment where the employer was hostile but the union bureaucracy was hostile too" (McInally 2014). Mark Serwotka detailed how he spent a year as General Secretary (Elect) to the union and was taken for lunch by senior officers at the Trades Union Congress (TUC). He was told "that life is different and when I wouldn't really acquiesce to that they had quite a brutal intervention in trying to destabilise me" (Serwotka 2014). The below category shows the PCS NEC views on challenging the bureaucracy before they became senior leaders.

		Before I became a national union leader my progress was blocked by the right wing.	CC7
		The PCS used to be undemocratic	CC15
		Right wing prevented left candidates from progressing	CC2
		Before we had a left leadership we had to overcome bureaucracy to organise action.	CC161
		The right wing and the state suppressed this union because they feared the left.	CC197
The right wing within PCS used to dominate and harm the rank and file.	CatC2C	TUC leaders tried to turn Serwotka and the PCS leadership sacked him when he was first elected as GS.	CC22
		As a rank and filer the leadership tried to stop us from taking action. We just forced the issue and did it anyway.	CC138
		We kept the left alive against formidable odds. An open democratic left!	CC198
		Under the right wing we suffered witch hunts and bureaucratic manoeuvres.	CC232
		Younger NEC members do not fully understand what the union was like before we secured the leadership. They've never had to deal with a powerful right wing leadership.	CC180
		The rank and file started to believe in having a combative union leadership.	CC19
		Leadership changed the rules to make it harder for candidates to stand in election for GS	CC17

Figure 6: Category showing PCS NEC attitudes to the union before the left took control

The CORE focus group discussed what it takes to challenge the bureaucracy and take over the union as a rank and file group. Democracy and participation was key to this discussion: "that was part of our original platform, transparency, more democracy in the union, rank and file participation" (Ramirez 2014). Potter (2014) added "community and partnerships" to the list.

In relation to the current situation in PCS where only a fraction of the membership are truly active, one research participant from the CSRF cohort said "the rank and file are the members; all the members. They just don't know that they're rank and file yet so we've got to make sure they find out" (Cuckson 2014). This emphasises the importance of workplace trade union democracy in improving feelings of collectivism (McIlroy 1990:162).   CORE took steps to build up members' involvement a long time before it was successful electorally. "The rank and file didn't know us. But by the time we had a coming out we had already been working for a couple of years in the place of what we thought the union should be doing" (Ramirez 2014). This shows that CORE was actively campaigning on issues affecting workers regardless of the official union, of which Potter (2014) claims weren't "just asleep at the wheel they were joyriding".

In relation to the CSRF two of the NEC research participants had only vaguely heard of the group but the other two were able to talk at length about it. One category highlights the idea that they were an irrelevance.

The CSRF is irrelevant	CatC13	What the CSRF say on Benefits sanctions isn't important - what members say and protest groups say is.	CC99
		The CSRF does not have widespread support within branches.	CC92
		It might not be worth talking about the csrf as it's probably not significant.	CC91
		The CSRF conference was poorly attended. It included left unity people who didn't agree with what was going on.	CC217
		The CSRF was just one person in reality.	CC195
		The Coventry walk out was great. It's unclear who organised it.	CC61
		The Coventry walk out was nothing new.	CC219
		Individuals within the CSRF couldn't have organised the Coventry Walk out.	CC93
		CSRF members do not even have the support of their own branches.	CC44

Figure 7: PCS NEC Category on the relevance of the CSRF

A union leadership can be dismissive of a small group trying to make its way in challenging that leadership. It also highlights similar behaviour that senior PCS leaders have shared regarding their experiences in trying to take control of the union themselves. Despite this the PCS NEC cohort spoke passionately about building up the rank and file. One participant said "If you don't have confident rank and file activists and members, as I said earlier, you can be as left wing as you want but you still can't deliver" (Serwotka 2014).

The bureaucratisation of the rank and file refers to the pressures put upon senior lay officials to act in a bureaucratic fashion (Darlington and Upchurch 2012:3). One of the major issues apparent from the data from both PCS cohorts is the issue of who is and who isn't a rank and file activist. This was played out in correspondence with the PCS President Janice Godrich who wrote to the CSRF to see if she could attend

their conference in February 2013. The CSRF decided that it wouldn't be appropriate to have the national president at the very first meeting of a rank and file grouping[1]. The respondents showed that there is some disagreement within the union over what actually constitutes the rank and file. When asked if the PCS President is a rank and file activist one NEC participant replied "I do. And if they're not, what are they doing? What qualities is it that becomes present, that becomes manifested in a rank and file militant that transforms them from being a rank and file militant into being a bureaucrat?" They went on to say "because I've met branch secretaries who are more bureaucratic who are more conservative and more resistant to change than Janice Godrich ever was or I ever am." (McInally 2014).

According to the data from the CSRF cohort the rank and file should be considered as those activists working at branch level. The cohort generally viewed activists above branch level with suspicion. One CSRF participant described senior lay officials as being "part of that representative structure which is aimed at meeting the employer halfway and representing our interests within that system to get the best we can within it rather than push against it as a whole" (Dickens 2014). The view was also expressed that the first meeting of the network risked being hijacked and the activists thought "there was a risk that you'd have lots of people from the NEC or from the Left Unity or Socialist Party coming along to try and sort of steer things" Dickens (2014). This shows a desire to form a group distinct from the rest of the union.

---

[1] I should declare at this point that I was involved in drafting the letter to the president. At the conference itself I argued for a policy which allowed a more inclusive membership based on people being committed to the aims of the CSRF and this policy was passed.

The various walk outs and communications blockades organised by the group without official union involvement were testament to this. An example of this is the communication blockade of a senior manager at the HMRC (CSRF 2013a).

Conclusion

Trade union democracy includes mechanisms whereby members are kept informed of issues and in-turn they direct the actions of their representatives or delegates (Hyman 1975:70). It could be said that the CSRF cohort has challenged the bureaucratisation of the lay structures by barring the PCS President from their meeting. However, it is also worth noting that whilst this was seen as an attack on the leadership it could also be seen as an attempt to set up a structure that is parallel to the existing PCS hierarchy. They have also emphasised the need to reach out to all the activist layers in an effort to renew trade union democracy.

Evidence from the PCC NEC and CORE show that both groups had to challenge their respective union leaderships and bureaucracies by seeking electoral power. As shall be discussed under the next question the CSRF challenged the PCS leadership over a boycott of benefit sanctions and pushed the leadership beyond what the union was prepared to do.

Question 2: To what extent do rank and file organisations avoid bureaucratisation?

Trade unions can be viewed as both institutions and as a movement made up of members and activists (Cohen 2006:4). Trade union democracy is essential in providing a voice for the concerns of workers and it should be seen as a crucial component of union effectiveness (Cohen 2006:4). Bureaucratisation acts as a counter to that effectiveness. As discussed it is a phenomenon that is not confined simply to Full Time Officers (FTOs) but also to lay union officials in hierarchical structures where negotiation and compromise with the employer may be an element of activity (Darlington and Upchurch 2012:2).

There is a view within the CSRF cohort that the leaders have become bureaucratised and no longer do what the rank and file want. One CSRF respondent said "lower down in the union structure although we, well 10% of us, vote them in every year we haven't got any particularly strong control and we can't hold them accountable. Once there's not a lot we can do" (Hough 2014). As explained in the context chapter the Left Unity faction has dominated PCS for over a decade. The data from the PCS NEC cohort shows that they consider it on the whole to be a rank and file organisation as shown in the category below.

PCS has a vibrant rank and file	CatC2K	PCS has a vibrant rank and file	CC114
		People lead where they are willing.	CC147
		Left Unity is the PCS rank and file movement with activists across the civil service in a very conservative industry.	CC224
		Anybody wanting a rank and file on top of what PCS already has is doing so from a position of despair.	CC223
		The rank and file are branch reps and those activists elected to regional committees.	CC116

Figure 8: PCS NEC consider Left Unity is a rank and file organisation

There were dissenting voices within this cohort however. One commented "Well, it's a very important part of the union. Does it represent the rank and file? I don't think it does… I say it's important because if it didn't exist then the reality is the union would be run by the right [wing]" (Serwotka 2014). Another put it thus "I do see Left Unity is a good organisation to be in but it is very much an electoral machine and not a rank and file" (Bond 2014). This corresponds with views from the CSRF. One activist when asked if Left Unity was a rank and file organisation said:

> "No. No, no because it's too much orientated on the elections, you know the elections of the national executive committee and the group committees. The electoral process in PCS is and always has been a process that is based on electoral slates and left unity provides the slate that at this moment in time wins majorities in the elections. I think you know it orientates its activity around winning elections" (Pearson 2014).

Another said in relation to Left Unity activists in a specific government department that "they'd got sucked into being in power and operating in power as the lead negotiators with the employer. They started to forget that they were a socialist grouping they were more acting like anyone in that position would act" (Hough 2014).

McInally (2014) defended the idea that Left Unity activists are an effective rank and file network, describing those activists thus: "the most committed the best informed, the most motivated, the most battle hardened. They're the best in terms of campaigning and the most politically aware in the whole of the British - I'd argue the European trade union movement."

Darlington and Upchurch (2012:10) discuss the idea that unions are divided along left and right political wings and that supporting a left wing leadership into power

results in the prospects for greater militancy. They point out this can be at the

expense of building up the rank and file from below.   There was also a strong belief

that senior leaders and the rank and file work together in the union. There is also a

perception in the leadership that the membership is reluctant to take action and that

the rank and file used to be more active than it is currently. As Serwotka (2014)

remarked:

> "I wouldn't say that day-to-day that I or the NEC are feeling that we've got the
>
> hot breath of thousands of people breathing down our neck, I've actually
>
> found my role and I hope this doesn't come out the wrong way but it has
>
> actually been to try and encourage and inspire people to do something rather
>
> than me feeling constantly pushed to do more".

The data shows that the leadership would like to see more industrial action,

particularly at a local level as shown below.

		A one day strike can isolate members as they may not see their colleagues.	CC73
PCS Leadership want a more dynamic industrial strategy.	CatC2G	PCS strategy has been good politically but weak industrially	CC64
		Very few applications for local strikes even though people can get 50% strike pay.	CC66
		PCS leadership may have been too conservative in taking action in the last few years.	CC38
		PCS has had many national strikes but not many local strikes in recent times.	CC65
		The leadership is seeking out harder hitting methods and tactics.	CC77
		More local strikes with strike pay would make a big difference.	CC90
		Coventry influenced a move to shorter more targeted action.	CC67
		We would have liked more walkouts in more workplaces.	CC220
		Walking out on a half day strike is a visible show of strength.	CC71

Figure 9: PCS NEC wants more dynamic rank and file action

This category also highlights how they have been influenced by activity now associated with the CSRF and Your Voice in terms of the Coventry walk out. It is worth contrasting the attitudes towards rank and file organisation between the three cohorts. Corresponding with the notion that broad left leaderships are more desirable and lead to greater militancy, the PCS NEC data states that bureaucracy can be avoided in a union controlled by the left.

Discussions with the CORE research participants showed a keen interest in avoiding bureaucratisation as the category below shows.

Warding against creeping bureaucratisation	CatB5C	People will lose their connection with the classroom if they remain in the union office for too long. It's important to make sure it's a temporary arrangement.	BC15
		The union will need to become less centralised as we develop.	BC58
		Democracy will be enhanced when we broaden participation.	BC64
		We should have hybrid roles where people still do classroom work to avoid bureaucratisation.	BC75
		We have a constant rotation of leaders from the grassroots to ward against bureaucratisation.	BC73
		People become bureaucratic when they're isolated from the membership.	BC87
		Devolving power regionally within the union might be desirable - giving people more say in their area.	BC85
		The role of rank and file movements is to give the majority control over their destinies.	BC94

Figure 10: CORE warding against bureaucratisation

Chambers (2014) explained why CORE might be different when it comes to bureaucratisation: "one of the key things we did is we kept core alive even when we're in office. A lot of people are just alive during campaigns and that's not how we work". This could be seen in contrast with the evidence regarding Left Unity in PCS being merely an electoral machine.

Some of the codes in the table above relate closely to codes that emerged from the interviews with the CSRF and Your Voice in relation to how bureaucratised the PCS leadership has become. Bureaucrats, whose outlook is towards the union as an

institution may find the idea of mass mobilisation from below and the concept of direct democracy a major challenge as their loyalty is to the institution (Cohen 2006:151). The data includes a category in which the CSRF considers that the PCS leadership are fearful of an effective rank and file organisation within the union. When asked what the leadership fear about this a CSRF activist said "they're frightened of the momentum of members coming together, standing together, feeling their own collective strength because it would shift control within the union away from officials towards the organised rank and file membership" (Pearson 2014).

There was clearly a belief within the CSRF that people were dissuaded from getting involved with the network. From my own anecdotal observations when attempting to promote CSRF action within Left Unity in the Home Office I encountered a leadership unwilling to help distribute material online or encourage other branches to take part.

In CORE a further issue presents itself. Whilst on my fieldtrip to Chicago I noticed how many activists and CTU staff members wore red T-shirts with either the CTU or the CORE logo on the front. As one research participant put it "when Core won the union people started saying that the union was core and then other people in CORE were saying no they're the union so there's this kind of blurred line" (Ramirez 2014). Data on how people see the two organisations is represented below.

		The lines between the CTU and CORE are blurred - we won the union so people think we are the union.	BC80
The lines between CTU and CORE are blurred	CatB7B	There's a symbiotic relationship between CORE and the CTU.	BC81
		We wear different hats: CTU, CORE, worker etc. Sometimes we're all of those things and sometimes just 1.	BC82

Figure 11: The symbiotic relationship between CORE and the CTU

This represents a dilemma for the CTU and CORE. On the one hand it is testament to the success of how the rank and file have "won" the union. It shows the level of unity within the organisation that stems from the type of organising, campaigning group CORE is. On the other it creates some confusion and could result in the union being very hard to influence if it does bureaucratise.

Conclusion

The answer to bureaucratisation is trade union democracy (Fairbrother 2006:6). Democratic structure is looked at in more detail under the following question. The view from the rank and file is that Left Unity within PCS is a faction with many "careerist" activists seeking elected positions in order to eventually move into an FTO role. CSRF research participants reported that people had been put off joining the network by activists and officials. Furthermore there is agreement between members of the CSRF and those on the PCS NEC that Left Unity is merely an electoral machine in PCS.

In CORE there is a blurring of the lines between the caucus and the union as an institution. This is connected to the way they have approached social movement unionism and connected members and communities in a unified way. On my fieldtrip this was discussed in a positive light with research participants enthused by what has been achieved. One reason for this is the unifying nature of their success. Using methods of direct democracy has enabled CORE to ensure that all voices are heard without feelings of division and tension.

Question 3: What can be learned from social movements and new ways of organising, including horizontal structures?

Unions can forge close working relationships with social movements where they share some common interests (Heery, Williams and Abbott 2012:146). As discussed in the literature review trade union democracy includes the use of direct democracy in the workplace (Cohen 2006:2). Activist groups often work to horizontal structures and these represent an experiment in new forms of social organisation, as well as mirroring the direct democracy associated with trade union democracy. This section considers examples from the data which show whether union activists are aware of these issues and how they might develop in relation to their own structures or organising.

Social movements and community groups

Working with social and community groups is a vital part of the work carried out by CORE. When I interviewed a CORE activist about the intertwining of unions and social movements they replied "I don't see how you can have one without the other". They added "you can't live only as a trade union. I don't think it's possible. If we were just in our bubble and just fighting for teachers rights and not bringing up community and parents we'll be gone in 10 years" (Chambers 2014). Theme B2 shows how a major part of the success of CORE in being able to fight for the rights of educators in Chicago is down to their social movement unionism.

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CORE and social movements	ThB2	Community partnership is an important part of what we do.	CatB2A	We started as a community organisation.	BC5
				We worked with community groups and organised events.	BC36
				Trade unions have to be social movements these days in order to succeed.	BC38
				We put community and partnerships at the forefront of our campaigning.	BC55
				An essential part of CORE is reaching out to the community and making links. We have associate members.	BC65
				Rank and file activism is about providing justice for workers and their communities.	BC95
				Social movement unionism is about having a productive relationship with our community. It means educating them on what matters and why it's important.	BC34
				Organising the test boycott was about getting the whole school involved, the community and the parents and kids.	BC29
		We've taught our community about our struggle	CatB2B	Successful campaigning is about education which is what we do!	BC30
				Trade union activism is contagious - it can spread to community groups.	BC96
				We've managed to convince the community that we are a part of their lives and a vital part.	BC67
		Communities have ended up helping CORE but it's been hard work	CatB2C	Community groups organise support for us during campaigns.	BC37
				We worked for 2 years before fighting any elections - building up support for a different kind of union.	BC46

Figure 12: Social movement unionism in CORE

It is clear from this that the community is seen as a part of the union and vice versa. This has enabled the CTU to build solidarity for strikes and convince the local population that it is in their interests to support the union when it takes action. As Remirez (2014) points out "The idea of inviting and allowing communities to be a part of your struggle is universal." This point was developed further by Vinson (2014):

"Parents are comfortable with teachers that have been there and have worked with their kids and understand what's going on in their communities with their

68

children without a necessary judgement. The sense that we were working together towards a common end. We found a way to make those connections and say you can't set us up as a villain in a relationship that we've established a long time ago."

On my fieldtrip I observed the CTU Softball team play a game against a children's charity in a local not-for-profit league. It was nice just to spend time with this group of activists. One of the players informed me that he had moved to Chicago from Indiana simply because the CTU under CORE offers him greater protection at work as a teacher. This struck me as a fine example of the possibilities of trade union renewal via rank and file action. I observed following the game a discussion on fitting training for future games around important union meetings and a rough rota being set up to ensure that everyone had a chance to join in.

Despite being told that this activity was "just for fun" (Chambers 2014), I found the opposing team was really honoured to be playing against the team that stands up for education in their city. One of the players on that team said to me proudly "these are the guys that take on the Mayor!" By the time the game was over it was a chilly evening and as I headed off the CTU team were talking about sharing a beer with the opposition. If it is just for fun it's possible that it could have positive knock-on effects in terms of reaching out.

Figure 13: The CTU Softball team on 28/05/2014

The following evening I watched a preview screening of the film "Schoolidarity" about CORE with some of the activists and FTOs. Again, I observed the friendliness and openness of this group. I wondered at the time if this was a feature of reaching out to people. Certainly the people I met show those skills in abundance. Discussion before the film centred on how neoliberalism affected their workplaces. This included a brief conversation on boycotting tests and these themes were picked up on in the film itself. The film featured many of the people at the screening, and showed them being interviewed on very similar themes to the ones I was investigating.

There are examples of links between PCS and social movements. However, there appears to be a different dynamic between the PCS and the CTU approach to social movements. The CTU has made links with groups that it can work with that are specific to the education sector. For example Parents for Teachers is a community organisation campaigning for education in communities within Chicago. There is a mutual interest that is based on education between this organisation and the CTU. PCS has members in different work areas working on various different government issues. It is therefore harder for the union to make solid links in the same way. PCS therefore makes links on general issues. The most prominent in recent years has been with public spending cuts. For example, the data focuses mainly on the links between BARAC (Black Activists Rising Against Cuts) and groups campaigning for welfare claimants. One of the major differences between the PCS and the CTU as discussed in the context chapter is that one is a national union and the other is based within the confines of a city. Where social movements work well with trade unions it is often at the centre with intermittent project work (Heery, Williams and Abbott 2012:157). There are logistical reasons why this might be easier to do on a city wide level than nationally. Project work can be focused and even when organised by the centre this is easier considering the smaller geographic spread of activists and members. PCS could look in more detail at how it organises around social issues and social movements. This will require a balance between organising at a local level and attempting some coordination from the centre.

Democratic structure

The CSRF and subsequently Your Voice are structured horizontally without many formal leadership roles. In many ways this reflects activist networks and social movements (Ricketts 2012:25). As pointed out by a CSRF research participant in relation to the benefits of non-hierarchical organising "if you get them working right you've got everyone who is involved with the organisation… involved with the decision making and obviously you are a lot more engaged if you're part of the decision-making; you're not just a passive observer from the back" (Dickens 2013).

The CSRF cohort did not form a simple coherent view on how this may work in practice though. Horizontal structures were broadly agreed upon but the idea of consensus decision making was not. It was accepted however that both represented an experiment that was worth exploring further as shown below.

		The CSRF is as horizontal as possible.	AC6
The CSRF structure allowed for experimentation and reflected social movements	CatA3A	Everyone in the CSRF has the same amount of power.	AC8
		CSRF practices direct democracy.	AC9
		Non hierarchical organisation allows everyone a voice and encourages everyone to be engaged.	AC10
		CSRF Conf: It showed that you could made decisions in the union without isolating anybody.	AC136
		Consensus decision making is experimental - you don't have to do it the same way each time. It can be developed to suit the needs of the group	AC137
		I believe in consensus decision making. The first CSRF conference had a low turn out which helped with that.	AC133
		Building a movement where everyone has a voice in a horizontal structure is a good aim.	AC197
		My branch was always run to CSRF standards.	AC22
		We want a non-hierarchical group that allows dissent within it.	AC55
		Every activist should be a leader.	AC68
		Society is so hierarchical it's hard to fit in.	AC198
		Direct democracy prevents a self sustaining leadership from developing.	AC11
Horizontal structures are a developing theme and not set in stone	CatA3B	If more people had been involved with CSRF we could have used other Occupy methods of consensus.	AC134
		CSRF ways of working would have developed had it continued.	AC214

Figure 14: The CSRF data regarding horizontal structures and consensus decision making

As Ness (2014:1) asserts, workers are finding new forms of organisation in order to challenge capitalism and bureaucracy. The CSRF cohort showed a preference for less hierarchical means or organising. Hough (2014) said "the real effect of it happens on the ground in a horizontal structure type way that can operate with or without the union to be frank."

The CSRF also showed signs of wanting to enhance the democratic structure of the union as a whole. It was noted that whilst in theory PCS Annual Delegate

Conference is the mechanism for holding the leadership to account this rarely happens. Pearson (2014) said:

> "The forum in the union where the leadership should be held to account is conference. And the group conferences are subsidiary to the national conference. I don't remember many conferences really where the conduct of a particular campaign of industrial action has been properly thrashed out. The bureaucratic machine really bears down too heavily: you have guillotines on debates, you know you have the standing orders committees that filter the agenda before you even get to the conference so conference is not really in the hands of the members in my opinion. I think conference is in the hands of the union bureaucracy. "

The PCS NEC cohort was deeply suspicious of any form of structure that they were not already used. As suggested by McInally (2014), "The best organisation like a union will give people more of a voice than they will in a horizontal structure because what I see a lot in a lot of these horizontal structures are the same people who would dominate in society getting positions". It is perhaps to be expected that people who currently benefit from a hierarchical structure will support the notion of keeping it. Throughout the data of this cohort runs the idea that unions act in the workers' best interests when they are run by left wing activists. It is a view that assumes that unions need a political base. This idea was discussed in the literature review and I concur with it in general. However it is also posited by this group that because PCS has a political left wing leadership that any rank and file group should work with it and not be openly hostile to it.

As discussed previously political parties appear to be in decline. Structures such as horizontal ones appear to be gaining ground in protest movements around the world. The ideas contained in this data on parties runs contra to the evidence on falling levels of party membership. It is also apparent that there is some misunderstanding within the PCS NEC on what horizontal structures mean. The data shows a belief that horizontal structures are not the same as being organised. An emphasis was made during the interviews that having a hierarchy was synonymous with being organised. As discussed in the literature review both horizontal structures and fluid, new forms of worker organisation are just that: new forms of organising. The old structures are seen by senior activists as essential to the struggle whilst the rank and file see them as a barrier to broadening out the movement and pressing for action.

In the CTU alternative ways of structuring to the usual union model appear to have been embraced with direct democracy in assembly meetings. The data shows a commitment to democracy that includes some direct participation. There was a commitment that CORE could go further exemplified by Potter (2014) when they said "I certainly favour less centralisation over time as we get better at this stuff so that people have the chance to really help do more to construct campaigns and deliberate over the big things that get decided upon. And that's not always possible at the moment". There was an explicit acknowledgment that this is a time consuming process and this was exemplified by a scene in the film "Schoolidarity" which I observed with some CTU activists on my fieldtrip. The scene related to a decision that needed to be taken on whether to end a strike or not with the Mayor expecting the decision to be taken swiftly. CORE members insisted on a vote by the

strikers and this naturally took time to collate. As Ramirez (2014) said of democracy "It's messy… but it's a good messy".

		CORE has a democratic structure, including some direct democracy features.	BC7
We've improved the CTU's democratic functions including introducing elements of direct democracy	CatB5A	Democracy is about participating.	BC8
		Some of us were involved in Occupy so direct democracy has been part of our culture.	BC24
		Direct democracy should be utilised where possible within the union.	BC25
		We brought transparency, democracy and rank and file participation to the union	BC54
		The union is now more unified and democratic.	BC53
		Democracy is messy - it's hard to hear everyone's voice. But it's a good messy.	BC63

Figure 15: CORE data regarding democratic structure

This data from the CORE cohort suggests that rank and file groups are right to be exploring these issues. CORE has been able to build up the involvement of the mass membership and take control of the union. CORE has taken control of the CTU with an emphasis on both participation by members and being actively political in left wing terms. Whilst they are clearly showing signs of possible bureaucratisation in relation to people moving from the activist level into FTO roles, they are aware of it and clearly see democracy as the counter to that. "I don't think people should stay in the union office forever I think there should be after a number of years you need people kind of switching in and out so you're connected with the classroom" (Chambers 2014).

One of the important factors in improving activist involvement is the tendency to produce transformational leaders (Cregan, Bartram and Stanton 2009:705). CORE shows a remarkable propensity in this regard. The data shows it clearly, firstly in regards to the democratic structures where activists learn to get involved but then also in the way that many activists go on to become leaders and then encourage others to rise up and join them, as shown in the category below.

		CORE produces transformational leaders.	BC9
CORE has built members up to become great leaders. They in turn encourage new leaders to step forward.	CatBX2	Core is good at finding potential leaders and building them up.	BC27
		We have a constant rotation of leaders from the grassroots to ward against bureaucratisation.	BC73
		Our leaders have stepped up from the rank and file.	BC69

Figure 16: CORE and transformational leadership

CORE activists did not consider that being a leader was the same as being a bureaucrat. The basis for this was that they still considered that they had their voices heard and that the leadership gave them the information they need to make informed decisions. As one participant said "no they're not bureaucrats because they're prepared to do that outreach, to do the sharing of information, to do the education which is important" (Vinson 2014). One participant, who works in the CTU offices, did show some concerns on this though. When asked whether they considered themselves to be a rank and file activist they replied

"I do and I don't…. You know there's a tension between people who are in the classroom and experience the day-to-day of all these terrible policies that

are being imposed and the people who have to kind of strategically deal with those who are making those decisions and try and influence the political landscape et cetera through this apparatus. So I do think there is a distinction. And it's a tricky one and it's one I think that we have some healthy tension around. You know we talked a lot early on about the union not being a place where people who get the furthest away from kids have the greatest rewards but is a place where you have a constant rotation of leadership. And people are coming out the classroom and being able to step into positions to help influence the direction based on that very intimate knowledge. I don't know that we've completely grappled with that - you know how to sustain a model that can do that continuously. We've sort of done it through our small system. Leaders have come out of the classroom into the union (Potter 2014).

Conclusion

Union revival could be linked to forming organisations that run alongside existing union structures (Lynd 2014:xi). The types of organising by activist, protest and social movements should be explored and utilised where possible.

The data relating to CORE shows how a vibrant and dedicated activist layer has reached out in order to make links with social groups. They managed to enhance internal union democracy in the process and are committed to extending that further in order to ensure activists remain close to the workplace.

The CSRF shows a commitment to experimenting with horizontal structures in order to prevent formal leadership roles from developing and dominating. Links have been made between them and protest groups. The cohort is negative regarding PCS internal democracy which they see as controlled from above.

The PCS NEC has made links to social movements but could clearly experiment with this by using regional structures.. With regards to democracy the cohort seems to rely heavily on the structures and hierarchy that they occupy as senior officials.

<u>Question 4: To what extent are rank and file movements more militant in terms of their action and industrial strategy?</u>

The word militancy has become devalued from over use (Gall 2003:23). One PCS NEC participant said "the word militant has been devalued or the meaning has changed in recent years particularly because the state… and our opponents in the ruling class have given it a specific meaning in terms of terrorism, particularly around Al Qaeda in terms of terrorist activity and have divorced it from the meaning of industrial militancy" (McInally 2013). The word has negative connotations which resulted in a small fraction of respondents in the two PCS cohorts saying that they do not use the term or consider themselves to be militant.

In the case of CORE every respondent considered themselves to be militant under their own definition of the word. There emerged data around militancy defined as doing whatever is necessary to get the best results for members. They also showed a desire via democracy to carry out action that the members had decided upon which corresponds with the original definition of militancy (Bosteels in Badiou 2012:Location 160). As Potter (2014) said "It's a good word. I think it represents people who are willing to fight for what they believe in and take drastic action if necessary and embrace a radical political approach". Ramirez (2014) built on this at the focus group by declaring "as a core member militancy is how we cut our teeth", giving militancy an experiential dimension.

For the PCS NEC militancy isn't simply about fighting everything. As McInally (2014) asserts "It's to understand what the limits of your power are as well as what the extent to your power is. It is to understand can you get a deal when is the right time to fight, it's not about just jumping up and down and saying we're going to resist

everything". As stated in one of the codes "it's about negotiating the best results and being able to take action when it's the most effective way to get results". This is a central plank in the literature on militancy (Gall 2003:10) but it is also a feature of the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate (Cliff and Gluckstein 1985:5). Indeed the PCS CSRF cohort data shows a belief that PCS at a group and national level is wedded to compromise rather than militancy. One CSRF participant said "Their [Group or National officials] whole role is about having a seat at the table. While it varies by degrees, they're still compromised by that representative function" (Dickens 2014).

The public sector pensions dispute of 2011 was mentioned by both PCS cohorts. Whilst the PCS NEC considers that this dispute was effectively prevented from success by other unions pulling out of further strike action the CSRF cohort take a different view. On this issue the PCS gave the impression that "they were never going to let it go there going to be further action" Hough (2014). This is an example of the leadership failing to be militant and the rank and file expecting more.

In another example the CSRF cohort provided information of a dispute between the employer and the union representing senior staff in HMRC. The issue at the centre of the dispute (performance management changes) was common to both sets of workers and PCS, whilst opposing the changes, failed to ballot members on the issue. The result was that senior civil servants in that department went on strike (FDA 2014) but PCS members didn't. Hough (2014) mentioned that the employer regularly updated workers in the department about the dispute by writing "PCS are not in dispute with us over this" on their intranet site. He added his frustrations during the interview by saying "And you're thinking why aren't we? Why aren't we?". CSRF interviewees highlighted a lack of information from PCS on how to handle the issue

but they talked about helping the senior staff organise for their strike. This shows amongst that cohort a desire to build action wherever it is deemed necessary.

It is apparent from the word cloud below created from the first issue of the CSRF bulletin that their interests lie in action and building this in each workplace. It isn't possible to read too much from this but it does provide a hint of some of the important things on the minds of the activists involved.

Figure 17: Word cloud created from articles in the first issue of CSRF bulletin "At the Coal Face"

It's worth noting that not having official backing does not mean that the PCS leadership dislikes action that may have taken place. There was a great deal of data surrounding the walk out in Coventry that sparked the creation of the CSRF. The

PCS NEC data shows that this was applauded by the leadership and they wanted much more of it. As Mark Serwotka said

> "The Francis Maude walkout in Coventry tax office was fab. And if the script that people paint were true we wouldn't be advertising that. We would be ignoring it in a way that these things are ignored in other unions. For me it was perfect. The idea that Maude arrived and hundreds of people walk out is perfect. It's what you want. And therefore it didn't matter to me who organised it" (Serwotka 2013).

The Coventry walk out wasn't just a message to the employer: "it was it was as much a protest against the lack of action by PCS and a lot of them were there just as angry that we hadn't done bugger all since the pensions issue" (Hough 2014). The data shows a certain level of mistrust in PCS at a regional, group and national level but alongside an obvious desire to use the facilities that those levels offer.

A major set of themes coming from the data from both PCS cohorts shows how the PCS NEC has blocked action by the CSRF over a proposed boycott of benefit sanctions. In this regard it shows how the rank and file have the capacity to be more militant than the union leadership with links to the first research question on how rank and file networks can challenge that leadership.

CSRF campaigned for a boycott of benefit sanction but the leadership didn't support it	ThA11	Everyone in PCS should have supported a developing policy on boycotting sanctions	CatA11A	An injury to one is an injury to all and we should have supported benefit claimants and had the argument with DWP members.	AC211
				CSRF played a part in supporting benefit claimants over sanctions. The union refused to help.	AC138
		PCS leadership prevented action on benefit sanctions	CatA11B	Over benefit sanctions the union did all it could to make it impossible to support a boycott of sanctions.	AC139
				The CSRF took up the issue of benefit sanctions seriously but the union batted it down	AC208
				It would have been great to have had the leadership with us on benefit sanctions.	AC209
				Saying people might lose their jobs in a boycott of benefit sanction is one thing but not promoting the idea of solidarity with benefit claimants to shift the workers from that fear is another.	AC210

Figure 18: The CSRF and benefit sanctions

On benefit sanctions McInally (2014) is clear: "we're doing everything that we possibly can." However they go on to point out that:

"When [PCS President] Janice [Godrich] and I heard what the standing orders committee had done and Mark [Serwotka] and so on we were really angry because we would have preferred it on the agenda so we could debate it. Yeah! Now that has been translated by people like Boycott Workfare into "the bureaucracy tried to kill it" and they're still repeating - it it's a lie. Anybody who knows anything about this union knows that the standing orders committee is an independent body. Now I have to qualify that by saying most of the people or all of them are left unity people and it would be disingenuous in the extreme to say there is not some kind of interchange or discussion it would be disingenuous to say that. But we didn't know that that had happened."

This quote confirms that there is some form of informal discussion between senior PCS officials and those responsible for drafting the conference agenda. The data confirms that activities took place to prevent the idea of a boycott of sanctions from

taking hold but in doing so it highlights the difficulties faced by senior officials when rank and file initiatives risk breaking the law. The entire theme from the PCS NEC data on this issue shows how the leadership wants to campaign against benefit sanctions but that it feels constrained in doing so due to legal and membership pressures.

The CSRF eventually did get the motion on this issue heard at conference and it was passed (CSRF 2013b). As a participant observer I also took part in a demonstration outside the conference hall on that day and observed the work done by the network to forge links with benefit claimant campaign groups.

In Core, Chambers (2014) describes the word militant: "Someone who's radical, ready to push the envelope, do things that people might think are too extreme, may be shocked by but they know it's the right thing to do to actually move things forward. Even with my boycott even within core nobody thought it would happen. At one meeting I was like "come on who is ready to boycott these tests" and not a single person raised their hand. I was like "how can you not boycott the tests". And it pushed the envelope". Chambers went on to describe that the boycott did take place. This shows a willingness to 'push the envelope' within the CTU that isn't fully present in the PCS.

The CSRF has gone further in defending activists that get victimised by the employer. The case of John Pearson, a member of the CSRF cohort, applies. Pearson was sacked during a dispute at his workplace where he had disclosed information that had been provided by management regarding redundancies. He had done so with the agreement of the branch committee. Whereas PCS decided not to support a legal case to get Pearson reinstated, the CSRF organised a

campaign of support (CSRF 2014) and activists brought a motion to the 2014 Annual Delegate Conference urging the union to provide assistance. The NEC argued against this and the motion failed. Pearson (2014) talking about his motivations for providing members with information said "If the union officials collude with management in withholding information about redundancies from the members who are impacted then the consultation is a sham". He went on to say "I was branch secretary, we were involved in industrial action. The reason I was sacked was purely based upon me carrying out my role as branch secretary, you know it's absolutely crystal clear to me that any principled union can't shirk responsibilities to stand by a member who has been sacked by the employer in those circumstances."

The data from the CORE cohort shows that those interviewed consider militancy to be an ethos and a style of trade unionism. The implication from the data is that militancy gets results for members. There is also the positioning of militancy as an ideal juxtaposed against what the CTU used to be like before CORE become dominant in the union.

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Militancy is experiential	ThB6	The CTU is a militant union under CORE - we are prepared to fight and push the envelope	CatB6A	Militancy is pushing the envelope and seeing what can be achieved.	BC28
				We need to keep pushing the envelope and carry on being militant.	BC33
				Militant is about being willing to fight.	BC89
				The militant questions everything.	BC90
				Whether we're militant or not we've become a visible union through our actions.	BC92
				Under CORE the CTU has become a militant union.	BC93
		I'm militant - CORE has helped me to develop that	CatB6B	I'm a militant. I push the envelope.	BC31
				We should look at having wildcat strikes.	BC32
				CORE taught me how to be a militant. It taught me not to be afraid to stand up and do things.	BC91

Figure 19: Data on militancy in CORE

Conclusion

Cliff and Gluckstein (1986:5) describe trade union bureaucracy in relation to the Roman god Janus who looks forward and back with two faces. The movement looks to employers and the state just as much as it looks to its members. The data shows how unions can end up trying to supress rank and file activity rather than enhance it. This is due to the bureaucratic positioning of unions as institutions. In the PCS senior officials are able to influence the decision making bodies, including the Annual Delegate Conference. Senior PCS officials were supportive of action taken at the walk out in Coventry but we've also seen earlier how they reacted when this led to the creation of the CSRF. On benefit sanctions the PCS NEC has argued against what rank and file activists were looking for. The CSRF showed militancy in trying to support benefit claimants. They also worked to support John Pearson when the union failed to provide legal help against the employer. They have shown a willingness to walk the mile in solidarity and protest actions. CORE have shown that militant action, such as the testing boycott, require activists to 'push the envelope' and convince their fellows if they are to be successful.

Final remarks on the findings and analysis

In this chapter the findings and analysis has been presented from the data. The first question focused on how rank and file organisations challenge the dominant union hegemony through pressing for action and broadening involvement in the union's affairs. As seen from all three cohorts the emphasis has to be on organising.

Without being able to assert with authority what the membership desires a rank and file network can have difficulty being taken seriously. This brings into play a model of organising that involves direct democracy and reaching out to members who may not yet be involved. CORE has done this with dramatic results by taking contro of the union. The PCS NEC research participants all had to organise effectively before they became prominent leaders. The desire for change amongst the CSRF cohort mirrors the successes of the other two cohorts.

The second research question findings showed that bureaucratisation is exceedingly difficult to avoid, such as with the example of Left Unity.   Research participants from both the PCS NECD and the CSRF considered that the leading PCS faction is mainly an electoral machine. The idea that bureaucracy can be avoided by dent of political ideology is not credible. It is more desirable to have a left wing union leadership in terms of pushing a union towards fighting for workers' rights, as discussed in the literature review. However, it is a leap of faith to then assume that such a leadership can avoid bureaucratisation. The evidence from PCS shows a leadership that runs the union form the top and attempts to stop activity, even when it comes from politicised left-wing, rank and file groups like the CSRF. The CSRF and its successor should look to the CTU and CORE for ideas on avoiding bureaucratisation. The principles of direct democracy and the ideas of ensuring a limited term of office for FTOs drawn from the activist ranks will no doubt help that union remain relevant to the mass membership.

The findings for the third research question show that there is much to be benefited from by working with community and social movements. They include ensuring that action taken has the understanding and agreement of local community groups. In the case of the CTU industrial action has been supported by parents and community

groups who see the cause of teachers as synonymous with aiding education in their communities. The evidence from CORE shows what has been achieved in the CTU by combining teacher, parent and community activism. New forms of organising such as operating a rival structure in parallel to the main union can allow the rank and file to break free from the official union and act independently as the CSRF communications blockades exemplify.

The findings for the fourth research question show that rank and file organisations consider themselves more militant than traditional structures. The CORE cohort saw militancy as a positive thing and considered it involved risks by 'pushing the envelope' but also rewards when the membership were convinced to support action. The CSRF didn't get the opportunity to be as militant as the activists involved would like but they showed that organising communications blockades and protest action could press the union leadership to a certain extent. The PCS NEC temper militancy with activity designed to win concessions. From their position as leaders of the union they show signs of reticence in supporting activity they see as a risk to the union or to members.

Finally, considering the information presented in this paper the following recommendations can be made. The example of CORE is worth considering by any rank and file activist group. The CSRF and its successor has the ability to learn from other sections of the movement in how it organises, the structures it has and the action it takes. Building up the rank and file in PCS is no small order. The leadership of the union only wants a rank and file that it is a part of. The answer could be to organise within the union but remain separate as far as is practicable. Barring senior elected officials will be described as divisive but the possibilities for influencing decision making are probably greater from without than from within.

I do not consider any recommendations suitable to the PCS leadership. I take the view that rank and file activity is what the members and activists deserve. The leadership can be challenged and pushed but I consider they cannot be changed from within. I would be pleased to be wrong on that.

Regarding CORE, it is hard to make recommendations for a caucus that has so impressed. However, bureaucratisation is always a risk. It can be countered by trade union democracy. By ensuring that the union does what the membership wants and by keeping formal and senior FTO roles to a minimum there is a chance that bureaucratisation may be avoided. As Left Unity shows within PCS, a desire to keep elected offices can be a distraction to the real democratic process. This takes place in assemblies and in workplaces where activists and leaders listen to members and act accordingly.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This paper has considered how the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate plays out in unions. It has used the debate as a framework for investigating two unions: the PCS in the UK and the CTU in the USA. In the literature review the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate was explained and discussed. This included an historical perspective detailing how it had developed over time. The second part of the literature review detailed a number of aspects of trade unionism in relation to both the debate as a whole and the research questions undertaken for this paper. These included militancy, leadership and a look at social movement and activist groups using horizontal methods of organisation. It also included an assessment of new forms of worker organisation.

The methodology chapter set out how this research was conducted. It detailed how ethnography and participant observation were features of the research. It also showed how the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate would be used as a theoretical framework. The methods of interviewing, focus groups and coding were set out. My positionality was discussed and ethics were given consideration.

In the findings and analysis chapter the research questions are dealt with in turn with evidence from the interviews and the coding. It also included observations from my fieldtrip to Chicago which gave me an impression of the success of CORE as a rank and file network that could not have been gained simply from a textbook.

The findings and analysis taken as a whole, with the coding presented in the appendices, provide a detailed picture of how the rank and file versus bureaucracy debate manifests itself within unions. The general framework is such that unions tend to bureaucratise with full time officers and senior officials tending to view the

union as an institution which they become loyal to (Hyman 1975:62). Meanwhile the rank and file occupy a unique position in the union by being able to understand workers' demands and aspirations for justice (Cohen 2006:2). The tension between the two does not manifest itself in unions consistently in as much as different unions can experience phases where either the bureaucracy or the rank and file are in the ascendency. In the case of PCS the bureaucracy is currently strong. In the CTU the rank and file via CORE is strong.

There is consistency to be found between the two unions however in the fact that there is a similar force to be found in both. This force is the powerful urge amongst rank and file activists to push their unions for greater justice in the workplace. It is an urge that leads to greater militancy in terms of industrial action and it can also lead to a rise in membership and trade union renewal.

References

Adamson, W. L., 1983. *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* London, University of California Press.

Alldred, P., and Gillies, V., 2008 in Mauthner, M., Birch, M., Jessop, J., and Miller, T., (Eds) 2008. *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, Sage, London.

Allen, V., L., 1972. *Militant Trade Unionism.* London, Merlin Press.

Alvesson, M., and Skoldberg, K., 2009. *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qaulitative Research*, Sage, London.

Antonacopoulou, E.P., and Bento, R.F., *Methods of 'Learning Leadership': Taught and Experiential* in Storey, J., (Ed), 2004. *Leadership in Organizations: Current Issues and Key Trends* London, Routledge.

Badiou, A., 2012. *Philosophy for Miltants* Kindle Version, Verso, Available at: amazon.co.uk <http://www.amazon.co.uk> [Accessed 20 Decemnber 2013].

Baszanger, I., and Dodier, N., 2002 in Silverman, D., (Ed) 2002. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, Sage, London.

BBC, 2012. *Coventry Inland Revenue Staff in Francis Maude Visit Walkout.* [online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-19989484> [Accessed on 3 July 2014].

Bond, S., 2014. Research interview.

Brenner, A., Brenner, R. and Winslow, C. (Eds) 2010. *Rebel Rank and File: Labour Militancy and Revolt From Below During the Long 1970s* London: Verso.

Bryman, A., 2012. *Social Research Methods (4th Edition),* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Bryman, A., and Burgess, R., G., (Eds) 1994. *Analyzing Qualitative Data, Routledge*, London.

Calhoun, C., 1982. *The Question of Class Struggle* Oxford, Basil Blackwell

Cannon, J., P., 2009. *Notebook of an Agitator: From the Wobblies to the fight against the Korean War and McCarthyism* London, Pathfinder.

Chambers, S., 2014. Research interview.

Clarke, T., and Clemtents, L., 1977. *Trade Unions under Capitalism* Glasgow, Fontana.

Cliff T and Gluckstein D, 1986 *Marxism and the Trade Union Struggle: Unions in Britain and Russia* London, Bookmarks

Cohen S, 2006. *Ramparts of Resistance: Why Workers Lost their Power and How to Get it Back* London, Pluto Press

Cohen, S., 2009. Opening Pandora's Box: The Paradox of Institutional Organising in Gall, G. (Ed) 2009. *The Future of Union Organising* Palgrave MacMillan.

Cohen, S., 2011. *Left Agency and Class Action: The Paradox of Workplace Radicalism* Capital and Class, Vol. 35. No. 3 pp371-389, Sage.

Colling, T. and Terry, M., (Eds) 2010. *Industrial Relations: Theory and Practice,* Chichester, John Wiley and Sons.

Corbin, J., and Strauss, A., 2008. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, Sage London.

Cornell A, 2012 in Khatib K, Killjoy M and McGuire M (Eds) *We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy From Occupation to Liberation* Edinburgh, AK Press

Cregan, c., Bartram, T., and Stanton, P., 2009. *Union organizing as a mobilizing strategy: the impact of social identity and transformational leadership on the collectivism of union members* British Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol 47, No.4 pp701-722.

CSRF, 2012a. *Resist the Civil Service Reform Plan.* [online] Available at: <http://csrfnetwork.files.wordpress.com/2012/11/csrf-bulletin-01.pdf> [Accessed on 3 July 2014].

CSRF, 2013. *Vote Passes Now to build on the Ground.* [online] Available at: <http://csrfnetwork.wordpress.com/2013/05/28/sanctions-vote-passes-now-to-build-on-the-ground/> [Accessed on 3 July 2014].

CSRF, 2013a. *Save HMRC Enquiry Centres: Communications blockade of Ruth Owen.* [online] Available at: < http://csrfnetwork.wordpress.com/2013/05/31/save-hmrc-enquiry-centres-communication-blockade-of-ruth-owen/> [Accessed on 15 August 2014].

CSRF, 2013b. *Sanctions Vote Passes – Now to Build on the Ground* [online] Available at: <http://csrfnetwork.wordpress.com/2013/05/28/sanctions-vote-passes-now-to-build-on-the-ground/> [Accessed on 19 August 2014].

CSRF, 2014. *John Pearson Defence Campaign Launched.* [online] Available at: <http://csrfnetwork.wordpress.com/2014/02/04/john-pearson-defence-campaign-launched/ > [Accessed on 15 August 2014].

Cuckson, V., 2014. Research interview.

Darlington R and Upchurch M, 2012. *A Reappraisal of the Rank and File Versus Bureaucracy Debate* in *Capital and Class* Vol. 36, Issue 1.

Darlington, R., 2002. *Shop Stewards' leadership, left wing activism and collective workplace organisation* Capital and Class 2002 no, 76.

Darlington, R., 2010. The state of workplace union reps' organization in Britain today Capital and Class Vol. 34, No. 1, pp126-135, Sage.

Darlington, R., and Upchurch, M., 2012*. A reappraisal of the rank-and-file versus bureaucracy debate* Capital & Class 2012 **vol. 36** no. 1.

Diamond WJ and Freeman RB, 2002. *Will Unionism Prosper in Cyberspace? The promise of the internet for Employee Organization,* in *British Journal of Industrial Relations* Vol 40, No 3, pp 569-596.

Dickens, P., 2013. Research interview.

Donovan Report 1968, quoted in Industrial Relations vol. 23 no. 4 [online] Available at: <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ri/1968/v23/n4/027959ar.pdf> [Accessed 26 April 2013]

Edwards, R., and Mauthner, M., 2008 in Mauthner, M., Birch, M., Jessop, J., and Miller, T., (Eds) 2008. *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, Sage, London.

Fairbrother P, 1984. *All Those in Favour: The Politics of Union Democracy* London, Pluto Press

Fairbrother P, 2006. *Union Democracy: Processes, Difficulties and Prospects* Cardiff University, Global Labour Research Group

FDA, 2014. *ARC Members take Strike Action in HMRC.* [online] Available at: < http://www.fda.org.uk/Media/ARC-members-take-strike-action-in-HMRC.aspx> [Accessed 15 August 2014].

Fetterman, D., M., 2010. *Ethnography: Step by Step*, Sage, London.

Forman, E., 2013. *Fast-Food Unionism: The Unionization od McDonald's & the McDonaldization of Unions* Industrial Worker Vol. 110. No. 10

Freeman J, 1970. *The Tyranny of Structurelessness* London, Aldgate Press

Frege C M, and Kelly J, 2003. *Union Revitalization Strategies in Comparative Perspective* in *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vo.l9 No.1

Gall, G. (Ed) 2009. *The Future of Union Organising* Palgrave MacMillan.

Gall,G., 2003. *The Meaning of Militancy: Postal Workers and Industrial Relations* Aldershot, Ashgate.

Godwin, J., 2012. *Studying with Dyslexia.* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Graeber D, 2012 in Khatib K, Killjoy M and McGuire M (Eds) *We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy From Occupation to Liberation* Edinburgh, AK Press.

Graeber D, 2013. *The Democracy Project: A History, A Crisis, A Movement* London, Penguin Books

Gramsci, A., in Forgagcs, D. (Ed), 1999. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935* London, Lawrence and Wishart.

Hague B.N. and Loader B.D., (Eds) 1999. *Digital Democracy: Discourse and Decision Making in the information Age,* London, Routledge.

Harvey D, 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press.

Heery, E., Williams, S., and Abbott, B., 2012. *Civil society organizations and trade unions: cooperation, conflict, indifference.* Work, Employment and Society, Vol26, Issue 1, Sage Publications.

Hinton, J., in Clarke, T., and Clemtents, L., 1977. *Trade Unions under Capitalism* Glasgow, Fontana.

Holmes M, 2012 in Khatib K, Killjoy M and McGuire M (Eds) *We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy From Occupation to Liberation* Edinburgh, AK Press.

Hough, I., 2014. Research interview.

Hughes, C., 1994 in Bryman, A., and Burgess, R., G., (Eds) 1994. *Analyzing Qualitative Data, Routledge*, London.

Hyman R, 1975 *Industrial Relations: A Marxist Introduction* Plymouth, MacMillan

Hyman R, *Class Struggle and the Trade Union Movement* in Coates D, Johnston G and Bush R, 1985 *A Socialist Anatomy of Britain* Oxford, Polity Press

Hyman, R., 1999. *An Emerging Agenda for Trade Unions* Geneva, The International Institute for Labour Studies.

Hyman, R., 2004. The Future of Trade Unions in Verma, A. and Kochan, T. A., (Eds). *Unions in the 21st Century* Palgrave MacMillan.

IWW, 2014. *IWW Chronology (1904-1911)* [online] Available at: <http://www.iww.org/about/chronology/1> [Accessed on 18 August 2014].

Kelly, J., 1998. *Rethinking Industrial Relations: Mobilization, Collectivism and Long Waves* London, Routlegde.

Khatib, K., Killjoy, M. and McGuire, M. (Eds), 2012. *We Are Many: Refelctions on Movement Strategy From occupation to Liberation* Edinburgh, AK Press.

Labor Notes, 2014. *Archive* [online] Available at: <http://www.labornotes.org/archives?language=en> [Accessed on 18 August 2014].

Ledwith S., 2006. *The Future As Female? Gender, diversity and Global Labour solidarity* in Phelan C, *The Future of Organised Labour: Global Perspectives* Oxford, Peter Lang press

Left Unity, 2014. *Who are LU?* [online]Available at: <http://www.leftunity.org.uk/who-are-lu/> [Accessed 3 July 2014].

Lynd A and Lynd S 2011. *Rank and File: Personal Histories by Working Class Organizers* Chicago, Haymarket Books

Lynd, S., in Ness, M., (Ed), 2014. *New Forms of Worker Organization: The Syndicalist Autonomist Restoration of Class Struggle unionism.* Oakland, PM.

Mann, E., 2011. *I'm Going Down that Hill.* In: Lynd, A., and Lynd, S., 2011 *Rank and File: Personal Histories of Working Class Organizers* Chacago, Haymarket.

Marx, K., and Engels, F., 1985. *The Communist Manifesto* London, Penguin Books

Mason P, 2013. *Why it's Still Kicking Off Everywhere,* London, Verso.

Mason, J. 2002. *Qualitative Researching*, Sage, London.

McGuiness, F., 2012. *Membership of UK Political Parties*. House of Commons Library.

Mcilroy J, 1990 *Trade Unions In Britain Today* Glasgow, Manchester University Press

McInally, J., 2013. Research interview.

Michels, R., 2001. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* Ontario, Batoche Books.

Miller, J., and Glassner, B., 2002 in Silverman, D., (Ed) 2002. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, Sage, London.

Moody K, 2010 in Brenner A., Brenner R., and Winslow C., (Eds) *Rebel Rank and File: Labour Militancy and Revolt from below during the Long 1970s* London, Verso

Moody, K., 2010. Understanding the Rank and File Rebellion in the Long 1970s in:

Ness, M., (Ed), 2014. *New Forms of Worker Organization: The Syndicalist Autonomist Restoration of Class Struggle unionism.* Oakland, PM.

Newsinger, J., 2012. *Fighting Back: The American working class in the 1930s* London, Bookmarks.

PCS, 2014a. *About.* [online] Available at:

<http://www.pcs.org.uk/en/about_pcs/index.cfm> [Accessed 3 July 2014].

PCS, 2014b. *NEC Election Results 2014*. [online] Available at:

<http://www.pcs.org.uk/en/news_and_events/elections_and_ballots/nec-election-results-2014.cfm> [Accessed on 3 July 2014].

Perakyla, A., 2002 in Silverman, D., (Ed) 2002. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, Sage, London.

Potter, J., 2014. Focus group.

Pozo, L.M., 2007. *The roots of hegemony: the mechanisms of class accommodation and the emergence of the nation-people* Capital and Class, No. 91, pp55-88.

Ramirez, A., 2014. Focus group.

Ricketts, A., 2012. *The Activists' Handbook: A Step by Step Guide to Participatory Democracy* London, Zed Books.

Rosener, J. B., 1990. *Ways Women Lead* Harvard Business Review, November – December pp119-125

Ruskin College, 2012. *Student Handbook*, Oxford, Ruskin College

Saunders, T,. 1991. *Civil Service Workers Must Fight Agencies.* Trade Union News, Issue 2, 1991.

Schmidt, M. and van der Walt, L., 2009. *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism ns Syndicalism* Oakland, AK Press.

Serwotka, M., 2013. Research interview.

Silverman, D., (Ed) 2002. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, Sage, London.

Simms M and Holgate J, 2010. *Organising Under New Labour: Evaluating Union Renewal Initiatives since 1997,* British Universities Industrial Relations Association.

Simms M, Holgate J and Heery E, 2013. *Union Voices: Tactics and Tensions in UK Organising*, London, ILR Press.

Sitrin, M., 2013. *Horizontalism: The new democracy. From Occupy to Gezi Park* Strike! Magazine, Autumn 2013

Tilly, C. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution* Minnesota, Addison-Wesley.

Trade Union Review, 1997. *Differences between Hillingdon Hospital Strikers and the Union.* Trade Union Review, Issue 4 1997.

Uetricht, M., 2014a. *Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity.* London, Verso.

Uetricht, M., 2014b in Gude, S., and Sunkara, B., (Eds). *Class Action: An Activist Teacher's Handbook.* New York, Jacobin.

Verma, A. and Kochan, T. A., (Eds), 2004. *Unions in the 21st Century* Palgrave MacMillan.

Vinson, T., 2014. Focus group.

Waddington, D., 2004. In Cassell, C. and Symon, G., (Eds). *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research,* London, Sage.

Webb, S. and Webb, B. 1896. *Primitive Democracy in British Trade Unionism.* Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 397-432

Wirman, H., 2012. *Email Interviews in Player Research: The Case of the Sims 2 Skinners.* Westminster Papers, Vol 9, Issue 1.

Appendix 1 – PCS NEC Cohort Themes

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
PCS NEC attitudes on the CSRF	ThC1	The CSRF is Sectarian	CatC1A	The CSRF has caused some disabled groups to blame PCS.	CC100
				The CSRF positioned itself badly from the	CC50
				The focus of the CSRF shouldn't be to criticise the PCS leadership.	CC47
				If you focus on being hostile to the leadership when we're one of the best you can demoralise people.	CC51
				The CSRF is Sectarian	CC94
				Janice is a low paid civil servant and yet she was barred from the CSRF meeting. This was an attack on a trade union leader.	CC216
				The CSRF is dominated by the views of anarchists who just want to rubbish the	CC95
		The CSRF is irrelevant	CatC1B	What the CSRF say on Benefits sanctions isn't important - what members say and protest groups say is.	CC99
				The CSRF does not have widespread support within branches.	CC92
				It might not be worth talking about the csrf as it's probably not significant.	CC91
				The CSRF conference was poorly attended. It included left unity people who didn't agree with what was going on.	CC217
				The CSRF was just one person in reality.	CC195
				The Coventry walk out was great. It's unclear who organised it.	CC61
				The Coventry walk out was nothing new.	CC219
				Individuals within the CSRF couldn't have organised the Coventry Walk out.	CC93
				CSRF members do not even have the support of their own branches.	CC44
		The CSRF are wrong	CatC1C	The CSRF was flawed.	CC58
				The CSRF is a reflection of the despair people feel when they think the struggle is	CC222
				Anybody wanting a rank and file on top of what PCS already has is doing so from a	CC223
				The CSRF is a reflection of the despair people feel when they think the struggle is	CC222
				CSRF figures come from a false anarchist perspective.	CC207
				Anarchists who think Left Unity is a bureaucratic organisation don't understand rank and file organisation.	CC208
				The CSRF are great on theory and abstract but it doesn't reflect reality on the ground.	CC98

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
PCS NEC on combining rank and file activity with a left leadership	ThC2 - Pt1	Anti trade union laws help leadership to supress the rank and file	CatC2A	The anti-trade union laws give the leadership a reason to block action.	CC9
				Rank and file activity has been neutered by the anti-trade union laws	CC5
				Unions have lost the local focus of campaigning. They actually use the anti-trade union laws to prevent disputes from taking hold.	CC165
				For the majority of my time as an activist I've been in opposition to a right wing leadership.	CC179
				When a Gen Sec tells people they can't do things it can have a chilling effect on action.	CC88
		Other Unions are worse than PCS	CatC2B	Other unions try to supress the rank and file	CC29
				The recent lack of militancy from 'moderate' unions broke the pensions strikes and we could have defeated the government completely on cuts or gained concessions.	CC172
				You can see bureaucratisation springing from ideology by looking at other unions, such as Unison.	CC228
				The movement is dogged by a leadership that thinks it cannot win.	CC34
				UNISON sees it's left activists as the opposition.	CC30
				Other unions rely on partnership instead of action.	CC32
				Whatever the leadership has done PCS is better than other unions.	CC48
				At least in PCS branch officers have a workload. Other unions employ branch officials.	CC146
				It's counterproductive to crush rank and file initiatives.	CC59
				Other union bureaucracies are worse than PCS	CC10
				Nov 30th 2011 - could have been very different with a merged UNITE and PCS - action could have continued.	CC184
				It doesn't matter who organises rank and file activity. It shouldn't be crushed.	CC57
				Unions will look at PCS and not want to be challenged by their own rank and file	CC31
				I'm much more activist friendly than other Gen Sec	CC165
				UNISON and GMB rank and file are in a worse situation.	CC187
				PCS is better than other unions.	CC164
		The right wing within PCS used to dominate and harm the rank and file.	CatC2C	Before I became a national union leader my progress was blocked by the right wing.	CC7
				The PCS used to be undemocratic	CC15
				Right wing prevented left candidates from progressing	CC2
				Before we had a left leadership we had to overcome bureaucracy to organise action.	CC161
				The right wing and the state suppressed this union because they feared the left.	CC197
				TUC leaders tried to turn Serwotka and the PCS leadership sacked him when he was first elected as GS.	CC22
				As a rank and filer the leadership tried to stop us from taking action. We just forced the issue and did it anyway.	CC138
				We kept the left alive against formidable odds. An open democratic left!	CC198
				Under the right wing we suffered witch hunts and bureaucratic manoeuvres.	CC232
				Younger NEC members do not fully understand what the union was like before we secured the leadership. They've never had to deal with a powerful right wing leadership.	CC180
				The rank and file started to believe in having a combative union leadership.	CC19
				Leadership changed the rules to make it harder for candidates to stand in election for GS	CC17

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
PCS NEC on combining rank and file activity with a left leadership	ThC2 - Pt2	The PCS leadership wants a vibrant rank and file.	CatC2D	PCS leadership is currently trying to develop a vibrant rank and file	CC28
				The leadership hasn't been stopping action.	CC97
				The leadership is seeking out harder hitting methods and tactics.	CC76
				We wouldn't have advertised the Coventry walk out if we hadn't agreed with it.	CC56
				The current PCS leadership doesn't hold back the rank and file.	CC41
				A wave of unofficial walk outs would be good.	CC82
				A strong rank and file is important. People are starting to show their impatience.	CC53
				It's not good if the NEC wins every vote at conference.	CC54
				Losing bureaucratised reps and replacing them so we can organise more effectively for militant action could force the employer to listen to our demands.	CC175
				I'm a leader helping to enable the activists. I'm not controlling.	CC162
				There is a power dynamic playing out between the rank and file and the leadership	CC121
				We need a proper rank and file structure with delegates sent to conference from their branches. (Ironically the CSRF structure)	CC178
				The NEC isn't being pushed enough by the rank and file.	CC170
				You need that open democratic left movement within a union as well as a left leadership.	CC199
				Leaders bring people with them and they politicise as they do so.	CC150
				PCS continually consults its activists and members.	CC231
				The rank and file and the leadership aren't necessarily separate.	CC151
				I want to strengthen the rank and file.	CC163
				Only lay reps can be rank and file activists. FTOs and senior reps paid by the union are not.	CC111
				Doing real work gives you a link to what the members experience	CC120
				It's my role to be a transformational leader, bringing people on and building the rank and file.	CC133
		The PCS Leadership pushes from the top down for action.	CatC2E	The current PCS leadership has been encouraging action from the top.	CC42
				The leadership has actually pushed for action despite a reluctant membership.	CC96
				The type of leadership a union has is critical to action but you need that and a vibrant rank and file.	CC39
				It's not the Gen Secs job to stop action - it's their job to link it up and make it a solid as possible.	CC86
				Rank and file cannot win without help from the leadership. You therefore need a leadership willing to fight.	CC35
				Some people think leadership per se is the issue but that isn't true of PCS.	CC40
				The Gen Sec should encourage activity and help people to understand what they're doing, they're rights etc.	CC87
		Rank and file activity used to be stronger in PCS	CatC2F	Rank and file forced the new PCS union to have an election for GS.	CC16
				Left unity is not active	CC1
				Local strikes were more common in the past	CC6
				We got official backing for action because the branch was respected as organised and we had the support of members.	CC8

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
PCS NEC on combining rank and file activity with a left leadership	ThC2 - Pt3	PCS Leadership want a more dynamic industrial strategy.	CatC2G	A one day strike can isolate members as they may not see their colleagues.	CC73
				PCS strategy has been good politically but weak industrially	CC64
				Very few applications for local strikes even though people can get 50% strike pay.	CC66
				PCS leadership may have been too conservative in taking action in the last few years.	CC38
				PCS has had many national strikes but not many local strikes in recent times.	CC65
				The leadership is seeking out harder hitting methods and tactics.	CC77
				More local strikes with strike pay would make a big difference.	CC90
				Coventry influenced a move to shorter more targeted action.	CC67
				We would have liked more walkouts in more workplaces.	CC220
				Walking out on a half day strike is a visible show of strength.	CC71
		There is a very important link between the rank and file and well organised branches.	CatC2H	Workers anywhere respond to good rank and file initiatives.	CC12
				We need more people who have a direct relationship with the workforce - they can represent them best.	CC79
				Action is best in well-organised branches.	CC74
				Local action in Glasgow in the 80s had a huge impact on the union, symbolic of fighting back at a time of Thatcherism.	CC162
				My experience is that you need a strong workplace but you also need a political workplace.	CC163
				My branch supports me at election time but they expect me to pull my weight in the workplace.	CC159
				Activists are political - they have a political ideological stance.	CC132
				In PCS we encourage a local focus for organising.	CC166
				Most members will be worried about workplace issues.	CC105
		The Coventry walk out showed a good relationship between the rank and file activists and the members. It required local leaders thinking out the box.	CatC2I	For Coventry walk out to be successful it needed someone in a leadership position to do something different.	CC78
				Coventry walkout was a success.	CC68
				The Coventry reps had the support of the members and were confident to take action.	CC62
				Having a direct relationship with members helped the reps in Coventry deliver the walk out.	CC63
		The rank and file need the high level leadership	CatC2J	If you're hostile to leadership you are blind to reality.	CC49
				Calling the leadership sell outs while the right wing press accuses us of being ultra left in confusing to members.	CC52
				For action you need the rank an file and the leadership working together.	CC166
				If you focus on being hostile to the leadership when we're one of the best you can demoralise people.	CC51
		PCS has a vibrant rank and file	CatC2K	PCS has a vibrant rank and file	CC114
				People lead where they are willing.	CC147
				Left Unity is the PCS rank and file movement with activists across the civil service in a very conservative industry.	CC224
				Anybody wanting a rank and file on top of what PCS already has is doing so from a position of despair.	CC223
				The rank and file are branch reps and those activists elected to regional committees.	CC116
		It's possible for senior leaders to be rank and file activists.	CatC2L	Leadership isn't a role - everyone in the union can be a leader	CC109
				The members insist I'm rank and file.	CC154
				NEC members who play a key role in their branches are rank and file activists.	CC112

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Bureaucracy and left led unions	ThC3-Pt1	Bureaucracy is necessary	CatC3A	Good bureaucrats are those that stay in touch with the members and the rank and file - they've often been activists themselves.	CC135
				Paid officials can play an important role in developing the rank and file.	CC27
		We're activists not bureaucrats.	CatC3B	I regularly consult with members and report back on progress.	CC108
				I'm an activist. I keep in touch with members' concerns, I work in the branch.	CC131
				The higher the bureaucrat the worse they can be but PCS has Mark - he's different.	CC139
				Constant contact with the members and helping them to achieve what they want is the key to avoid bureaucratisation.	CC156
				The branch is always pulling me away from VP work.	CC157
				The idea that those on GECs or NEC are not part of the rank and file is a petty bourgeois fantasy.	CC211
				The President of the union is a rank and file activist.	CC225
				Most NEC and GEC members work very hard - there are some rogue elements though.	CC239
				Being on the NEC means I know the bureaucracy - I know the contacts - I can get things done.	CC126
				We're not bureaucrats - we're low paid civil servants.	CC210
				Being a leader doesn't mean you have to become divorced from the rank and file.	CC214
				PCS leaders are found at every level of the union. They're the activists engaged with the views of the members.	CC215
				You can find bureaucrats at all levels but not at the top of PCS.	CC226
				I've got an office. It doesn't make me a bureaucrat. It could but it doesn't.	CC234
				I'm an activist. Not a Bureaucrat, not a leader.	CC113
		Left Unity is the rank and file.	CatC3C	Left Unity is a rank and file network	CC117
				Left Unity as a democratic organisation prevent bureaucratisation as you are under the scrutiny of your peers.	CC236
		In PCS the leadership listen to the rank and file	CatC3D	Activists don't have to fight the leadership.	CC167
				The rank and file in a left led union like PCS can press the leadership into action.	CC169

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Bureaucracy and left led unions	ThC3-Pt2	Bureaucrats exist but they do not dominate	CatC3E	Bureaucrats are those that offer a service. An activist encourages the rank and file to do things for themselves.	CC134
				Bureaucracy is a scale not a binary.	CC25
				Some bureaucrats fall into the trap of balancing an ongoing relationship with the members and management.	CC136
				A war between the leadership and the rank and file can lead to isolation and the bureaucracy just taking over.	CC153
				It isn't clear at what stage someone becomes a bureaucrat.	CC227
				Trade unions have a tendency to become bureaucratic when they should be about democracy and making sure members understand the issues.	CC174
				Union full timers should get a living wage. High wages for union workers breeds bureaucracy.	CC230
				Not all full time officers are bureaucrats.	CC175
				Senior people in the movement can become bureaucratic and even seduced into moving between different ruling class forces.	CC176
		We need to be highly organised with a strong structure in order to get things done.	CatC3F	The ruling class is organised and we have to be organised too if we're going to defeat them. That's what rank and file-ism is about.	CC218
				Rank and file-ism that bars people from taking leadership positions is an esoteric, childish concept of political purity. You need organisation.	CC212
				Leadership is critical despite some of the caricatures of Leninism.	CC213
				Real socialists do not aspire to become bureaucrats.	CC233
				Being a member of a revolutionary party helps to ensure against bureaucratic tendencies.	CC235
				We need a revolutionary party and trade unions working together.	CC251

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
PCS NEC and militancy	ThC4	Rank and file activity can go further than the leadership at times and can overcome it when blocked.	CatC4A	Leadership can go to great lengths to stall action but rank and file activity can overcome these issues.	CC26
				The leadership can overrule the rank and file when it isn't strong.	CC120
				The rank and file are more militant than the leadership.	CC125
				The Home Office requested a CSRF action to be stopped and the PCS leadership had to reply explaining that they had no control over the activity.	CC85
		PCS leadership have to ensure that activity makes sense for members and for the union as whole.	CatC4B	The union has to look closely at proposals which could cause its assets to be seized.	CC79
				Unofficial action that's poorly supported will likely result in victimisation by the employer.	CC81
				The level of support in the workplace determines whether unofficial action is possible.	CC80
				If we're protecting our members we're just doing what we should even if we're overruling the rank and file	CC123
				The militant activist identifies what members care about.	CC183
				Militancy can increase with knowledge and experience.	CC184
				The Gen Sec should intervene if an activist is doing something detrimental to a campaign.	CC89
		Militancy is about beating the employer and defending workers' rights.	CatC4C	Militancy is causing as much disruption as possible to the employer.	CC69
				Militancy is about taking action against injustice.	CC3
				I come from a militant branch - we've fought against cuts with strikes and so on.	CC143
				Militancy gets results.	CC145
				Militancy should be termed regarding the relationship between the employer and the employed - an antagonistic relationship.	CC168
				The battle against this government has to be a political battle and not just a workplace one.	CC187
				People cannot be too militant.	CC160
				I have multiple roles within the union which is hard work.	CC129
				We need co-ordinated union action and to be able to show we have an alternative to austerity.	CC188
				Half day strikes mean reps have to build up momentum	CC70
		Militancy is about delivering on your promises	CatC4D	Some reps make the most left wing speech ever but fail to deliver action.	CC78a
				I'm a Militant - I practice what I preach.	CC159
				I organised my workplace when I first started and we held strikes and other forms of action.	CC127
				You have to do what you can when you have the power. You have to assess what is possible.	CC182
				We don't mislead people on action. We talk within the boundaries of the possible.	CC186
				PCS is a militant union. If other unions were like us we could challenge austerity.	CC229
				Some people just sound militant - you have to be able to back it up and carry it through.	CC185
				I've organised militant action in the past.	CC137
		Militancy is political and ideological	CatC4E	Militancy is standing up for what you believe in and being prepared to fight for that.	CC140
				Militancy is about having strong socialist values.	CC158
				The word militant has been devalued due to terrorism.	CC167
		Militancy can be over-ridden by the need to compromise	CatC4F	In the Civil Service the Whitley system gives trade union some bargaining rights but it sets them on the path to negotiation and compromise.	CC300
				The Whitley system works in times of economic prosperity but recent decades have shown the antagonisms more sharply.	CC170
				The genuine militant understands the extent and limitations of their power and is in touch with the membership.	CC178
				I'm a militant - that's my approach but I have less opportunity these days.	CC142
				It's about negotiating the best results and being able to take action when it's the most effective way to get results.	CC141
				When you can't win the industrial battles you can still press for concessions. That's the position we're in today.	CC164
				A militant is always ready to negotiate when it's possible but also to fight when it's not.	CC173

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
PCS NEC views on a benefit sanctions boycott	ThC5	The union leadership has to look at the full picture.	CatC5A	The members don't like sanctions but they lack confidence in striking when we've failed to beat the government on other issues.	CC101
				Some members support benefit sanctions which makes campaigning difficult	CC104
				You have to listen to the rank and file but activists who misinterpret things or have their own agenda are different.	CC55
				We haven't won on pensions or terms and conditions so it would be hard to fight for benefit claimants.	CC145
		The PCS leadership, like the CSRF wants to develop a campaign against benefit sanctions.	CatC5B	We should develop a campaign on sanctions and PCS does more than anyone on that issue.	CC102
				We should disrupt the sanctions regime at every turn even disguising disputes over workplace issues to attack it.	CC103
				Targeting the action causes the employer maximum disruption.	CC75
		A boycott of sanctions would have jeopardised jobs	CatC5D	The leadership couldn't support the CSRF on benefit sanctions because it would have jeopardised jobs.	CC122
				We will work with groups on welfare but we won't put our members on course for a defeat.	CC194
				We were asked about industrial action on benefit sanctions but that would lead to PCS members being sacked.	CC190
		On benefit sanctions we've worked hard, done what we can and faced abuse	CatC5E	On benefit sanctions we've done what we can. We've done more than most.	CC191
				We've suffered some abuse on benefit sanctions despite doing what we can.	CC192
				If the rank and file organised a boycott and it happened the leadership would have to behave differently.	CC124
				Welfare should be a movement wide struggle.	CC206
				The ruling class sow divisions amongst us and some welfare groups have even likened our members to Nazis.	CC193
		A motion on benefit sanctions was blocked by the Standing Orders Committee in the run up to conference	CatC5F	A motion on benefit sanctions was blocked by Standing Orders Committee as the legal advice said it would breach trade union laws.	CC200
				The motion on benefit sanctions was only submitted by 1 branch so it wasn't supported by a ground swell of members anyway.	CC201
				The PCS leadership wanted the motion on sanctions on the order paper.	CC202
				The bureaucracy didn't kill the motion on sanctions - the SOC is an independent body from the leadership.	CC203
				The motion called for sanctions to be part of the national campaign - well it is essentially but the opportunists are suggesting it should involve industrial action.	CC205

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Equality, Structure and Democracy	ThC6	PCS has equality issues	CatC6A	Some groups of people find barriers in the democratic structure	CC128
				People from underrepresented groups are not encouraged to go for positions.	CC130
				It takes a lot of confidence and self-belief for those from underrepresented groups to stand for election	CC131
				BME members face attacks when they stand and they can find direct and blatant racism.	CC132
				One barrier is when people say that a BME person isn't ready to stand - they have to be twice as good as a white member	CC134
				Equality can be squashed at the branch level.	CC155
				It's difficult for BME members because of the barriers put up when they try to participate.	CC133
				I had to fight to get on in PCS but I had to do it.	CC135
				PCS is good on equality but not perfect.	CC246
				Equality should be pursued by the factions among for election. That's where the problems lie.	CC191
				We need to do more on equality but we're better than other unions like UNISON	CC192
				PCS can be a like a club - jobs for the boys.	CC137
		PCS structures can be a barrier to participation.	CatC6B	For some the democratic process does not exist. They don't get notified.	CC129
				Structures can harm participation	CC136
				BME members aren't coming through the ranks - they don't trust the factions. They don't like the structures.	CC139
				People stay in positions for years and block others.	CC140
		The union doesn't need to change it's democratic structure	CatC6C	The union is too large to have a flatter structure.	CC149
				PCS structures aren't the problem in terms of equality.	CC156
				The fact we have a highly organised enemy means we need to keep strict hierarchical structures. We must be organised.	CC250
				PCS is member led.	CC127
				The union as an employer means it can't have a flat structure.	CC150
		Experimental structures don't work as well as the tried and tested methods	CatC6D	Young people think that because you can use social media to organise things you don't need political parties anymore. But you do.	CC252
				Campaign group BARAC doesn't have elected positions.	CC152
				BARAC has democratic structures that promote decision making	CC153
				Horizontal structures don't provide people with anymore of a voice than the best organisations.	CC253
				Horizontal structures have the same people always doing the talking - they replicate society in terms of who dominates.	CC254
				Left Unity full time and senior officials are up for election every year. It's also the biggest left organisation in the UK union movement.	CC209
				Union structures are better for equality than horizontal ones.	CC255
				It's good that young people are suspicious of centralised organisations. We can learn from that but they should learn from us.	CC256
				SOC - mainly Left Unity people. The leadership do discuss with LU people agenda issues.	CC204
				We will improve equality by doing exactly what we currently do. We have to fight those big battles like pensions.	CC247

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
The bureaucratisation of the rank and file	ThC7	The PCS rank and file have become bureaucratised	CatC7A	Even reps with low levels of facility time end up doing nearly full time union work.	CC119
				A major problem for PCS is the bureaucratisation of the rank and file.	CC168
				We've become bureaucratised by focusing on set piece meetings with the employer that don't get results for members.	CC176
				There are some rank and filers who are stuck in the union room all day.	CC152
				Some 100% facilities reps are doing important stuff others have become bureaucratised.	CC173
		The rank and file is not vibrant in PCS	CatC7B	It's wrong to exaggerate rank and file activity.	CC60
				The rank and file can't act independently of the leadership in the civil service at the current time.	CC37
				The union isn't organised to sustain local long term action.	CC83
				Rank and file activity used to be stronger in PCS	CC4
				When a union isn't strong in the workplace fighting is impossible.	CC11
				The rank and file is not strong in the civil service.	CC36
				PCS is top down but that's because the rank and file is not active.	CC180
		Left Unity is not working as it should	CatC7C	Left Unity is not a rank and file network but without it the right would be in charge.	CC177
				Left unity is not active	CC1
				Left Unity is not a rank and file network but without it the right would be in charge.	CC177
		We support Left Unity because we fear the right.	CatC7D	Left Unity normally defers to the NEC and the NEC normally debates recommendations from the Gen Sec.	CC179
				Left Unity is not a rank and file network but without it the right would be in charge.	CC177
		We know that activists are not carrying out everything we decide on at the NEC	CatC7E	There are issues at branch level where NEC decisions may not be carried out correctly.	CC154
				You've got to do your job and that means getting out and talking to members. I worry about some people in this regard. People can become isolated.	CC181
		The bureaucratisation of the NEC	CatC7F	PCS has some people who simply lead from the front and fail to bring people up.	CC148
				People in PCS tend to lead from formal positions.	CC149
				I visit my workplace but I'm not in touch with every issue.	CC240
				I'm sometimes sucked into being a bureaucrat.	CC155
				I'm partially paid by the union.	CC130
				I sometimes prioritise NEC work above the branch. It makes me feel like a bureaucrat.	CC158
				I'm not an activist.	CC161
				My time is best spent in my PCS HQ office.	CC241
				Bureaucratic behaviour from the top can be reflected down the chain.	CC177

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
The Risks and Opportunities of losing facility time and Check-Off	ThC8	Changes to facility time are a huge risk to the union as some work may not get done.	CatC8A	The attack on facility time will make it hard to achieve all the work we have to do as a union.	CC106
				The facility times changes could mean I have to give up other activities or alter what I d for the union.	CC107
		The biggest issue is how facility time is used	CatC8B	The amount of facility time isn't a problem when reps keep in touch with the members they represent.	CC118
				Whether we have full time facilities is not the important issue.	CC176
				Full time facilities isn't good or bad - it depends on how it is used.	CC238
				Whether we have full time facilities is not the important issue.	CC176
		Losing facility time will show us which reps are dedicated	CatC8C	Some 100% facilities reps are doing important stuff others have become bureaucratised.	CC173
				The attack on facility time will force some people to drop out as activists.	CC243
				Some people will benefit form having less facility time.	CC242
				Losing bureaucratised reps and replacing them so we can organise more effectively for militant action could force the employer to listen to our demands.	CC175
		The attacks have to fought - it's an attack on PCS democracy	CatC8D	You have to fight the attacks on facility time and check off.	CC174
				In the attack on facilities we have to fight for a lay led democratic union.	CC244
				The attack on facilities could have a detrimental affect on the diversity of our activists.	CC245
				The attack on facility time is an attack on the rank and file.	CC237
				The union shouldn't be dependent on the employer for collecting subs.	CC171
				Changes in facility time will bring us closer to the members.	CC122

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
UNITE Merger	ThC9	UNITE merger will make us stronger.	CatC9A	PCS and merger with UNITE could be good.	CC181
				UNITE merger would give us members in every sector of the economy. It would create a force at the TUC. (Link to Nov 30th nostalgia)	CC183
		UNITE merger could be a disaster.	CatC9B	If the UNITE merger is just about assets it would be a disaster and it would be for the wrong reasons. We would lose control of our own destiny.	CC182
				The merger shouldn't happen if it isn't going to provide benefits.	CC185
		UNITE merger good for the rank and file	CatC9C	A merger could help the rank and file link to other UNITE members in different sectors.	CC186
		PCS is competing now for members and therefore subs.	CatC9D	UNISON now has a recognition agreement with the civil service so the government clearly wants to deal with them rather than PCS.	CC188
				A merged union could attract members from UNISON and GMB because we will have the power to fight.	CC190
				We can't wait for the rank and file in other unions to take control.	CC189

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Making Links with social groups	ThC10			Community activism allows trade union bureaucracy to be side-stepped.	CC124
				The union can build solidarity with disability rights groups.	CC346
				Campaign group BARAC has a flatter structure. As long as people agree with the aims they can set up local groups.	CC151
				We gained the support of our trades council, and local campaign groups for our strikes.	CC144
				PCS tried to pull the various welfare campaign groups together.	CC189

Appendix 2 – PCS CSRF Cohort Themes

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CSRF and militancy	ThA1	CSRF is about taking action	CatA1A	The Coventry walk out inspired the setting up of the CSRF.	AC1
				The CSRF appealed to me because it had a more militant ethos than PCS as a whole.	AC193
				The conference gave us time to talk about building a more militant fight back	AC196
				Your Voice started in R&C out of dissatisfaction with the LU faction not delivering action that members wanted.	AC202
				The CSRF appealed to me because it was about action not elections for power	AC206
				The CSRF is more militant than PCS as a whole as it wants to give workers the power	AC207
				I'd be willing to take part in illegal action and do other more militant activities.	AC174
				We organised walk outs and a comms blockade of Francis Maude's office which was covered by the press.	AC2
		Militancy is dependant on several factors	CatA1B	The CSRF is small but militant.	AC4
				Militancy requires worker confidence. Many workers are not confident without legal ballots before action.	AC172
				In my branch militancy is about having members engaged with the issues.	AC48
				Our branch has a good solid left history and were building on that.	AC49
				Some branches are in one workplace mine is in several so I have to balance workplace and branch issues which can be separate.	AC104
				In my branch militancy is about having members engaged with the issues.	AC48
				Our branch has a good solid left history and were building on that.	AC49
				It's hard to be militant with just a few people.	AC13
		Militancy is about taking action to win justice for workers	CatA1C	Militancy is a readiness to use direct action to challenge management prerogatives.	AC23
				I prefer to use the term militant to describe people rather than action.	AC175
				Militant is when activists stand up for each other.	AC192
				Militancy is standing up for yourself and others to affect events.	AC100
				I'm a militant	AC101
				I've organised militant action.	AC25
				Militancy is about taking action to achieve aims.	AC171
		PCS isn't militant	CatA1D	PCS isn't militant enough. Too much action has been token.	AC29
				PCS needs some successes to make members feel confident again in the union.	AC46
				The NEC is social democratic and the am is to achieve things with as little militancy as possible.	AC112
				With all the attacks you'd think people on the NEC would have proposed militant action by now.	AC113
				PCS action rarely hurts the employer.	AC114
				The pension strikes are a good example of the PCS NEC not doing what they said they would. We could have had further strikes.	AC115
				The NEC is against the new performance management system but they've pushed it back to each group to coordinate a response. The legal advice tells them that non-cooperation could lead to disciplinary action so we end up accepting it. That's saying one thing and doing another.	AC116
				The senior civil servants are in dispute over performance management and yet PCS isn't. It's embarrassing.	AC117
				Senior civil servants struck but we weren't given any advice from PCS even though we could have joined them.	AC118
				We never got a response to why we weren't striking too.	AC119
				At a local level we did whatever we could to support the striking workers. Unfortunately most PCS members crossed the picket lines where they existed.	AC120
				I didn't go in when senior managers struck. It showed solidarity	AC121
				It's embarrassing that PCS isn't in dispute over performance management. We'd be negotiating with people who are in dispute over it!	AC122
				PCS is scared that check off will be removed so they've become less militant as a result.	AC123
				Left leaderships fail to be rank and file in power as they police the class struggle and sell out in negotiations.	AC186
				I was expecting activists to be more militant but I found they weren't.	AC191
				Workplace activists have lost the power to deal with things locally.	AC83
				We've stopped making demands and often take action just to get negotiations. The R+F don't want to negotiate.	AC155
				Our union organises action where people are encouraged not to turn up! Action should be about bringing people together.	AC157
				The leadership perform a role that undermines the workers in negotiations so not having them as members is important.	AC162
				The leadership aren't the same as the rest of us. They don't do our work and they are part of a structure designed to compromise with the bosses - they aim to get us the best they can within these arrangements rather than pushing against the system.	AC167
				Token action is all about getting negotiation deals.	AC33
				PCS isn't militant but compared to other unions it is.	AC30
				Militancy is violence.	AC47
				I don't use the term 'militant'.	AC24

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CSRF views on PCS democracy	ThA2	PCS is led from the top by the Left Unity faction	CatA2A	PCS Gen Sec has far too much power.	AC7
				People have got used to waiting for the leadership to tell them what to do.	AC63
				When members and activists complain that nothing is being done the leaders take it as a personal attack rather than moving democratically to change things.	AC39
				The members should be driving everything - not a faction deciding for us.	AC45
		Members are not engaged	CatA2B	The mass membership are not engaged - they are our focus.	AC56
				PCS is democratic but not member led.	AC79
				PCS follows democratic rules but with the say so of a minority.	AC80
				Members are not engaged because the union isn't angaging management on the issues that matter.	AC37
				Many rank and file members don't realise they're rank and file or understand the power they have. We have to change that.	AC62
		It's difficult to influence union policy	CatA2C	But the power rests with those on the group committee.	AC69
				There are regional paid bureaucrats who act like big level leaders but should really be doing what we tell them.	AC105
				Union structures and ways of working can't be reformed. It's too much hard to work.	AC187
				Union officials keep information away from the members as they seek negotiations.	AC221

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CSRF attitudes to horizontal structures	ThA3	The CSRF structure allowed for experimentation and reflected social movements	CatA3A	The CSRF is as horizontal as possible.	AC6
				Everyone in the CSRF has the same amount of power.	AC8
				CSRF practices direct democracy.	AC9
				Non hierarchical organisation allows everyone a voice and encourages everyone to be engaged.	AC10
				CSRF Conf: It showed that you could made decisions in the union without isolating anybody.	AC136
				Consensus decision making is experimental - you don't have to do it the same way each time. It can be developed to suit the needs of the group	AC137
				I believe in consensus decision making. The first CSRF conference had a low turn out which helped with that.	AC133
				Building a movement where everyone has a voice in a horizontal structure is a good aim.	AC197
				My branch was always run to CSRF standards.	AC22
				We want a non-hierarchical group that allows dissent within it.	AC55
				Every activist should be a leader.	AC68
				Society is so hierarchical it's hard to fit in.	AC198
				Direct democracy prevents a self sustaining leadership from developing.	AC11
		Horizontal structures are a developing	CatA3B	If more people had been involved with CSRF we could have used other Occupy methods of consensus.	AC134
				CSRF ways of working would have developed had it continued.	AC214
		Unions should explore more flexible ways to challenge capitalism	CatA3C	We have to look at how things like Occupy organised to get large groups of people involved.	AC156
				The CSRF linked members in the traditional civil service with their privatised comrades unlike the union structure.	AC20
				The Sussex uni pop-up union emerged purely for a specific dispute and by-passed the TUC unions to get action.	AC173
				Rival structures alongside established ones is the answer. They should be horizontal and not based on representation.	AC188
				CSRF should work with like minded protest groups.	AC183
				And end to checkoff could be great for the rank and file. It could create a more fluid unionism able to tackle issues.	AC124
				2 types of rank and file activism - 1 independent of the union structures about worker self-organisation and the other about propping up left leaderships.	AC185
		Consensus decision making is not necessary and can confuse people as can using new technology	CatA3D	There's nothing wrong with voting - as long as everyone has had their say we don't need consensus decision making.	AC213
				Our Skype conference didn't happen - we just aren't tech savvy enough. But it's a great idea.	AC181
				Some protest groups are great at using new technology but it can also shut people out.	AC182
				CSRF Conf: Because of lack of voting 2 SP members went away thinking nothing had happened / been agreed.	AC135
		Equality in the CSRF	CatA3E	I didn't feel bad about who took the minutes at the conference - maybe they didn't want to contribute much.	AC153
				Equality gets lost in our structures.	AC177
				You can see inequality being replicated all the time - including within the CSRF.	AC178
				At the first CSRF conference the only female in attendance ended up taking the minutes. The men just didn't volunteer to do it.	AC179
				I was the only woman at the CSRF conference and ended up taking the minutes. I thought 'Oh dear'.	AC194
				Taking the minutes at the CSRF conf gave me the opportunity to listen to everyone which was helpful for me.	AC195
				The CSRF could benefit from equality groups but it has to come from below.	AC180
				I don't want to read too much into people not wanting to take the minutes - maybe they just didn't fancy it.	AC199

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CSRF views on PCS leadership, the Left Unity Faction and Bureaucratisation	ThA4	The current leadership, under the Left Unity faction has become bureaucratised	CatA4A	We need to engage the members again and we decided to set up a new group to do this, separate from the leading left unity faction.	AC40
				The left unity leadership have stopped acting in the interests of the members.	AC36
				Bureaucrats control conference agenda.	AC35
				In PCS everything is top down.	AC66
				Conference is formal and tightly controlled.	AC67
				The union shouldn't be run by and for the NEC, but it is.	AC70
				People shouldn't be able to be elected to the same post year after year. PCS is full of careerists	AC76
				Left Unity doesn't choose the best person for roles and the turnout is so small that they often win which means we suffer the careerists.	AC77
				The union has mirrored the employers structures which has given power to the bargaining bureaucrats	AC82
				Activists that get to a Group level are disconnected from the day to day work.	AC84
				Good activists that reach group level end up battling the union to get things done.	AC85
				There is a complex maze of committees which need to be used to get anything done.	AC97
				Leadership in PCS can be top down. I don't know what some of the lay officials do all day.	AC102
				Workplace issues aren't getting heard up the hierarchy.	AC107
				Those activists with good intentions get to high leadership positions and can get embroiled in bureaucracy.	AC108
				The rank and file had become bureaucratised in LU.	AC145
				Our subs are often used for the privilege of being told what to do by the leadership.	AC78
				Senior figures in LU use the slogan "power is everything" and you don't get power without winning elections.	AC147
				I got involved with CSRF because I was frustrated by the lack of activity in PCS.	AC190
				The PCS leadership seems to have stopped activity to work on a merger with UNITE.	AC52
				Ultimately the leadership have to present themselves as reasonable for negotiations.	AC169
				Conference is egotistical, run like a political party but we're supposed to be about equality not top tables and important speakers.	AC71
		FTOs are a problem	CatA4B	Some FTOs are paid far too much.	AC72
				FTOs don't suffer the hardships of the membership.	AC73
				People shouldn't be working for unions to get rich, which is the case at present.	AC74
				Having no union employees would be great.	AC75
		Trade unionism should be about staying connected to the members	CatA4C	Activists should spend a substantial amount of time doing the job of ordinary workers.	AC86
				It's hard for the rank and file to defend the union when it's inactive over issues.	AC38
				Members are not engaged - they don't vote or take an interest so the bureaucratic rank and file can effectively do what it likes.	AC95
		Bureaucratised reps are effectively working against the members	CatA4D	The group structure is undemocratic and open to abuse. It's about cosy meetings with management and undermining the members.	AC93
				There is a disconnect between what we campaign about on the ground and national communications. It can bewilder members.	AC154
				Bureaucracy begins when activists at any level look at the union as an entity. They stop being focused on the membership issues.	AC27
				Senior lay officials who become bureaucratised are good for the employer.	AC94
		Left Unity is just an electoral machine	CatA4E	LU people get busy at election time - suddenly a lot of branch briefings appear.	AC146
				LU is about getting people elected to committees.	AC205
				The PCS structure is an elected hierarchy with some activists ultimately reaching full time paid official status and a good pay rise.	AC170
				Left Unity were never a rank and file movement. They were always just interested in power.	AC184
		It's hard to build a genuine rank and file movement in such an environment	CatA4F	People are fearful of taking any action without union leadership support.	AC201
				PCS leaders and bureaucrats are afraid of what might happen if the mass membership become active in the union.	AC212
				Getting elected is an aim for many PCS activists - People drifted away from the CSRF because they weren't standing candidates.	AC216
				Bureaucratisation is not inevitable. It's about approach.	AC28
				The rank and file is not holding the union leadership to account at ADC	AC34
				We want to build Your Voice across PCS but it will be harder if we merge with UNITE.	AC81
				We don't need another electoral faction - we need a group engaging with the rank and file and seeking to change the union via conference.	AC217
				We're standing candidates to show that there is an alternative to the status quo.	AC41

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CSRF views on being stifled by the leadership	ThA5	PCS fears the rank and file	CatA5A	PCS paid us a lot of attention when we first started. They couldn't avoid us.	AC14
				The PCS leadership come across as fearful.	AC64
				Officials are scared of rank and file taking control of their own affairs.	AC32
				Scare tactics were used to put people off getting involved with the CSRF and they worked.	AC200
		We didn't consider senior PCS activists to be rank and file	CatA5B	We banned the PCS President from attending our conference. We don't consider the President to be rank and file.	AC15
				PCS nationally blocks militant action in favour of token action.	AC31
				The leadership of unions has a separate interest from the rest of the movement as they aim to carry on ruling.	AC12
		PCS moved against members of the CSRF and the network as a whole	CatA5C	Because of negative publicity PCS officials tried to deter people from getting involved with the CSRF.	AC3
				I was dismissed for reporting back information on redundancies to my branch - a decision the committee took democratically to ensure members knew what was going on. The union hasn't backed me up.	AC219
				The union bureaucracy used the employer's information to shut down any support for reversing my dismissal.	AC220

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Rank and file attitudes to attacks on facility time	ThA6	Reductions in facility time should be opposed	CatA6A	There is a risk we will end up with more paid officials doing activist work.	AC90
				There is a risk we will end up with more paid officials doing activist work.	AC90
				The facility time reductions are a political attack on trade unionism and should be challenged robustly.	AC87
		The facility time attacks could be good for the rank and file	CatA6B	They [NEC members] might get a little more rank and file with less facility time but they're still a part of the system.	AC168
				Reductions in facility time should bring full time elected lay officials closer to the membership	AC110
				The facility time attacks might get people to organise more effectively.	AC88
		Some people currently have far too much facility time instead of working	CatA6C	Bureaucratic rank and filers will still be getting plenty of time off. They won't call it 100% but we won't see them suddenly doing a workload.	AC89
				People get a set amount of time by virtue of their title, regardless of what they do.	AC92
				The amount of facility time you get shouldn't alter your approach to trade unionism.	AC17
				Apart from chairing group conference what is the point of the President? It's a position that gets massive amounts of facility time but it isn't clear what they do.	AC91
				Having less than 100% facility time means doing union activity in your own time.	AC16
				The amount of facility time doesn't alter whether you are a rank and file activist or not. That would place it in the hands of the bosses.	AC165

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Who the rank and file are and what they want	ThA7	The rank and file are wary of being controlled and dominated from above.	CatA7A	I'm a rank and file activist - that's what I want to be.	AC18
				I'm not just rank and file I'm like many of the members I represent.	AC51
				There are no rank and file activists on the NEC	AC109
				The national President was barred from the CSRF conference and rightly because of he position.	AC131
				Barring the president from the CSRF conference might not have been a great tactic but it was a principled decision.	AC132
				Rank and file activists stay at branch level.	AC164
				The President maintained that she was a rank and file civil servant but she isn't a rank and file union activist.	AC166
				When the CSRF started we didn't want it to become dominated by the leadership via the Socialist Party.	AC160
				Branch Officers have a lot of power and show leadership.	AC103
				Rank and file activists can still be involved with the grassroots but the structure means they negotiate more with the employer.	AC106
				Above branch level people drift away from understanding workplace issues.	AC26
		Factions are vying for votes instead of doing what members want	CatA7B	Left unity isn't the rank and file, socialist group it used to be. It's just about getting elected rather than serving the members.	AC42
				Members are just crying out for reps to do something for them. They don't care about factions.	AC43
		We want a vibrant rank and file pushing for something better than the current situation	CatA7C	People don't know who Your Voice are at the moment.	AC44
				CSRF members are at the forefront of Your Voice activity.	AC53
				PCS has a vibrant rank and file but it's patchy.	AC158
				PCS does not have an effective rank and file but some of us are working on that.	AC159
				If you have people who just think a left wing leadership is the thing to aim for you end up with the kind of union we've got. We want something better.	AC163
				Your voice is a move back to the grass roots with more opportunity to debate and speak up - LU is very restrictive.	AC204
				Your Voice is a mix of ex-LU people and others fed up with how the faction has moved away from the left.	AC203
				We operate a rank and file democratic branch. We could live without the national union and organise ourselves on issues.	AC96
				Because of us barring the President from the CSRF conference we may have lost it some activists.	AC161

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
The CSRF and Your Voice approach to taking action	ThA8	Taking democratic activity with or without the official union	CatA8A	Everything that happens needs to be understood and endorsed by the membership at branch level.	AC19
				I started the Coventry walkout when Francis Maude visited. I didn't want the official union involved.	AC125
				The Coventry walkout allowed us to talk to people in other unions and not get bogged down in PCS procedure.	AC126
				Communications blockades are separate from official PCS action but they disrupt the employer.	AC176
				The rank and file should be able to take action with or without the official union.	AC151
				I contacted PCS the night before the Coventry walkout just so they would be ready with a press release.	AC127
		Coventry was positive for the rank and file - bad news for the employer and the union leadership	CatA8B	The Coventry walkout showed us how effective action can be when everyone is already present in the workplace.	AC128
				The Coventry walkout was just us as workers. Some PCS, some other union, some no union.	AC129
				The Coventry walkout sent a message to the employer but also to the union.	AC130
				There wasn't just 1 Coventry walk out. We did a further 4!	AC141
		The rank and file went dormant - CSRF may have gone but now we have Your Voice	CatA8C	The CSRF fizzled out at the same time the whole movement went through a massive lull.	AC142
				The CSRF fizzled out after a while but it was useful in getting some people in touch with each other.	AC140
				The CSRF might have continued had we not suffered casualties - we lost some activists due to job cuts.	AC215
				The CSRF didn't die, it went dormant and now it's springing up again in the HMRC group.	AC143
				YV started to emerge when Left Unity started supporting and promoting people who we didn't consider socialists.	AC144
				We decided to stand candidates in HMRC under the YV banner.	AC148
				Your Voice (like CSRF) is about rank and file power and taking it away from the bureaucracy.	AC149
				Some claim that the CSRF was so small it was the work of one person on the whole	AC189
				YV exists to influence and push those with power to do what the rank and file want.	AC150
				We want to field candidates for election and get our message out.	AC54
				YV is diverse with women at the forefront but little thought has been taken on equality within the structure.	AC152

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CSRF campaigned for a boycott of benefit sanction but the leadership didn't support it	ThA9	Everyone in PCS should have supported a developing policy on boycotting sanctions	CatA9A	An injury to one is an injury to all and we should have supported benefit claimants and had the argument with DWP members.	AC211
				CSRF played a part in supporting benefit claimants over sanctions. The union refused to help.	AC138
		PCS leadership prevented action on benefit sanctions	CatA9B	Over benefit sanctions the union did all it could to make it impossible to support a boycott of sanctions.	AC139
				The CSRF took up the issue of benefit sanctions seriously but the union batted it down	AC208
				It would have been great to have had the leadership with us on benefit sanctions.	AC209
				Saying people might lose their jobs in a boycott of benefit sanction is one thing but not promoting the idea of solidarity with benefit claimants to shift the workers from that fear is another.	AC210

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
		Equality in the CSRF		Margi took the minutes at the CSRF conf. She was the only woman there. I didn't feel bad about it at the time as she was just starting to get involved and maybe didn't want to contribute from the floor.	AC153
				Equality gets lost in our structures.	AC177
				You can see inequality being replicated all the time - including within the CSRF.	AC178
				At the first CSRF conference the only female in attendance ended up taking the minutes. The men just didn't volunteer to do it.	AC179
				I was the only woman at the CSRF conference and ended up taking the minutes. I thought 'Oh dear'.	AC194
				Taking the minutes at the CSRF conf gave me the opportunity to listen to everyone which was helpful for me.	AC195
				I don't want to read too much into people not wanting to take the minutes - maybe they just didn't fancy it.	AC199

Appendix 3 – CORE Cohort Themes

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
First they dismiss then they ridicule, then they take seriously.	ThB1	First they dismiss the rank and file.	CatB1a	The union leadership dismissed us at first.	BC3
				The old leadership dismissed us as not having the solutions.	BC47
				The old leadership dismissed us as not understanding labour relations.	BC48
				We were dismissed as inexperienced and unrealistic.	BC6
		They only take rank and file seriously when they feel threatened.	CatB1B	The old leadership felt threatened so they vilified us.	BC49
				They took us seriously when they felt threatened electorally.	BC4

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CORE and social movements	ThB2	Community partnership is an important part of what we do.	CatB2A	We started as a community organisation.	BC5
				We worked with community groups and organised events.	BC36
				Trade unions have to be social movements these days in order to succeed.	BC38
				We put community and partnerships at the forefront of our campaigning.	BC55
				An essential part of CORE is reaching out to the community and making links. We have associate members.	BC65
				Rank and file activism is about providing justice for workers and their communities.	BC95
				Social movement unionism is about having a productive relationship with our community. It means educating them on what matters and why it's important.	BC34
				Organising the test boycott was about getting the whole school involved, the community and the parents and kids.	BC29
		We've taught our community about our struggle	CatB2B	Successful campaigning is about education which is what we do!	BC30
				Trade union activism is contagious - it can spread to community groups.	BC96
				We've managed to convince the community that we are a part of their lives and a vital part.	BC67
		Communities have ended up helping CORE but it's been hard work	CatB2C	Community groups organise support for us during campaigns.	BC37
				We worked for 2 years before fighting any elections - building up support for a different kind of union.	BC46

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CORE and equality	ThB3	Equality issues do not appear to be being formally addressed in CORE	CatB3A	There's no structural mechanism to promote equality.	BC22
				Equality seems to happen as a matter of goodwill.	BC23
		CORE members have a clear grasp of equality issues and people try to ensure that the union is broadly representative of the workforce	CatB3B	We have a diverse membership and we try to get a diverse leadership.	BC76
				Our campaigns sometimes focus on inequality issues directly so they're relevant to different groups.	BC77
				It's also important for our diverse leaders to be visible and interacting with members.	BC78
				We have equality caucuses and most people involved are also CORE members.	BC79

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CORE on challenging the old leadership	ThB4	The CTU before CORE wasn't opposing the attacks.	CatB4A	The rank and file had to take over the union to stop privatisation.	BC1
				CORE was started because the union wasn't opposing the attacks we faced.	BC39
		The old CTU leadership were not democratic.	CatB4B	The CTU leadership were distanced from the rank and file and inept.	BC40
				The CTU leadership did deals behind closed doors.	BC41
				The CTU leadership were bureaucratic.	BC43
		The old CTU leadership were working against the members	CatB4C	The old leadership had a cosy relationship with the mayor.	BC44
				The CTU leadership didn't think we could win more.	BC42
				The old union used undercover cops at meetings to remove people.	BC62
				Policy seeks to separate educators from their community.	BC66
				In meetings in the old union if people spoke up they would have the microphone taken from them.	BC61
				The old leadership played dirty tricks in an attempt to cling to power.	BC45
		CORE encourages people to stand up and get their voices heard as opposed to the old union	CatB4D	It's not easy - people need to be encouraged to speak up about issues.	BC20
				CORE has given me a voice and a lot of knowledge. Voices aren't stifled anymore.	BC60
				In meetings in the old union if people spoke up they would have the microphone taken from them.	BC61
				The old union used undercover cops at meetings to remove people.	BC62

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
CORE democracy and warding against bureaucratisation	ThB5	We've improved the CTU's democratic functions including introducing elements of direct democracy	CatB5A	CORE has a democratic structure, including some direct democracy features.	BC7
				Democracy is about participating.	BC8
				Some of us were involved in Occupy so direct democracy has been part of our culture.	BC24
				Direct democracy should be utilised where possible within the union.	BC25
				We brought transparency, democracy and rank and file participation to the union	BC54
				The union is now more unified and democratic.	BC53
				Democracy is messy - it's hard to hear everyone's voice. But it's a good messy.	BC63
		Union democracy is about keeping members informed and then doing what they request.	CatB5B	CORE leaders embrace debate and discussion. We encourage it.	BC10
				When the core leadership signed a deal we didn't like without consulting us we made them change it back.	BC12
				Our steering committee reports back issues from schools. The committee gets out there.	BC56
				We keep members informed about issue by regularly monthly meeting and newsletters.	BC57
				Our current leaders are great at sharing the information we need to make decisions.	BC71
		Warding against creeping bureaucratisation	CatB5C	People will lose their connection with the classroom if they remain in the union office for too long. It's important to make sure it's a temporary arrangement.	BC15
				The union will need to become less centralised as we develop.	BC58
				Democracy will be enhanced when we broaden participation.	BC64
				We should have hybrid roles where people still do classroom work to avoid bureaucratisation.	BC75
				We have a constant rotation of leaders from the grassroots to ward against bureaucratisation.	BC73
				People become bureaucratic when they're isolated from the membership.	BC87
				Devolving power regionally within the union might be desirable - giving people more say in their area.	BC85
				The role of rank and file movements is to give the majority control over their destinies.	BC94
		Even though CORE is in power it still has a rank and file ethos	CatB5D	To avoid bureaucratisation we keep the core ethos whilst in office.	BC11
				Our FTOs aren't bureaucrats - they take a teacher salary.	BC19
				We try to make CORE leadership positions as diverse as the membership	BC21
				Our current leaders are not bureaucrats.	BC70

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
Militancy is experiential	ThB6	The CTU is a militant union under CORE - we are prepared to fight and push the envelope	CatB6A	Militancy is pushing the envelope and seeing what can be achieved.	BC28
				We need to keep pushing the envelope and carry on being militant.	BC33
				Militant is about being willing to fight.	BC89
				The militant questions everything.	BC90
				Whether we're militant or not we've become a visible union through our actions.	BC92
				Under CORE the CTU has become a militant union.	BC93
		I'm militant - CORE has helped me to develop that	CatB6B	I'm a militant. I push the envelope.	BC31
				We should look at having wildcat strikes.	BC32
				CORE taught me how to be a militant. It taught me not to be afraid to stand up and do things.	BC91

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
The relationship between CTU and CORE	ThB7	CORE is showing signs of bureaucratisation	CatB7A	CORE members who work for the union currently sit on the steering committee.	BC13
				Nearly all CTU staff are CORE members.	BC14
				CORE provides a career path towards the union office.	BC16
				Military decisions still need to be made quickly which can't be delayed by the democratic process.	BC59
				I sometimes feel like a bureaucrat as I'm away from the classroom now.	BC72
				People who step up and become leaders have to become experts in the way the union bargains. There's a lot of technical and expertise knowledge to learn.	BC74
				Shared decision making is great but sometimes you need to act quickly. You need leaders who can do that.	BC83
				Bureaucratic functions are necessary so it's irrational to object to them totally.	BC86
		The lines between CTU and CORE are blurred	CatB7B	The lines between the CTU and CORE are blurred - we won the union so people think we are the union.	BC80
				There's a symbiotic relationship between CORE and the CTU.	BC81
				We wear different hats: CTU, CORE, worker etc. Sometimes we're all of those things and sometimes just 1.	BC82

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
		We grew because we showed people that we could challenge the attacks we were facing.	CatBX1	CORE became prominent when it started to challenge the union tops.	BC2
				I joined CORE because they had an alternative to school closures.	BC50
				When we won it was because of our visibility in campaigning.	BC52

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
		CORE has built members up to become great leaders. They in turn encourage new leaders to step forward.	CatBX2	CORE produces transformational leaders.	BC9
				Core is good at finding potential leaders and building them up.	BC27
				We have a constant rotation of leaders from the grassroots to ward against bureaucratisation.	BC73
				Our leaders have stepped up from the rank and file.	BC69

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
		The rank and file are educators and activists in the workplace	CatBX3	The rank and file are those in the workplace experiencing workplace issues.	BC17
				Those working in the head office are not rank and file.	BC18
				The rank and file are the activists who put in the work.	BC68

Theme	No	Category	No	Code	No
				The softball game was just for fun.	BC35
				When we won it was because of our visibility in campaigning.	BC52
				More horizontal structures are desirable but a lack of structure isn't. Structure can help people focus.	BC84
				Senior people can still be rank and file - it's about character and how they engage with members.	BC88
				Leaders should only be guides. Their power should be limited.	BC26