

Dinosaurs in Cyberspace? British Trade Unions and the Internet¹

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Introduction

The growth of Internet and other information communication technologies (ICTs) has led to a new spin on the continuing debates about the role and health of traditional representative organisations such as trade unions. As membership of mass trade union organisations has fallen and their political influence waned, they have often been seen as being in inexorable decline, particularly in terms of their representative function also and as a linkage mechanism between state and citizen. This decline is all the more worrying in an increasingly less secure industrial society, as unions do have a beneficial effect on wages, safety in the workplace and working conditions. The advent of the Internet has seen a variety of contrary claims about their adoption by trade unions. Some have argued that increasing use of ICTs will further undermine the role of traditional representative organisations, including TUs, in favour of more issue oriented groups, protest networks and/or individualised forms of participation. Alternatively, there has been interest in the notion of e-unions, virtual unions or cyber unions, where ICTs are harnessed to reinvigorate and modernise union practices. Recent initiatives by the TUC to develop Internet based service to attract new younger members demonstrate that some in the union movement are alert to the possibilities. Still further, radicals have argued that the use of ICTs has the potential to decentralise and democratise power within traditional hierarchical union structures, allowing for increased participation by members and more accountability of union leaders.

This paper seeks to examine some of these scenarios by examining: firstly, broadly how British trade unions are using the Internet and more specifically whether unions are promoting participation and mobilisation via ICTs and whether any patterns of usage emerge within the union movement. To do so, the study draws on content analysis of trade union websites, a union ICTs questionnaire survey, and elite interview data

I. British Trade Unions – Organisational Decline and Organisational Change

Changing trade unions

A consensus has emerged that British TUs follow both short-and long-term trends of decline. Discussion and research in the last few years has focused on the causes of such decline (Metcalf 1991 and 2001; Crouch 2000), and, notably, on the need for the trade union movement to change and evolve, or face political irrelevance (TUC, 2001). Five interrelated trends have discernibly affected the role of the Unions, and help explain the recent re-orientation of their standard operating procedures. The first is legislative change, both during the Conservative period and recently, with the introduction of American style regulation on recognition. While the effects of the former, and its rhetoric² have depressed the negotiating efficacy of the Unions, the latter has not produced as yet measurable effects. Second the long-term macroeconomic outlook, which marks a shift from core industrialism to a service oriented economy: economic activities now imply a less cohesive workplace, and a more individualised labour force, oriented towards consumption; related to that are changing trends in employment – part-time, temporary and agency – due to a changing market of labour and industrial re-organisation. Fourth, changing dynamics of TUs-employer relations in the workplace towards human resource management, direct communications and workers *voice*, which leave less space for TU mediation and mediators. Finally, the extant political scene, namely the rise to power of the Labour Party since 1997, and the realignment of the Unions after the first and second landslide (Metcalf 1991; Boxall & Haynes 1997; Crouch 2000; Metcalf 2001).

The consequences are evident. If we look at membership and organisational statistics, the situation is considerably different from the heights of the 1970s. The figures tell a tale of declining membership – in terms of overall membership and member density – declining recognition, and declining industrial action – labour disputes and working days lost – over the last quarter-century (Table 1, Figures 1 & 2). The most prominent indicator of change is a much-reduced membership in traditional union core sectors – manufacturing industry and public service. Official figures report falling membership rates especially amongst male and full-time workers, employed in traditional (non-services), manual work, and in large firms (Sneade 2001, p. 436). Table 1 represents the overall decline of both the number of TUs and the total number of members in the last twenty-five years. While membership has fluctuated

² For instance, the Thatcherite slogan depicting Unions as “the enemy within”.

around the eight-million plateau³ for the last six years, the number of Trade Unions has decreased by some forty.

[Table 1 about here]

This trend is reflected in declining patterns of recognition – down 22% over the last 18 years, and representativeness, defined as the proportion of workers covered by collective bargaining – down 30% in the last 15 years. The trend is especially pronounced in private sector manufacturing and services and, more worryingly for the unions, in newly established businesses (Table 2).

[Table 2 about here]

Industrial action has also reached its lowest point of since records began. Figure 2 shows the declining trend in lost working days since the 1960s. UK levels of industrial action are well below the EU average, which is even more striking given the poor record on the worker protection index in the UK. Recent research on applications to industrial tribunals helps undermine the notion of a less conflictual workplace and improved industrial relations. Where unions are weaker in the workplace, judicial action is proportionately more frequent, and increasingly so in the last eight years (Burgess et al, 2001, p. 57 ff.). Finally, Figure 3 details the amount of working days lost, number of stoppages and workers involved over the last six years.

[Figure 2 & 3 about here]

Thus defined, the situation of TUs in Britain is far from rosy. The similarity of the data points in the period 1995-2000, across a range of different indicators – in fact the plateau trend highlighted above – suggests the importance of structural, long-term factors at work, leading to a medium-term equilibrium, rather than a dramatic change in either direction. Signs of a recovery have appeared in the last two years, both in terms of recruitment and recognition, though recent changes seem just to extend the plateau further, rather than reverse the trends. The literature reviewed here suggests that the response to structural change needs to be articulated over three complementary strategic dimensions, in order to be effective, and for Unions to respond to the challenges of 21st century:

- Response to legislative change: the importance of large scale recognition and external organising;
- Response to structural changes in the workforce: internal organising. Recruitment of new categories of workers, e.g. students and those early in their careers. Increased attention also to part-time members;
- Responding to the changing political environment: i.e. more functional and productive relations with the Labour Party and the wider general public.

Yet in reality, TU have so far fallen short in such areas. British TUs have been only partially successful in penetrating private sector service employment, which is the fastest growing sector in employment terms. This is due to dynamics intrinsic in workplace labour relations and an increasing resistance of management (Wills, 2001, esp. pp. 26-31). Over time, the *voice* of employees is growing increasingly direct, rather than representative, as industrial relations by-passes intermediate institutions and, instead, management and employees communicate directly and often individually with one another (Freeman, 2001). This tendency builds on the finding of Machin, reported in Table 2, about the difference between new and old workplaces. Charlwood aptly notes that “continuing unionised workplaces have added-on complementary direct communication while nearly all-new workplaces opt for direct methods without recognising unions” (2001, pp. 3-4 and Table 5 for relative data). Relations with the Labour government have grown more problematic as the state and future of public services, including education, health and transport has entered the agenda. Signs of dissatisfaction at how the unions are regarded begin to emerge, commonly referred to in the media as the ‘awkward squad’⁴. Finally, the lack of offer of unionisation, rather than a decreasing demand, has

³ Membership data from the Certification Officer include workers abroad and retired workers. Yet, they are the only available source of long-term data on membership – since 1898. For a discussion of their utility and limitations, and a comparison with more refined statistics from the *Labour Force Survey* see Hicks (2000) and Sneade (2001).

⁴ This is not only due to the struggle for resource in the upcoming budget. Specifically, tension grows around recent changes at the head of TUC and increasingly conflictual relations between the cabinet and public sector TUs. A small group of left-wing Union leaders is commonly been referred to in the press as the ‘awkward

characterised the last few years. Despite the increase in membership in the last two years, much more could have been and be done in terms of recruitment, especially amongst younger workers, as the demand for unionisation exceeds the existing demand (Bryson et al. 2002).

Recently, the organisational response of the Unions – and the *offer* of unionisation in a wider sense – appears to be articulated in two different courses of action. On the one hand, the reversion to militancy – workplace and community organising, on the other the adaptation to growing individualism by offering services to members, regarded as customers. The two are not mutually exclusive. The MSF, for instance, promised ‘to transform itself from an organisation that had pioneered the conservative ‘servicing model’ to one in the forefront of promoting a radical alternative’ (Carter, 2000, p. 117). Large, heterogeneous Unions face a dilemma, as the two methods yield different results for white and blue-collar workers. While blue-collar workers are more responsive to a democratic, localised union, white-collar workers seem more responsive to service based unionism. A dilemma thus arises: “Should they seek to apply the principles and practices of blue-collar unionism to white-collar workers, or should they attempt to develop new products and services designed to appeal to the growing white-collar workforce?”(Charlwood, 2001).

Whatever course of action individual TUs take, the general aim is to re-assert the eroded representative voice, countering an escalating trend of direct contact and bargaining between employers and individual employee. Either through militancy or enhanced services, TUs need to appear as a convenient *transaction point* between the concerned parties⁵. To restore its mediatory role, a third strategy seems to be available to some unions - that of *professionalisation*. This is especially true of the TUC, which is uniquely suited to co-ordinate the new mediatory role of the Unions⁶. The professionalisation route emphasises sophisticated mediation skills – a proficient use of media and, at all times, an easier, less politicised contact with the employers, along the lines of workplace safety, training and mutually beneficial HRM. Whatever the direction of change, it is noted, the deployment of TU strategies require careful planning of internal reorganisation, as an effective response cannot be improvised, superimposed or emerge solely from a situation of crisis (Carter, 2000). In the long term, Heery and Kelly noted some time ago (1994), it seems that the organisational response to change can be resolved in three main directions: professional, managerial or participative unionism⁷.

II. Trade Unions, Organisational Change and the Potential of ICTs

Within this wider context of union organisational and strategy evolution, the emergence of the internet has heightened debate about the nature of the change and the possible role of new ICTs within and across union structures. Three broad scenarios have been developed, none of which are mutually exclusive.

Erosion

From the early 1990s the growth of ICTs has led to claims of the likely demise of representative organisations such as unions. Grossman (1995), amongst others has argued ‘that the big losers... [in the Internet era], are the traditional institutions that have served as the main intermediaries between government and its citizens – the political parties, labor unions, civic associations...’. This notion of erosion is related more generally to ideas of populist direct forms of democracy stimulated by new communication possibilities brought about by Internet in particular. Radically, erosion was based on

squad’ (see for instance the special section devoted to the Guardian online to the issue at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/union/>).

⁵ The role of the TUC has been noted as pivotal in promoting a new organising paradigm (Carter 2000, Wills 2001). Along with the Organising Academy, the TUC aims at the professionalisation of the workforce, at co-operating with TUs and employers on specific areas of expertise, i.e. health and safety in the workplace and lifelong training of employees.

⁶ Interview with TUC communication official, 14 November 2001.

⁷ Currently, two major research programmes are investigating the changing perspective of British TUs and labour market. One is based at the London School of Economics CEP – *Future of the Unions* 2000-2005 (<http://cep.lse.ac.uk>). The other is an ESRC Programme – *The future of work* 2000-2003 (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/esrcfutureofwork/>).

the idea that eventually all representative organisations could wither away, as citizens increasingly engage directly and individually in governing themselves via e-voting, e-referenda and e-discussion fora. This line of thinking was particularly prevalent in some of the early speculative accounts of the possible role of the Internet in politics and society. Needless to say, the specifics of this kind of direct democracy without intermediary organisations are hazy. Whilst the notion of full-scale erosion seems fanciful and unlikely, it is not difficult to envisage some limited erosion of the traditional functions of representative organisations as consequence of the increasing prevalence of ICTs. In the specific case of trade unions, three areas can be highlighted: Firstly, the growth of e-commerce and the new media sector has already begun to alter the labour market weakening the traditional areas from which unions have recruited their membership. Secondly, moreover, some have argued the growth of the new economy, and increased use of new ICTs, will result in a more individualistic, consumption-oriented culture and in doing so, undermine the collective organisational strength of unions by allowing workers to negotiate individually with management⁸. Finally, trade union's traditional hierarchical structure and often conservative culture has led to suggestions they are less well placed to take advantage of the technology than new social movement organisations or ad hoc protest networks (Bimber, 1998). Thus, the introduction of ICTs does not only place Unions at a disadvantage vis-à-vis competing political groups; if not countered, the reorganisation of work around ICTs and its effects on society do undermine the tradition 'sword of justice' effect exercised by TU. Certainly, there is a widespread perception that unions have been slow to grasp the opportunities of ICTs (Hogan and Grieco, 1999: 2). Eric Lee has commented 'It's going to be a long way and we are not at the very beginning. We're at a basic learning stage. British unions are not heading anywhere. They're not even in motion'. Even optimistic advocates within the UK union movement have warned of the dangers of the failure to adapt:

the final reason why the e-union will happen is that, if it does not, then unions face extinction. In some countries as diverse as France, the United States, and Hong Kong, trade union membership is already down to 10-15%. Unless we use ICT to modernise and unless we recruit in the new companies and industries created by these technologies we will have no right to e-exist (Darlington, 2001).

Modernisation

The modernisation approach involves trade unions harnessing some of the opportunities provided by new communications technology to update their traditional functions, produce efficiency gains and market themselves to potential members and to the general public. More specifically, new ICTs can be used to modernise union practices in a number of ways:

- In administrative terms, websites have the capacity to be used as information storehouses containing organisational, personnel, policy documents and regular news releases. This can bring efficiency gains through reducing the pressures on union staff time to respond to telephone or postal queries.
- It is not simply administrative gains, but also online service provision which is seen as part of broader modernisation package (Diamond and Freeman, 2001). Debates about the unions as service providers are not new, in the late 1980s and early 1990s modernisation period there was considerable discussion of unions providing an AA service model for workers. The online service model has a slightly different emphasis. It is not only commercial services, but increasingly also professional assistance and training online that unions are looking to provide. It is designed to deal with more individualistic culture, which faces unions by developing the notion that they are positively concerned to see that members progress individually in their careers, as well as defensively protecting of collective rights. One trade union leader has called for the vigorous adoption of online services model which could do away with the need for subscriptions: the union could provide online financial services from which it gains a cut.⁹ The TUC has recently launched in conjunction with the NUS a web based service for graduates with career advice,

⁸ For further discussion see Chris Davis 'Unions get connect', *The Industry Standard*, November 23, 2000.

⁹ Rory Murphy, Co-general Secretary UNIFI, leading finance union, reported in 'from dinosaur to a dotcom?' *Computer Weekly*, 24 May, 2001.

financial packages and housing guides (TUC, 2001). Unison and UCATT have both extensively used online training and education packages particularly for trade union reps which not only develops their individual skills but also provides a useful communication forum for isolated workers¹⁰.

- In third place,, new ICTs can be used for the targeting and recruitment members. For those with access to the technology, it is argued that ICTs lower the costs of joining organisations (Bonchek, 1995). One can volunteer or join a union from the comfort of your own home at the click of button. Organisations such as unions parties and pressure groups have also recognised the potential of the Internet to reach particular sectors of the population by sending personalised email messages, using cookies to tailor web pages for individual. Much emphasis has been placed on the ability of the net to reach the younger voters, the so called e-generation, who have grown up with technology but are traditionally much less likely to join traditional organisations like trade unions.
- Finally, as the unions themselves would admit, they have an image problem with certain sectors of the population. They have tended to be seen as somewhat old fashioned, male dominated, confrontational and as are seen as part of the past by many in the young people (TUC, 2001). Use of ICTs could help overcome some of these negative stereotypes and provide a more positive modern image for the union movement.

Democratisation


Some commentators and particularly radical activists have noted the potential of ICTs to move further than using them for modernisation, online services, or even recruitment. From a largely bottom up perspective, they point towards the potential of ICTs to mobilise union members, foster more extensive national and international campaigning and democratise and decentralise union structures thus eroding Michels iron law of oligarchy (Diamond and Freeman, 2001; Greene *et al*, 2000, 2001; Lee, 1997, 2000; Hogan and Grieco, 1999). Such views are based on the idea that the establishment of websites, internal computer mediated communication systems, such as intranets and online discussion facilities, enhances individual members' abilities to inform the leadership's decisions and hold leaders accountable. The greater volume and speed of information flow offered via computer mediated communication combined with its interactivity and decentralisation into people's homes means members can have more frequent and direct access to union elites to communicate their opinions on policy matters, and organisational structure. Such developments could also provide members with more and timely information on what their leaders are doing, and thus promote the accountability and transparency of elite level decision-making. Furthermore, some have argued that just as it lowers the costs to join organisations, it also enables non-traditional participants to participate. Electronic meetings and discussion may allow inputs from those who find it difficult to attend traditional union meetings and conferences such as those who have childcare responsibilities.

Already, UNIFI have examined the possibility of creating virtual branches with online meetings as a means of revitalising participation in branches where there are low levels of activity.¹¹ It has also been claimed that the AUT e-discussion list for fixed-term contract staff has helped draw in members who were previously isolated and created a presence for a group that arguably had felt ignored within the union. Thus ICTs can erode spatial and time barriers and so allow previously disparate individuals to locate others with similar problems or interests and to network more efficiently and quickly.

It is not simply on an individual basis that ICTs could facilitate organisational change and increased activism, but the independent adoption of the new media in its external or more public face (i.e. the WWW) by branches, internal union groups or activist networks allows them to communicate their views to a local, national, and global audience more frequently and effectively to a far greater audience than previously (Lee, 1997; Hodkinson, 2003). The current lack of central control over the Internet means that central elites would find it difficult to prevent the widespread dissemination of internal union views if they chose to publish them in this manner. Such developments mean that grass-roots members, as a collective unit, have the opportunity to voice their own views and possibly dissent

¹⁰ See 'Unions make net gains in learning and links', *Labour Research*, September 2001, pp.14-16.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.15.

from official union line in a more assertive way. Further, use of the WWW by these groups allows them much greater scope to communicate outward and downward, i.e. to link up with one another or recruit support/members and to build campaign networks much more quickly than in the past. 

III. Research Questions & Methodology

Research Questions

This paper aims to respond to three sets of questions, which emerge from the discussion of change and possible ICT scenarios highlighted above. The first are introductory and descriptive of the nature of TUs' online presence; the second are more specific and hypothesis testing, as to the change of TUs via ICT, while the third are aimed at discovering patterns of TUs online behaviour, if any exists.

<i>First set</i>	To what extent do British TUs embrace ICTs? What are the main functions of TUs online presence? What are the stated aims of their online presence?
<i>Second set</i>	What scenario of online change does this presence support best, <i>modernisation</i> , <i>democratisation</i> ¹² or <i>erosion</i> ? Connected with that, what course of change does this presence support best: <i>servicing</i> , <i>participative</i> or <i>mediatic</i> ?
<i>Third set</i>	What TUs are embracing what models of ICT change? What are the differences between purported and actual functions fulfilled by TUs web presence? How structural is TUs change via ICT?

Methods

In order to examine the questions outlined above three basic methods were employed:

- Organisational questionnaire survey sent to 50 TUC affiliated trade unions.¹³ 23 unions replied giving a respectable response rate of around 48%. The survey was initially sent via email and a reminder by post.¹⁴ In the main the questionnaires were completed by communication directors/officers or in the case of some smaller unions senior officials such as the general secretary. The survey sought to gather some broad information on the unions website strategy and use of ICTs. The questionnaire material sought to gather some basic data on the importance of Internet and function and website audience. In particular it focused on the website set-up dates, the functions, the benefits/problems ICT communications and the audience for their websites
- Web site content analysis of 46 TUC affiliated trade union websites. This provided a counterpoint to the questionnaire material by comparing what unions claimed they were doing with what they were actually doing online. We adapted a coding scheme (Gibson and Ward, 2000b) which concentrated on four particular sets of measures based on potential websites functions (see Appendix B): (a) information provision – how far the sites were used as vehicle for providing information to visitors and also different types of information. For example, whether the site provided news, organisational information, policy documents and conference information; (b) participation and campaigning – how far the site allowed online recruitment, encouraged member participation and campaigning e.g. did it allow for online joining, were there bulletin boards or chat rooms for discussion, was it possible to download campaign material; (c) Service provision – how far the site was used to promote trade union training and commercial and educational

¹² It will be noted in the discussion that the available data does not allow for a full exploration of the *democratisation* model, as the empirical evidence presented here does not account for members' perspective. This paper reports the first results of a larger ongoing project on the Internet and British political organisation (<http://www.ipop.org.uk>). Survey data on the use of ICTs by various unions' members is currently being collected.

¹³ TUC affiliated unions were selected since they account for the vast majority of union members in the UK. Sites were located using TUC site and then followed up with a Google search and links from trade unions sites such as <http://www.laborstart.org>.

¹⁴ Interestingly, in the context of this survey, far more unions responded by post than they did by email.

services and whether it was possible to pursue training and purchase services online; (d) Networking – how far the site promoted other campaigns/activism through hypertext links to other sites and also how far it provided such links internally to other parts of the organisation such as regions, branches or internal groups.

- Semi-structured interview with official in seven trade unions. These were usually campaigns, communications or IT staff. The interviews followed-up in more depth some the issues explored in the questionnaire and the content analysis, examining particularly union ICT strategy and how far their union actively used ICTs to promote recruitment and participation.

IV. Results: British Trade Unions Online

Questionnaire Survey

The set up dates of websites appear to confirm the general impression of unions as slow adapters to the technology. The Internet in the UK entered the public domain around 1994/1995, but only around 22% (5) of our survey had launched a site by 1996. The bulk of the unions (50%) here did not set up a website until as late as 1999-2000. Whilst this can partly be explained by the fact that some are relatively new unions created from a recent spate of mergers within the movement, this is still a slower pattern of adaptation than for UK political parties or leading pressure groups/charities, the majority of whom had launched their sites by 1997 (Gibson and Ward, 2000a; Horwath publishing, 2001). The extension of websites to the subnational, regional and branch level is even patchier and slower. Despite one union official describing ‘ICTs as spreading like a virus through the organisations’, there seems scant evidence for this on wider level. Although three unions lacked a branch structure, half of the those replying reported that none of their branches were online, along with a further one where it was not known. In total amongst the 23 unions replying here, only 90 branches were reported as being online. 70 of these coming from two of the largest unions UNISON and the newly created PROSPECT. These are extremely small numbers given the thousands of unions branches in existence¹⁵. This could of course be an underestimate, since it appears that union HQs do not currently monitor extensively branch online activity. Only two unions (USDAW & AEEU) stated that they required branches to gain prior acceptance before moving online.

We also sought to assess the importance of ICTs (email & WWW) as a communication channel with union members. The respondents rated traditional direct mailing and face-to-face, (meetings/conferences etc.), as being the most important communication methods with mean scores of 3.30 and 3.14 respectively (maximum score of 4. See table 3). However, the WWW and email were the next most important methods of communication, rating very similarly having mean scores of 2.38 and 2.35. These easily outscored traditional broadcasting modes of communication such as, radio TV and newspapers. At one level, this is somewhat surprising given the relatively low audiences for websites (see below) and that currently it is still easier to reach far more members via broadcast methods. However, it maybe a reflection of the declining and hostile coverage of union affairs through the broadcast media. One of main, potential benefits of the web and email is that information can be targeted unmediated to members as with traditional direct mail. Hence, organisations are not reliant on the media to select stories or subject to editorial distortions. Nevertheless, despite growing importance of ICTs we found that only a minority of the unions (35%) had developed a comprehensive Internet strategy document.

[Table 3 about here]

The function of union sites all tended to follow a fairly clear standard pattern. Firstly, it was evident that union sites are aimed extensively at members, rather than a more general audience. Information to the general public, journalists and feedback from the general public whilst thought of as somewhat important, scored considerably lower as key functions of websites (see table 4). Secondly, the main functional aims of sites are information provision, recruitment, and increasing participation. Information provision to members was seen as the primary goal. All 23 unions scored this as 3 or 4 [as major or most important functions], with a mean score of 3.57. 15 unions gave recruitment a high score of 3 or 4, with an overall mean of 2.83 and the corresponding scores for increasing participation were 17 unions scoring 3 or 4 and a mean score of 2.74. Similarly, promoting

¹⁵ As many as 1400, in the case of UNISON.

feedback from members was also seen as quite important (2.30). Online service provision whilst scoring at similar mean level, met with a more mixed response, with just over half the unions seeing it as key importance but a significant minority 34% rating as considerably less important, scoring it only as 0 or 1. Administrative benefits, such as reducing costs and keeping pace with technological developments, were generally seen as only marginally significant. They were not rated as key functions of the websites. Finally, although there has been much interest from parties, pressure groups and charities in raising online funds in the UK and US, this was deemed by most unions to be unimportant. Fully 68% rated it as not at all important giving it a zero score.

[Table 4 about here]

The question of general function was followed with two more focused questions on recruitment and participation. Unions were asked to estimate how many new members, as a percentage, had been recruited via the website in the last year. Paradoxically, whilst unions saw recruitment as important function of the site, the numbers recruited were very small. Four said the figures were not known, but 56% of our sample reported either no new members, or less than 1% of total, had been recruited online (see table 5). In total five unions reported that no new members had joined via their sites. Indeed, in only one case, (TSSA), did the website account for more than 10% of recruitment total in the past year.

Whilst unions deemed increasing member participation to be an important function of their sites, the questionnaire also asked unions what they provided or planned by way of participative or interactive features. In part, this was to supplement our content analysis (see below), but also to check on closed areas of sites. The first noticeable feature is that for all the aspects listed in table 6, those planning to develop a particular element outweigh those that are currently available on the sites. In short, much of the interactive or participative potential of websites is still at a planning stage. Closed members areas and email bulletins are currently the most popular features and from this evidence are likely to be come almost universal on union sites. Forums where members can interact such as discussion lists, bulletin boards and chats rooms are less common, although again a considerable number of unions report that they are in the process of developing such features. Similarly, Intranet services, whilst currently only available in the case of seven of our study, are planned for expansion. However, Intranet services seem more likely to benefit union staff than ordinary members. Two-thirds either have, or are planning an Intranet service for staff, as opposed to just over one-third for members. Given the current interest in Internet or ICT voting as a means of increasing electoral turnout, it was unexpected to find that unions appear somewhat sceptical, of developing e-voting, or balloting, for either policy/pay issues or union elections. Only two unions, (NUT and NGSU), reported having used e-balloting for either policy or union elections and only around third of the survey were planning to doing so in the future.

[Tables 4 and 5 about here]

Questions about the audience for their websites produced some mixed answers. Unsurprisingly, members were rated as the most common visitors to the sites 69.57% (16) of those replying saw members as their largest audience, as only five claimed that other groups were more significant. Whilst this might be considered predictable, what is noticeable is the relatively low scores given for all the audience categories listed, suggesting relatively low total audiences for many websites. This point was underscored by answers to a further question about the estimated percentage of members accessing the sites. Many unions (12) were unable to provide information on the amount of members accessing the site. Of those that could, the majority (7) estimated that only 5% or less of their members were regular users of their sites (see table 8). Union websites, it seems, have only a relatively narrow specialist appeal.

[Tables 7 and 8 about here]

Finally, the survey also asked about the potential problems of Internet usage for unions. A striking feature is again the relatively low scores given to nearly all the categories provided. The problem of user initiative was seen as the biggest hurdle. From a top-down perspective, the Internet is limited as a communication channel by the fact that the unions are dependent on visitors *actively* choosing to visit the site, rather than receiving information *passively* or inadvertently from broadcast or direct mail methods of communication. However, this was the only problem that had a mean score of more than 2 (2.30) and therefore rated as a quite an important problem. One other area is worth highlighting here. Somewhat unexpectedly, unions did not rate the biased nature of access to the

Internet as being a large problem - its mean score was only 1.48. Only two unions, the AEEU and GPMU, saw it as one of the key problems. Given the considerable debate about digital divide, and the fact that in some unions a high proportion of members do not have access to the Internet this is rather puzzling. Whilst one might expect the more middle-class and service based unions, such as teaching and the civil service, where there is high rates of access amongst members, to rate the problem as more than minimal, even the more traditional blue collar unions taking part in the survey did not score this highly as a crucial barrier.

[Table 9 about here]

Content analysis

Presence: At the time of the survey around three quarters (54) of TUC affiliated unions were located with a web presence. Of these, eight were excluded from the content analysis survey, since three were primarily members' sites with little or no public content (IUHS, NGSU, POA); two were unavailable for the period of the survey (RMT and CDNA); 1 was simply a page stating 'site coming soon' (BOS); one was in Welsh (UCAC) and another was an unofficial national site (NUJ).

Those unions without sites (19) were generally small and/or located in the traditional manufacturing industries. 14/19 had less than 3000 members and seven had less than thousand. Eleven were based in declining, often manual or craft unions e.g. NUM or GULO. Surprisingly, five though were former building society staff associations (ANSA, BSU, WISA, YISA and BFSU). One explanation is that these organisations tend to use closed intranet sites unavailable to the public.

[Table 10 about here]

Information provision: The mean score for this set of measures was a relatively unimpressive 6.7 (maximum score 14). However, this masks considerable variations. The commonest features on union sites were a news/media page (88.8%), policies (68%), documents (66%) and online copies of union magazines or newsletters (62%). The sites were much less instructive on internal organisational information, such as structure or providing details of officials, union conferences and events. Less than half bothered to explain their structure and 45% made little mention of who their leading officials or headquarters staff were.

There were also significant variations between unions. Some, notably the health professional societies, education unions and Unison clearly provide a mass of information for their members. The SoR, CSP and Unison sites contain a vast array of research and educational resources in data bases and libraries. Others at a more general audience though. The PFA site seems to be primarily about football generally, rather like a magazine or sports newspaper, whereas, the union information is much less prominently displayed and tucked away within the site.

Whilst many of the sites provided news/media features not all of this information was up dated very regularly. On average sites were updated every fortnightly, although again there were considerable variations. None were updated daily, but 30% were changed every few days. However, a minority also promised regular updates but failed to deliver this. One site suggested 'click here for latest news' which produced a series of press releases and news stories over four months old.

Participation and Interactivity: Scores for the participation measures were generally lower, the mean score being 4.3 (maximum score possible 13). This again masks sizeable variations in approach and commitment. Email links are now virtually universal on sites. Only one union failed to provide an email address. Though it is often much more difficult to contact elected officials directly via email. Nor is there any guarantee of a reply.

The most popular measures on the participation index were interactive information gathering tools such as databases and search engines, or e-news reports. Superficially, recruitment was also a significant function of the sites, with 82% having pages or sections devoted to joining. However, there was not a single site where you could actually join and pay online. Mostly the recruitment pages offered a combination of downloading printing and posting application forms or emailing for a full membership package to be sent to you. Concerns about online payment security and also eroding the traditional branch recruitment activities may be preventing some unions from fully pursuing online membership.

The two-way interactive measures (member to member and member to officials) were much less prominent on the sites. Around 30% did have guestbooks, bulletin boards or chat facilities, but many reported these were not always well used. None appeared to allow online question and answer

facilities with union officials or elected representatives, although the USDAW site promised to do so in the future and the NUT have considered this.

Networking: Overall the vast majority (82%) of sites provided links to other websites, though these were not often extensive. 44% of the sites had less than 20 links. There was however, a clear division here between external and internal networking. The sites provided very little by way of links to internal groups (branches, regions or sectional groups) only ten (22%) had any links to internal sites, even fewer (15%) provided any links to branches. There are two possible explanations for this relatively low figure, firstly that this is an accurate reflection of the low level internal branch activity online, or secondly that national headquarters are not aware of internal activity and do not monitor the situation. certainly, it seems to be little concerted effort to encourage branches to move online. Only Unison, CWU and the AUT had links to over 40 branch sites.¹⁶

External links were much more prominent on sites with 31 unions providing these. Eleven union sites actually contained over a 100 links and a small number even offered their own portal service (NUT, AFA). In general, the links provided were often seen as being of additional service to members/visitors the most popular categories were links to other TUs, research or education links, government bodies (departments and agencies) and the media.

Service Provision: The online service model at one level appears very popular with 38 (84%) of sites have some area dedicated to services/benefits to members. Commercial services in particular, such as legal assistance, insurance, holidays and credit cards were all popular features. Two thirds of sites offered commercial services. In reality, though few unions are actually providing services online. For the most part, unions simply provided information on the benefits available and provided a telephone number, or perhaps an email address, for more information. Only around 15% (7) had really developed online service provision these included the NUT, UNIFI, MSF, NAPO, Unison & NASUWT. The NUT, for example, provided an impressive array of resources for professional development of teachers including: job databases and curriculum development areas.

V. Discussion and Analysis

The extent and function of union websites

If we return to our three sets of questions then the extent to which trade unions are embracing ICTs is mixed and patchy. Clearly, the vast majority now feel it is necessary to have a web presence and make use of email. There are a small number who are developing innovative strategies but for the most part the hype about the potential of the Internet certainly in this case far exceeds the current reality. For example, as we have seen, whilst unions have acknowledged the possibilities of online recruitment and services the ability to be able to pursue these online is minimal. Overall, trade unions have tended to be fairly conservative in their ICT uses. The clear consensus that stated aims of sites information provision for members. In effect the web is being used as another communication channel (rather like their own direct mail magazines) although it allows more regular in-depth, and speedier contact with members. One interviewee referred to a three stage model of web development where stage 1 was about rooting it within the organisation and putting up the flagpole (establishing and advertising a web presence); stage 2 was developing the content and interactivity of the site and stage 3 personalising the information available for individual members.¹⁷ Whilst some unions are beginning to develop stage 2 the majority have not yet progressed past stage 1.

From the data we have gathered and particularly from interviews it is also evident that ICTs are rarely integrated into union organisations as a whole. Initially, at least for many unions, ICTs were the province of information technology officers and seen as technical matter; as ICTs have recently become more important, control has switched to communications or campaigns sections. However, the public end of Union websites is often not connected to areas such as membership or database management. Hence, many unions do not have or are only beginning to collect members email addresses. As with other organisations integration maybe a factor of generational change. Currently, within unions many officials will have been brought up in pre IT era, as new younger generation of more ICT literate officials emerge then their use becomes normalised within the organisation.

¹⁶ BECTU had links to over 60 internal websites mostly these were individual members' homepages.

¹⁷ Interview with union communications official, 8 October 2001.

Models of organisational change

Given this relatively slow development, at one level, it is tempting to say that the impact of ICTs on union change is likely to be minimal, although it is rather early to be providing definitive answers. There is not much, as yet, which suggests that ICTs will help stem the long term decline of the trade unions. Although whether unions are further eroded by new ICTs seems debatable and to some extent dependent on the activities of other groups and networks in cyberspace. One basic problem that limits its effectiveness is that of user initiative – visitors need a pre-existing interest or knowledge to take them to the sites. If non-members, or passive members, lack the motivation, or simply lack knowledge about the union, why will they suddenly join or become active online? The technology alone is unlikely to be the motivation. For ICTs to be successful, as some unions and the TUC have recognised they need to be employed in conjunction with wider reforms and communication strategies.

The democratisation thesis concentrates on the internal impact of ICTs within trade unions stressing the decentralising and participative possibilities of the Internet. Although we have not collated comprehensive evidence here, there is little sign of ICTs being used extensively for participative or campaigning purposes. As we have seen, the scores for participation/campaigning were across the board lower than information provision. Moreover, there was limited evidence that ICTs are used widely below headquarters level – the numbers of branches online was scarce and the use of discussion boards where they existed was also minimal. This is not to say that ICTs will have no impact on internal structures, but rather than democratisation per se, one of the main impacts maybe to further encourage pre-existing trends towards individualisation of participation and lead to a more direct relationship between individual members and union staff or elites. Certainly, email alone opens up the ability of members to get in touch more frequently with union officials as several interviewees noted. Similarly, in the future, a number of unions may offer individual members more opportunities to input into policy away from the traditional forums of annual conference or branch meetings via electronic methods. The level which may lose the most is the intermediary, collective structures such as branches or local officials. Whilst previously, flows of information were mediated by activists or branch level networks, information can now flow directly to members from headquarters. Whether this enhances democracy within unions is questionable. On the one hand it is possible to see this as means of weakening traditional activists and a further strengthening of union elites, since they have greater resources and more access to the technology. However, others would argue that traditional branch meetings dominated by small numbers of activists perhaps with more extreme attitudes was not conducive to participation anyway. As one official commented: ‘some might suggest this [use of ICTs for participative purposes] is undemocratic but what is democratic about face to face branch meetings’.¹⁸ Alternatively, it may simply be the case that a new generation of activists using ICTs replace an old generation using paper-based communications and face-to-face contact.

In short, therefore, the Internet/email may help breakdown some of the internal hierarchies and allow members more channels to input into union affairs but this does not automatically lead to greater participation or levels of internal democracy. It may be modernisation but without democratisation.

Patterns of Activity

Our third set of questions related to patterns of behaviour within the overall trends outlined above i.e. do different types of unions pursue different strategies online or embrace the technology more fully? From our content analysis, it seems that Union with higher scores in information provision also tend to have higher scores in other areas, suggesting that there are certain unions with more active all round presence and those that have well defined strategy have pursued more active online strategy. A combination of three factors would seem important in explaining the extent and pattern of union activity online:¹⁹

- *Organisational resources* (staff and finances) - the larger unions with more full time staff available in general seemed to be more active online. Whilst some have pointed towards the relatively cheap nature of web, it is not cost free exercise – to run a fresh efficient and effective

¹⁸ Interview with union communications director, 6 March 2002.

¹⁹ For fuller discussion of organisational capacity and incentives see Ward (2001).

site require dedicated professional staff, which is clearly difficult for small or cash strapped organisations.

- However, it is not simply a question of resources, *organisational incentives* (notably, an online target audience and organisational culture) are clearly important in shaping union behaviour. Some of the most active unions are the educational sector where a large proportion of the membership has access and uses the technology on a regular basis. Those with workers in telecommunications or new media section clearly have incentives to provide significant online presence. Although for unions such as CWU, there can be contradictory pressures at work. Whilst part of its workforce is based in the high tech telecommunications field, it also has a large membership in the postal service, some of whom see development of the Internet and email as a threat to their employment.²⁰
- Finally, the influence of individual *organisational policy entrepreneurs* can also drive activity with unions especially in the early stages where technology is not integrated across the union. Individual union officers can be influential in selling or pushing the technology through the organisation. It is hardly surprising that Unions employing knowledgeable and engaged communication / ICT officials are those at the forefront of innovation. Although a successful ICT strategy generally needs to gain acceptance and support at the highest levels and be integrated across the union.

VI. Conclusions

British Trade Unions are undergoing a process of change, following a 25-year long trend of decline in membership, recognition and public support. This evolution seems to have reached a plateau, which extends over the last five years. Starting from here, the strategy for Union change and survival in the 21st century appears to go along the lines of modernisation, organising and improved public relations. Over the same period of time, we have witnessed the prevalence of new ICTs in every sphere of everyday life, including the political: parties, governments, pressure groups and TU have harnessed to varying degrees the characteristics of ICTs to strengthen their position in the political arena. Yet ICTs create as many problems as they resolve, especially for TU, which have been described in the *erosion* scenario. ICTs indeed interact with the very long-term structural trends underpinning Union decline: the individualisation of society, the re-organisation of labour and the fluidification of the political process, which advantage more flexible political organisations. Thus ICTs present TUs with the double-edged challenge of *modernisation-democratisation*. In absolute terms, the evidence presented here shows that the response of Unions to the challenge has been inadequate, on the grounds of organising (recruiting and catering for members), provision of services and public relations. Finally, given the evidence we have produced to support our argument, we are not in the position to draw firm conclusions on the process of democratisation via ICTs. Even though, if the main problem of the Unions is in fact not the low demand of unionisation and activity, increasingly on the rise, rather the insufficient offer of participatory opportunities, then the ICTs opportunity in this respect has not, as yet, been seized²¹. Despite many claims about intentions of current and future development, evidence shows that change involves a few key players, and many smaller Unions lag behind. Nonetheless, we would like to conclude with a positive note, as across the spectrum of the Union movement the right combination of organisational incentives, resources and the presence of knowledgeable policy entrepreneurs has led to the formulation of an integrated and manifest web strategy. ICTs are employed more effectively where they are considered as a resource and a challenge to established practices, and where the changing nature of the potential and actual membership, very much rooted in the long term developments described above, are built into the re-organising equation, and catered for via ICTs.

²⁰ Interview with official from CWU, 30 November 2001.

²¹ The results of Diamond and Freeman (2001) point in the same direction.

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Appendix A - Trade Union acronyms used and relative websites (where applicable)

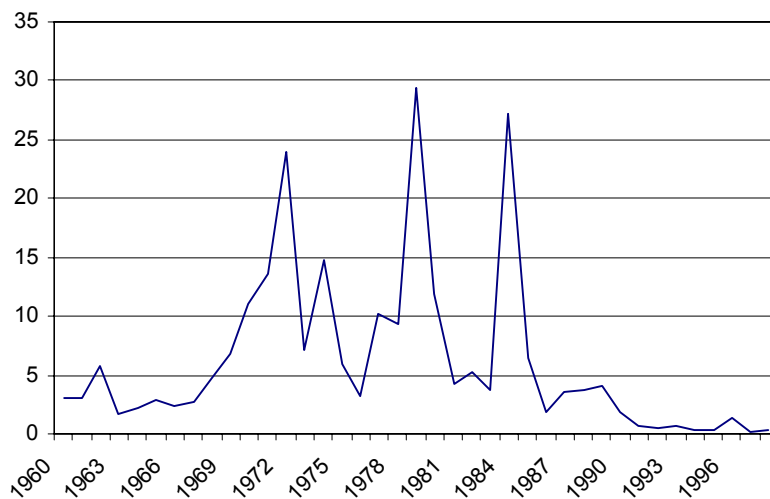
AEEU (now Amicus)	Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union	www.aeeu.org.uk
AFA	Association of Flight Attendants	www.afalhr.org.uk
ALGUS	Alliance and Leicester Group Union of Staff	www.algus.org.uk
ANSA	The independent Union for Abbey National Staff	
ANGU	Abbey National Group Union	www.angu.org.uk
AUT	Association of University Teachers	www.aut.org.uk
BOS	British Orthoptic Society	www.orthoptics.org.uk
BSU	Britannia Staff Union	www.britanniasu.org.uk
CDNA	Community and District Nursing Association	www.cdna.tvu.ac.uk
CSP	Chartered Society of Physiotherapy	www.csp.org.uk
CWU	Communication Workers Union	www.cwu.org.uk
GPMU	Graphical and Print Media Union	www.gpmu.org.uk
GULO	General Union of Loom Overlookers	
IUHS	Independent Union of Halifax Staff	www.iuhs.org
MSF (now Amicus)	Manufacturing Science Finance	www.msf.org.uk
NAPO	National Association of Probation Officers	www.napo.org.uk
NASUWT	National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers	www.teachersunion.org.uk
NGSU	Nationwide Group Staff Association	www.ngsu.org.uk
NUJ	National Union of Journalists	www.nuj.org.uk
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers	
NUT	National Union of Teachers	www.nut.org.uk
PFA	Professional Footballers Association	www.givemefootball.com
POA	Prison Officers Association	www.poa.org.uk
Prospect		www.prospect.org.uk
RMT	National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers	www.rmt.org.uk
SoR	Society of Radiographers	www.sor.org
TSSA	Transport Salaried Staffs' Association	www.tssa.org.uk
** TUC	Trade Union Congress	www.tuc.org.uk
UBAC	** Represents staff in the Bradford and Bingley Group and Alltel Mortgage	
UCAC	Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru	www.ucac.ndirect.co.uk
UCATT	Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians	www.ucatt.org.uk
Unifi		www.unify.org.uk
Unison		www.unison.org.uk
USDAW	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	www.usdaw.org.uk
UTW	Union of Textile Workers	
WGGB	The Writers' Guild of Great Britain	www.writers.org.uk/guild
WISA	The Union of Woolwich Staff	
YISA	Yorkshire Independent Staff Association	

Table 1. Number of UK Trade Unions and Trade Union members 1975-1999.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership (millions)</i>	<i>Unions</i>
1975	11.7	446
1976	12.1	484
1977	12.7	435
1978	13.1	455
1979	13.2	475
1980	12.6	467
1981	12.3	482
1982	11.7	456
1983	11.3	432
1984	11.1	400
1985	10.8	391
1986	10.6	374
1987	10.5	344
1988	10.4	326
1989	10.0	319
1990	9.8	306
1991	9.5	291
1992	8.9	305
1993	8.7	297
1994	8.2	273
1995	8.0	260
1996	7.9	255
1997	7.8	252
1998	7.9	238
1999	7.9	237

Source: Certification Officer's Annual Report²².

Figure 1. Working days lost 1960-1999(millions).



Source: Office for National Statistics.

²² See note 3, on the validity of data from the Certification Officer.

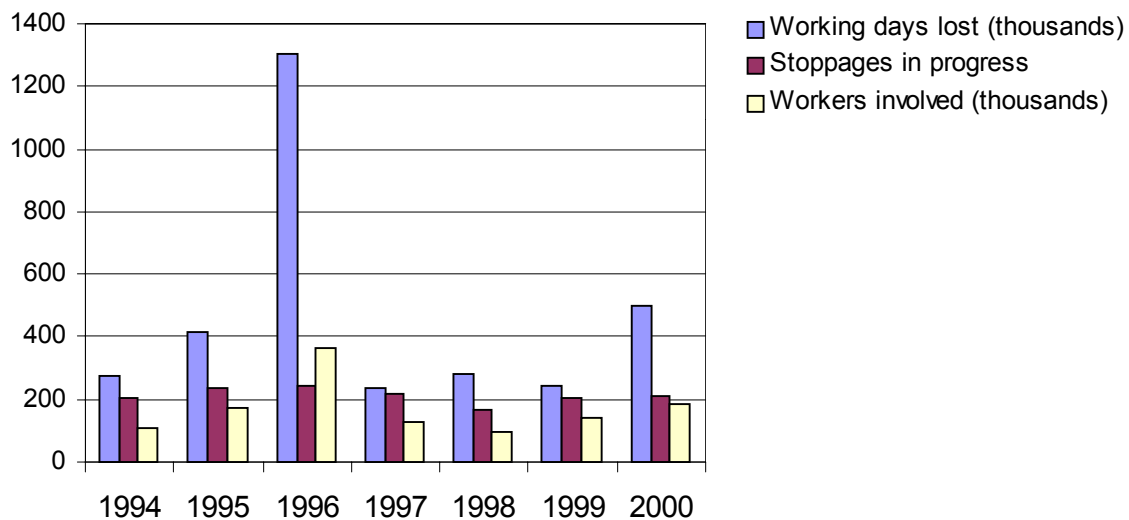
Table 2. Union presence and recognition in Britain 1980-1998

	1980	1984	1990	1998
Aggregate changes				
Establishments with any TU recognised for collective bargaining purposes	.64	.66	.53	.42
Workers (full-timers in 1980, all in other years) who are union members	.62	.58	.48	.36
Workers covered by collective bargaining	-	.71	.54	.41
Sectoral changes				
Establishments with any TU recognised for collective bargaining purposes, private sector manufacturing	.65	.56	.44	.30
Establishments with any TU recognised for collective bargaining purposes, private sector services	.41	.44	.36	.23
Establishments with any TU recognised for collective bargaining purposes, public sector services	.94	.99	.87	.87
Union recognition by age of establishment				
Age < 10 Years	.59	.58	.34	.27
Age >10 Years	.65	.68	.59	.50
		1984-90	1990-98	
Derecognition/new recognition 1984-90 and 1990-98				
Proportion of panel workplaces with derecognition over time period in question		.09	.06	
Proportion of panel workplaces with new recognition over time period in question		.04	.04	

Note: Results reported are proportions.

Source: Adapted from Machin (2000), Tables 1 and 2.

Figure 2. UK Labour disputes 1994-2000.



Source: Office for National Statistics.

Table 3. Importance of Communication Methods with Members

Method	Total Score	Mean score
Direct Mail	76	3.30
Face to Face	69	3.14
WWW	50	2.38
Email	54	2.35
Telephone	48	2.18
Newspaper	38	1.73
Radio	26	1.18
TV	22	1.0

Table 4. Importance of Website Functions

Function	Total Score	Mean Score
Information Provision to Members	82	3.57
Increasing Recruitment	65	2.83
Increasing Member Participation	63	2.74
Providing Online Services	54	2.35
Promoting Feedback from Members	53	2.30
Information Provision to the Public	43	1.87
Information Provision to Journalists	42	1.83
Reducing Costs	35	1.52
Keeping Pace with IT Developments	34	1.48
Promoting Feedback from the Public	26	1.13
Raising Funds	10	0.43

Table 5. Percentage of New Members Recruited via Website During Past Year

New Members Gained	Number of Unions	Percentage
None	5	21.73%
Less than 1%	8	34.78%
1-10%	5	21.73%
11-20%	1	4.35%
21-30%	0	0%
31-40%	0	0%
41-50%	0	0%
50%+	0	0%
Not Known	4	17.39%

Table 6. Participative and Interactive Features Available or Planned for Union Sites

Feature	In use	Planned	Total
Closed Member Only Area of Website	43.48% (10)	43.48% (10)	86.96% (20)
Email News Bulletins	39.13% (9)	47.83% (11)	86.96% (20)
Bulletin Boards	34.78% (8)	34.78% (8)	69.56% (16)
Intranet Service for Union Staff	21.74% (5)	43.48% (10)	65.22% (15)
Email Discussion Lists	17.39% (4)	34.78% (8)	52.17% (12)
Intranet Service for Members	8.70% (2)	26.09% (6)	34.79% (8)
Live Chat Room	8.70% (2)	30.43% (7)	39.13% (9)
Electronic Balloting Policy/Pay	4.35% (1)	30.43% (7)	34.78% (8)
Electronic Balloting Union Elections	4.35% (1)	26.09% (6)	30.43% (7)

Table 7. Audience for Union websites

Audience Group	Total Score	Mean Score
Own Members	52	2.48
Academics/Students	33	1.81
Journalists/Media	30	1.50
General Public	30	1.43

Table 8. Estimated Percentage Of Members Accessing Union Sites

Percentage of Members	Ever Accessed Site	Regularly Access Site
0-5%	3	7
6-10%	1	1
11-20%	4	3
21-30%	0	0
31-40%	0	0
41-50%	2	0
50%+	1	0
Not Known	12	12

Table 9. Problems of WWW

Problem	Total Score	Mean Score
Requires User Initiative	53	2.30
Difficult to Determine Return on Outlay	38	1.65
Impersonal	35	1.52
Biased Towards High SES Groups	34	1.48
Too Much Trivial Feedback	32	1.39
Costs	32	1.39
Information Overload	26	1.13

Table 10. Content Analysis Summary Scores

Union	Info Provision	Participation	Networking		Services
			External	Internal	
1. AEEU	9	4	50	0	3
2. AEP	5	1	0	0	0
3. ASLEF	6	5	38	0	3
4. AUT	9	9	199	59	3
5. AFA	5	4	51	0	0
6. ATL	9	7	118	0	5
7. BACM	2	2	0	0	0
8. BALPA	7	4	20	0	0
9. BFAWU	5	3	6	0	4
10. BSU	4	3	0	0	1
11. BDA	6	5	120	13+	2
12. BOS	Coming soon	-			
13. BECTU	9	1	300~	64	2
14. CATU	1	2	11	0	2
15. CWU	9	6	0	47	6
16. CDNA	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
17. CONNECT	8	7	4	0	3
18. CSP	10	5	100+	0	4
19. CWYU	8	5	54	0	0
20. EIS	4	3	3	0	2
21. EMA	8	6		N/A	3
22. EQUITY	6	2	19	0	1
23. FBU	7	3	58	0	2
24. FDA	8	5	120	0	3
25. GMB	12	8	67	3	3
26. NGSU*	Mainly Closed Site				
27. RMT	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A
28. GMPU	8	5	150	4	4
29. IPMS	4	4	0	0	3
30. ISTC	3	1	7	0	2
31. HSCA	7	3	15	0	0
32. IUHS*	Mainly Closed Site				
33. MSF	10	6	0	13	5
34. MU	6	3	197	6	4
35. NAPO	7	6	6	0	6
36. NATFHE	11	5	102	17	2
37. NASUWT	6	6	29	6?	4
38. KFAT	3	1	35	0	1
39. NUJ	Unofficial Nat Site				
40. NUMAST	2	1	0	0	0
41. SC&P	1	3	0	0	1
42. SoR	10	5	17	0	2
43. TSSA	6	3	0	0	2
44. TGWU	5	3	0	0	1
45. PCS	7	3	110	0	2
46. PFA	5	2	?	?	3
47. POA	Mainly Closed site				
48. NUT	8	7	?	0	6
49. UCAC	Site Written in	Welsh Language			
50. UCATT	3	1	17	0	2
51. UNIFI	8	5	20	0	6
52. UNISON	11	10	500+	52	6
53. USDAW	9	6	Coming soon		4
54. WGU	4	2	108	0	1
Mean Score	6.7	4.3		N/A	