

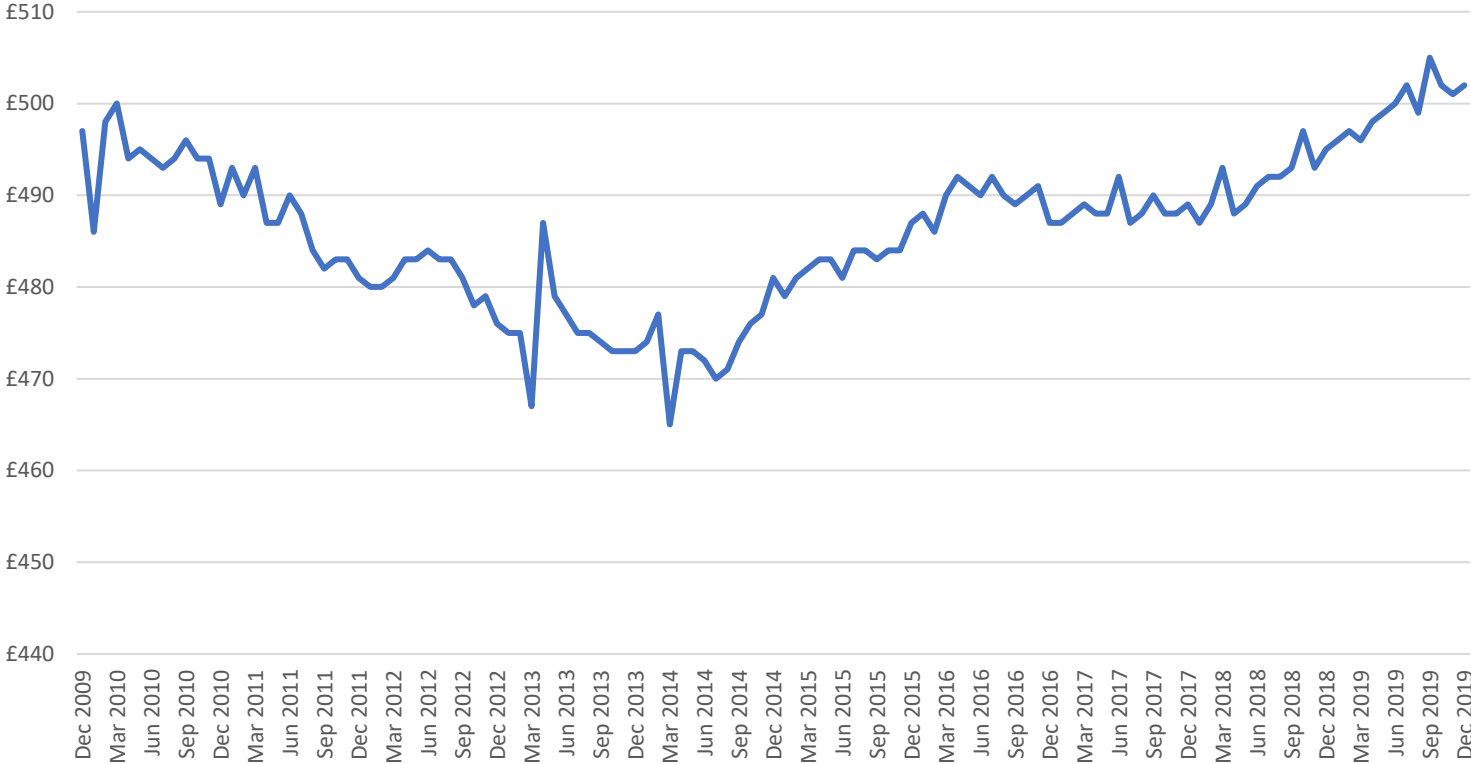
What Works: Measuring Protest and Direct Action



David J. Bailey
University of Birmingham

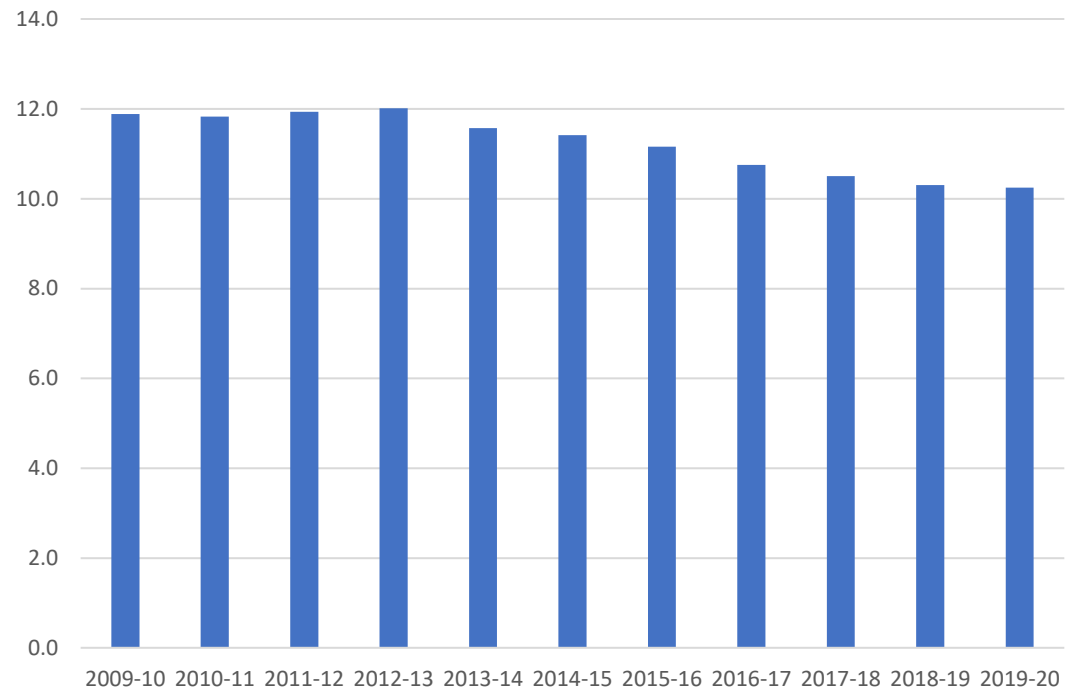


**Real terms average weekly earnings, Britain,
Dec 2009 - Dec 2019**

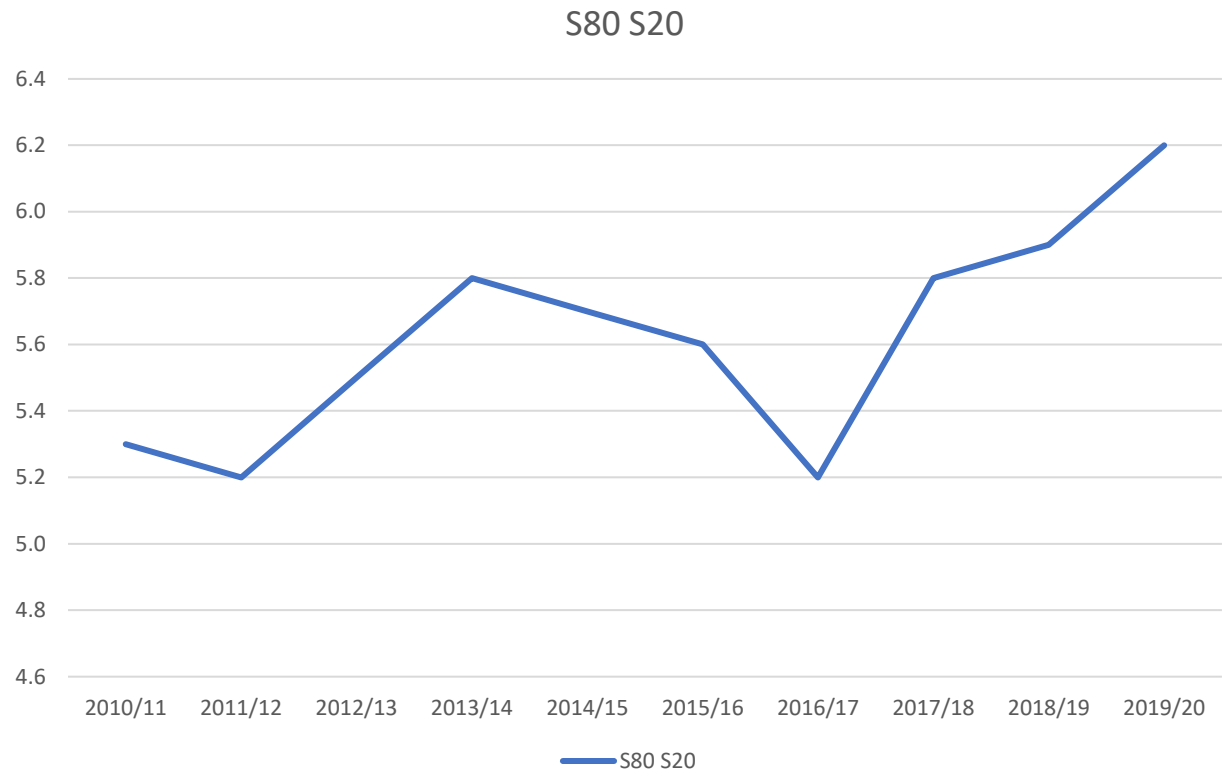


Source: ONS

Welfare spending (% of GDP)

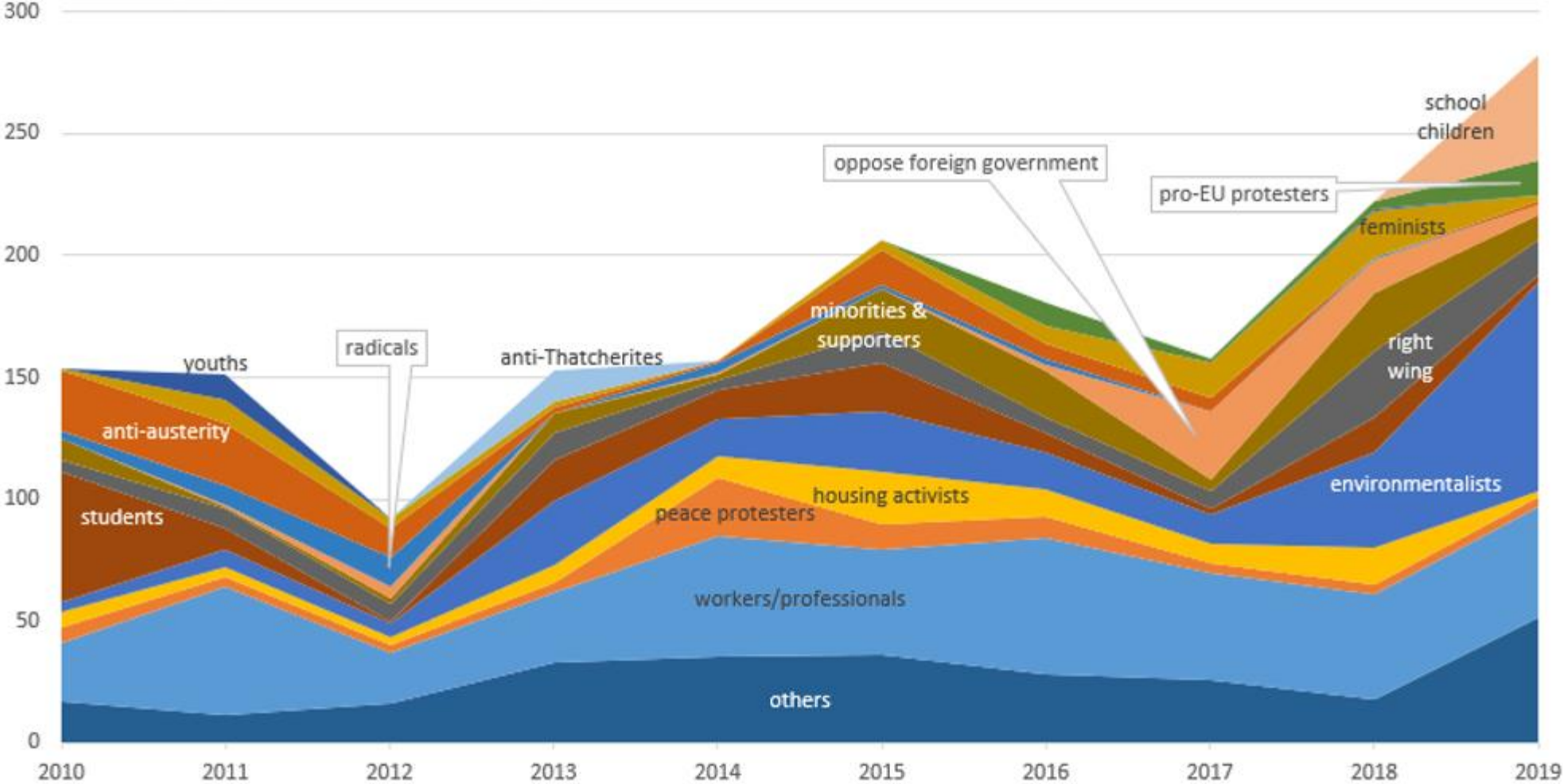


Source: OBR



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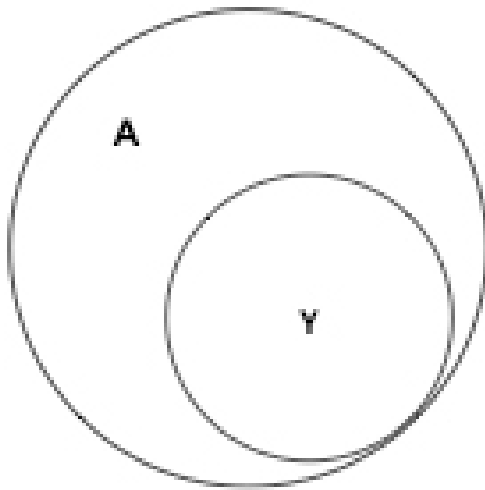
Types of protesters, 2010s



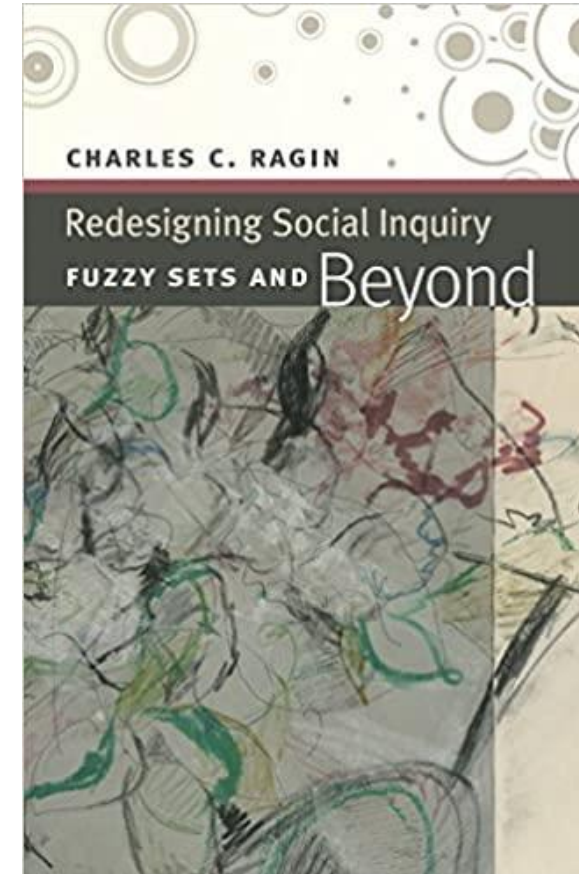
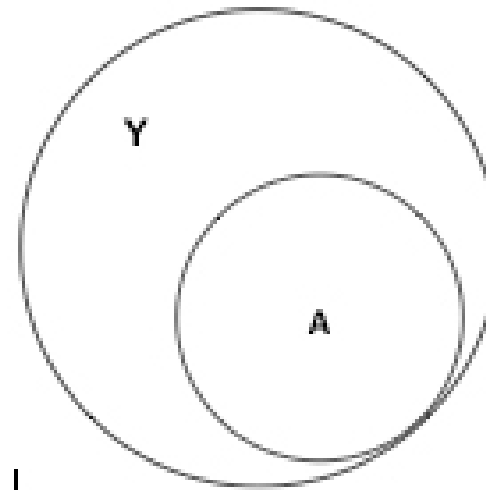
Source: https://leftpartiesprotestmovements.wordpress.com/britain_protest/

Beyond linear regression and qualitative case studies: (fuzzy set) Qualitative Comparative Analysis

necessary



sufficient



Fainshmidt, S., Witt, M.A., Aguilera, R.V. *et al.* The contributions of qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) to international business research. *J Int Bus Stud* **51**, 455–466 (2020).

advantages

- Works with manageable number of qualitative cases (from around 12 upwards)
- Allows identification of multiple configurations of causal conditions
- Equifinality of causal conditions
- Asymmetric solutions
- The solution contains specific examples – allowing further qualitative analysis

Potential conditions

- Militancy
- Sustained action
- 'Choke points' (transport sector)
- Grassroots mobilisation (independent unions/mobilisation)
- Immediacy (scale and material interest)
- Political support

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Contesting the UK's neoliberal model of capitalism

- Home
- History
- Team
- FAQ



- [1 Campaign against Kraft takeover \(2010\)](#)
- [2 PCS gallery attendants pay dispute \(2010\)](#)
- [3 PCS severance payments dispute \(2010\)](#)
- [4 UCU anti-cuts strikes \(2010\)](#)
- [5 BA Cabin Crew Dispute \(2010\)](#)
- [6 Fish Market Porters against the City of London \(2010\)](#)
- [7 GMB strike at AstraZeneca \(2010\)](#)
- [8 TUC anti-cuts demonstrations \(2010 and 2011\)](#)
- [9 FBU strikes against job cuts \(2010\)](#)
- [10 NUJ pensions dispute with BBC \(2010\)](#)
- [11 Heinz workers pay dispute \(2010\)](#)



<https://sites.google.com/view/contesting-austerity-uk/home>

Table 1: sufficient conditions for successful campaigns

Solution	Inclusion Score	Proportional Reduction in Inconsistency	Raw coverage	Unique coverage	Cases		
Immediacy & strike action	0.863	0.845	0.527	0.093	<p>Heinz workers pay dispute 2010 Unison/Unite dispute with Southampton City Council 2011-2</p> <p>UNITE oil tankers dispute with BP 2013 IWGB dispute UoJ/Balfour Beatty 2013</p> <p>RMT dispute over restructuring London Underground 2014-6</p> <p>Unite dispute with Optare 2014 Ritz living wage campaign 2014</p> <p>Unison Care UK dispute 2014</p> <p>Unite dispute – Barbour 2014-5</p> <p>UVW pay dispute - Top Shop 2016</p> <p>Prison staff walkout 2016 UVW dispute Harrods 2017</p> <p>teachers strike - Bollin Primary School in Bowdon 2017 Unite bin workers dispute – Birmingham 2017</p>	<p>Bank of England workers strike 2017 UVW dispute - HR Owen 2017</p> <p>IWGB anti-redundancies - EY/ISS 2018</p> <p>GMB equal pay claim – Glasgow 2018</p> <p>Historic Royal Palaces pensions dispute 2018-9 UVW dispute – MoJ 2019-20</p> <p>PCS canteen workers strike – BEIS 2019</p> <p>teachers strike - Starbank school 2019 Harland and Wolff shipyard workers dispute 2019</p> <p>teachers strike - Buchanan and St Ambrose High School 2019</p> <p>teachers strike - St Catherine's Catholic School in Bexley 2019</p>	
Sustained & Immediacy	0.894	0.867	0.362	0.019	<p>Unison/Unite dispute with Southampton City Council 2011-2</p> <p>Ritz living wage campaign 2014</p> <p>Unison Care UK dispute 2014</p> <p>Unite dispute – Barbour 2014-5</p> <p>Unite bin workers dispute – Birmingham 2017</p>	<p>PCS canteen workers strike – BEIS 2019</p> <p>Harland and Wolff shipyard workers dispute 2019</p> <p>teachers strike - St Catherine's Catholic School in Bexley 2019</p>	
Transport sector & strike action	0.896	0.889	0.213	0.085	BA Cabin Crew dispute 2010	DLR drivers' strike 2015-6	
					<p>ASLEF tube workers bank holiday pay dispute 2010-3</p> <p>RMT restructure dispute Network Rail (Scotland) 2011-2</p> <p>RMT dispute over restructuring London Underground 2014-6</p> <p>Cab drivers against Uber licences 2014-7</p> <p>Unite London bus drivers strike 2015-6</p> <p>Highlands and Islands airport security staff strike 2015</p> <p>RMT dispute – CALMAC 2015</p> <p>RMT tube workers dispute over night tube launch 2015-6</p>	<p>ASlef drivers dispute guardless trains – GTR 2016-7</p> <p>RMT guardless train dispute – Scotrail 2016</p> <p>BA Cabin Crew dispute 2017</p> <p>RMT guardless train dispute-South WesternRailway2017-21</p> <p>tube workers strike 2017</p> <p>Thomas Cook Pilots strike 2017</p> <p>RMT guardless train dispute - Greater Anglia trains 2018</p> <p>air traffic controllers strike - Scottish airports 2019-20</p>	24
Transport sector & government support	0.839	0.808	0.018	0.008	Cab drivers against Uber licences 2014-7		
Independent & immediacy	0.866	0.848	0.104	0.022	<p>IWGB dispute UoJ/Balfour Beatty 2013</p> <p>protests over unpaid wages – Saatchi 2014 UVW pay dispute - Top Shop 2016</p> <p>UVW dispute Harrods 2017</p>	<p>UVW dispute - HR Owen 2017</p> <p>IWGB anti-redundancies - EY/ISS 2018</p> <p>UVW dispute – MoJ 2019-20</p>	
Immediacy & government support	0.997	0.997	0.072	0.009	<p>GMB equal pay claim – Glasgow 2018</p> <p>Harland and Wolff shipyard workers dispute 2019</p>	<p>teachers strike - Buchanan and St Ambrose High School 2019</p> <p>Wrightbus workers protest 2019</p>	
Sustained & independent & strike action	0.951	0.940	0.049	0.015	Interpreters' boycott ALS-Capita 2012-14		

Solution inclusion score: 0.867; Solution PRI: 0.847; Solution coverage: 0.697.

Findings: worker-led dissent

- 7 'causal recipes':
 - Immediacy & strike action
 - Sustained & Immediacy
 - Transport sector & strike action
 - Transport sector & government support
 - Independent & immediacy
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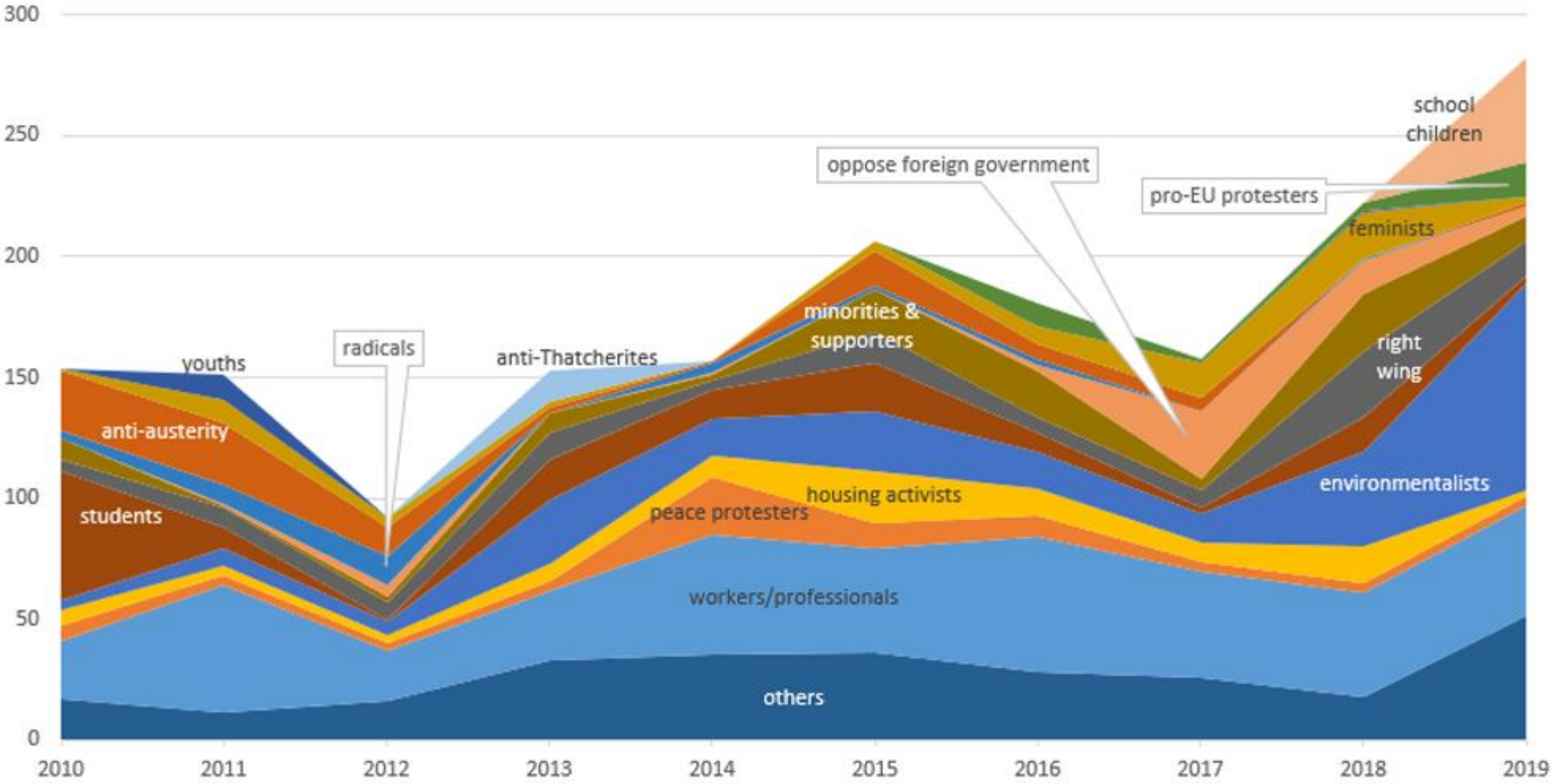
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Types of protesters, 2010s



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Environmentalist action in the UK, 2010-19

[1 anti-Trump golf course 2010-12](#)

[2 Campaign against RBS funding oil/gas projects 2007 - 18](#)

[3 Greenpeace oppose Chevron drilling for oil off shetland isles 2010](#)

[4 campaign against privatisation of Forestry Commission land 2011](#)

[5 disrupt BP meeting over oil spill 2011](#)



<https://sites.google.com/view/ukenvironmentalism2010s>

Campaign	Direction of travel?	Financial benefits to U-turn	Very disruptive actions	Perception of immediate health/safety risks	Publicity campaign damages firm/govt. reputation	Outcome
anti-Trump golf course 2010-12					X	Partial success
Campaign against RBS funding oil/gas projects 2007 – 18	X	X				Success
campaign against privatisation of Forestry Commission land 2011					X	Success
anti-fracking campaign 2011 – 2019			X	X	X	Success
opposition to GM food at Rothamsted Research 2012						No impact
Combe Haven anti-road campaign 2013			X			Limited success (delay)
FOE and Greenpeace in support of wind farms 2013						unsuccessful
anti-H52 campaign 2014-19			X		X	Partial success and serious disruption
Woodland Trust oppose T in the Park 2015						Unsuccessful
Liberate Tate opposition to BP sponsorship of Tate 2010-16					x	successful
"BP or Not to BP"/Art Not Oil opposition to BP sponsorship of British Museum (2014 - present)					x	Unsuccessful
opposition to Heathrow 3rd runway 2015-2019						Unsuccessful
Greenpeace against air pollution 2016	X			X		Success - Substantial policy impact
Stop Killing Londoners campaign against air pollution in London 2017-2018	X			X		Partial success – ULEZ

People & Planet against Barclays funding fossil fuel projects 2018	X					minimal impact
People's Walk for Wildlife seek government investment in wildlife-friendly policies 2018	X					Partial impact, e.g., on party manifestos
campaign for more cycle paths in Scotland 2019	X					Partial success
Reclaim the power against Drax 2019	X				X	Successful
Greenpeace against Shell over oil rig decommissioning 2019						No impact

Preliminary findings: climate change action

- Very disruptive actions
- Perception of immediate health/safety risks
- Publicity campaign damages firm/govt. reputation