From Protest to Acquiescence?
Political Movements of the Unemployed

Also by Paul Bagguley

RESTRUCTURING: Place, Class and Gender (*co-author*)

From Protest to Acquiescence?

Political Movements of the Unemployed

Paul Bagguley

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First published 1991

Published by
MACMILLAN EDUCATION LTD
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 2XS
and London
Companies and representatives
throughout the world

Edited and typeset by Povey/Edmondson
Okehampton and Rochdale, England

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Bagguley, Paul

From protest to acquiescence? Political movements of the unemployed.

1. Great Britain. Labour movements, history

I. Title

331.80941

ISBN 978-0-333-53478-6 ISBN 978-1-349-21655-0 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-21655-0

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Preface

This book began as a D.Phil. thesis at the University of Sussex. It struck me when I began the work for the thesis in the early 1980s that it was rather odd that very little research had been carried out on the political responses to unemployment by the unemployed. There is still very little empirical research, and too much idle, ill-informed speculation. Although unemployment, as it is officially measured, has fallen from the high levels of the early 1980s, it has, during the middle of 1990, begun to rise again. I hope that what follows goes some way towards an understanding of political responses to unemployment both during the current period and in the past. I trust that the book will also be of some value to those interested in wider issues of social movements and contemporary social change.

Most of all, I would like to thank the many unemployed people who agreed to be interviewed for the the research reported in this book. Peter Saunders, my supervisor at Sussex, has provided endless encouragement and constant constructive criticism, not always heeded, throughout. I would like to thank the participants in several departmental and graduate student seminars in the Departments of Sociology at the Universities of Sussex and Lancaster who have commented on earlier versions of the work. Dan Shapiro, John Urry, Sylvia Walby and Alan Warde have commented on earlier drafts of several of the chapters below. The examiners of the original thesis, Huw Beynon and William Outhwaite, provided many detailed and useful comments. I would also like to thank Sue Penna and Kirk Mann for many detailed conversations about the content of what follows. Kirk Mann deserves special mention for having read no less than three versions of the text.

I am grateful to the staff of the libraries of the Universities of Sussex, Lancaster and Leeds for their assistance. The TUC and the Brighton centre for the unemployed were generous in providing documents upon which some of the analysis below is based. The Department of Sociology at the University of Lancaster kindly gave me an honorary research fellowship which enabled me to complete the writing up of the thesis from which this book has

been developed. The departments at Lancaster and Leeds were also generous in the provision of printing facilities. The thesis and the book were written on an Atari ST using 1st Word Plus. I am especially grateful to the spelling checker! The research for the thesis, on which this book is based, was carried out with the aid of an ESRC research training studentship: number G00428222732.

Finally, I would like to thank the Department of Employment, Unemployment Benefits Section, for providing the means of existence during the last two months of the writing up of the thesis in the summer of 1988.

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List of Abbreviations

CEP	Community Enterprise Programme
COHSE	Confederation of Health Service Employees
CP	Community Programme
CPAG	Child Poverty Action Group
DE	Department of Employment
DHSS	Department of Health and Social Security
ILP	Independent Labour Party
LRC	Labour Representation Committee
MC	Management Committee
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NGSW	Not Genuinely Seeking Work
NUAAW	National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers
NUPE	National Union of Public Employees
NUW(C)M	National Unemployed Workers (Committee) Movement
OECD	Office of Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC	Public Assistance Committee
PC	Policy Committee
PER	Professional and Executive Recruitment
SDF	Social Democratic Federation
SERTUC	South East Regional Trade Union Congress
TC	Trades Council
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UAB	Unemployment Assistance Board
UWU	Unemployed Workers' Union
WEA	Workers' Education Association