Unpacking the effects of trade union membership on job (dis)satisfaction

Theresa Majeed

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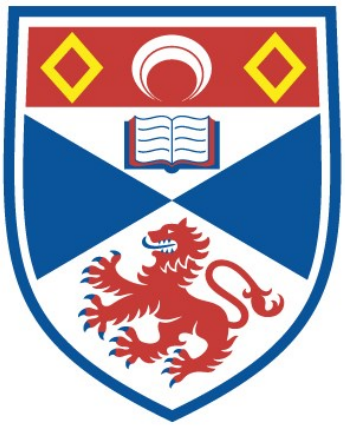

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Abstract

This dissertation sets out to explore the roots of trade union members' job dissatisfaction, as a large body of prior quantitative research, spanning more than four decades, indicates that trade union members express higher levels of job dissatisfaction than non-union members. Industrial relations scholars have not been able to agree on an explanation as to why trade union members express comparatively more job dissatisfaction. The ambiguity in establishing a causal relationship between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction is due to the fact that previous works have largely been biased towards the use of quantitative methods. The present study, therefore, uses a unique qualitative approach consisting of grounded theoretical techniques and interviews with 43 trade union members to gather new insights on the topic. Interviews were conducted at two case study organisations, one a manufacturer and the other a public services organisation, in Scotland. Three alternative explanations that have sought to explain trade union members' job dissatisfaction were unpacked. These explanations link trade union members' job dissatisfaction to (i) unmet expectations from trade union membership, (ii) awareness of inequalities and (ii) industrial relations climates. The aim of this dissertation was to develop insights to enable a better understanding of why trade union members appear to express dissatisfaction with their jobs. The grounded theoretical approach has enabled at least three contributions to the industrial relations literatures and, to a lesser extent, to the human resources and job satisfaction literatures. These contributions are: (i) a deep, qualitative approach towards understanding the phenomenon; (ii) a critical evaluation of three alternative explanations of the phenomenon; and (iii) insights towards an initial model explaining the roots of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the individuals who allowed me to interview them for this research. Were it not for them, this project would not have been possible.
I must also thank my daughter, Lillian McBride, for telling me to accept the offer of a place from the University of St. Andrews. Next, I must thank my eldest brother, Paul McBride III, for the negative reinforcement he gave to me when I questioned whether I could make it through the programme. Most of all, I am eternally grateful to my supervisors, Andrew Timming and Alina Baluch, for guiding me through these last four years. I could never thank them enough for the time and effort that they spent in trying to help me find my way throughout this journey.

Dedication

This PhD is dedicated to the memory of my late mother, Professor Ann Patricia Colkin McBride. I kept my promise.

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--CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION--

> 'Job satisfaction is a topic of wide interest to both people who work in organizations and people who study them. In fact, it is the most frequently studied variable in organizational behavior' (Spector, 1997:1).

1. INTRODUCTION

Job satisfaction and its antecedents have been the subject of much empirical research during the last twenty years (Clark, 1996; Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000; Green and Tsitsianis, 2005; Timming, 2010). Despite this, there are still many questions about the factors that contribute to job satisfaction (Spector, 1997), such as the apparent link between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction. Although previous works have shown that trade union members report *lower* levels of job satisfaction than non-union employees (Borjas, 1979; Hersch and Stone, 1990; Miller, 1990; Bender and Sloane, 1998; Clark, 1996; Heywood et al, 2002; Bryson et al*,* 2004; Guest and Conway, 2004; Green and Heywood, 2015), there is no agreed explanation for why this is the case. At least part of this is due to previous research of trade union membership and job satisfaction not being able to address 'differences across individuals, jobs, and workplaces' (Bryson et al*,* 2004: 441). This dissertation therefore set out to explore the sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction, so that more would be understood of the phenomenon in the field of industrial relations.

The relationship between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction is perplexing, given that trade unions are known to have positive effects on pay, benefits and terms and conditions of employment (Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Blanchflower and Bryson, 2010), and to promote employee control (Gall, 2010). Moreover, trade union members themselves have reported higher levels of satisfaction with pay (Schwochau, 1987; Meng, 1990; Heywood et al, 2002) and more influence over decision-making (Freeman, 1976; Freeman and Medoff, 1979; Hammer and Avgar, 2005) than has been reported by non-union members. When shown in the light of these positive aspects of trade union membership, the idea that trade union members report higher levels of job dissatisfaction (or, alternatively, lower levels of job satisfaction) than non-union members should seem surprising. As previous works on trade union membership and job

(dis)satisfaction have been largely quantitative, this research considered that perhaps they were unable to sufficiently capture factors that influenced trade union members' perceptions. This research therefore sought to understand why trade union members express job dissatisfaction by interviewing them directly about this topic, to allow them to openly discuss their perspectives.

This research is important for at least three reasons. First, from an ethical and moral point of view, job satisfaction is an end to which we ought to strive. People spend much of their time at work (Lyubomirsky et al, 2005) and their experiences of work contribute to their overall well-being. Job satisfaction is regarded as a part of, or a 'domain' within, an individual's 'subjective well being' (Diener, 2000: 34). How an individual experiences job satisfaction can impact on their home life, finances, work and health (Easterlin, 2006). Job dissatisfaction, moreover, has been linked to negative effects on individual well-being that include poor mental health (Kopp et al, 2008) as well as stress which has been shown to double a person's risk of cardiovascular death (Kivimaki et al, 2002).

The second reason for why this research is important is because it helps to inform trade union revitalisation efforts by highlighting how trade unions can be sources of (dis)satisfaction at work. It seemed possible that were this research to demonstrate that trade unions have a positive influence on job satisfaction, trade unions could use this information in their recruitment messages to encourage employees to join trade unions and/or to service their current members. Conversely, were this research to demonstrate that trade unions have a negative influence on job dissatisfaction, this could enable trade unions to address some of the factors that may discourage employees from joining trade unions. This has practical implications, as trade union membership has declined in the UK (Monastiriotis, 2007; Parker and Foley, 2010), whilst employees' demand for voice has been shown to stay constant (Gomez et al*,* 2010), regardless of changes in the workforce.

Regarding the third reason for why this research is important, job dissatisfaction has been found to have negative effects on organisations. Prior works have linked job dissatisfaction to high employee turnover (Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Clark, 2005) and to negative employee behaviours (Freeman, 1976; Bolin and Heatherly, 2001; Lau et al, 2003; Roelen et al, 2008),

whilst job satisfaction has been linked to organisational productivity (Bockermann and Ilmakunnas, 2012) and higher levels of employee trust in managers (Timming, 2012). The insights gathered from this research will shed light on factors that are associated with job dissatisfaction and by doing so, enable organisations to address factors that affect their employees' job dissatisfaction and organisational productivity. Section 1.3 includes details related to the three previously mentioned topics on why this dissertation is important.

The theoretical relationships explored in this dissertation make at least three contributions to the industrial relations literatures and, to a lesser extent, the human resources and job satisfaction literatures. The first important contribution this dissertation makes is its use of a qualitative analytical approach to understand the phenomenon of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. To date, it has been difficult to understand trade union members' job dissatisfaction, given the conflicting findings from a largely quantitative body of research (Donegani and McKay, 2012) and weaknesses in the methodologies that have been used (Powdthavee, 2011). Thus, trade union members' job dissatisfaction is a longstanding issue that has consistently puzzled researchers, as over four decades of mostly quantitative research has not led to a generally agreed upon explanation for why trade union members express job dissatisfaction related to their union membership. By contrast, this dissertation uses interviews with trade union members to capture their perceptions on the research phenomenon, so as to enable the discovery of factors that influence trade union members' feelings and perspectives on job dissatisfaction. Moreover, the use of grounded theoretical techniques in this dissertation allows a wider range of insights to emerge in relation to trade union members' job dissatisfaction than would be possible in a quantitative study.

Regarding the second contribution, this research includes three alternative explanations for trade union members' job dissatisfaction to strengthen the research design. By evaluating these explanations, this research is able to contribute new ideas to the industrial relations literatures that expand on three previous alternative explanations for why trade union members express job dissatisfaction. These alternative explanations include trade union members' (i) unmet expectations with trade unions, (ii) awareness of inequalities and (iii) perceptions of industrial relations climates. As for the third contribution, the aim of this dissertation is to develop and

contribute insights on trade union members' job dissatisfaction to the industrial relations literatures. These insights will be integrated into an initial model towards understanding trade union members' job dissatisfaction in Chapter 6.

This chapter is divided into nine sections. In section 1.2, literature on trade unionism is discussed to provide a background for the present research and to highlight its relevance to discussions on the future of trade union renewal and organisation. The problem of trade union members' job dissatisfaction is then discussed in section 1.3 through a literature review and section 1.4 presents the underlying research question addressed in this dissertation. In section 1.5, the methodology used to explore and explain the phenomenon is revealed. The importance of this research is then imparted in section 1.6, followed by the expected theoretical contributions of this dissertation in section 1.7. A detailed outline of the chapters is then conveyed in section 1.8, and this chapter concludes with a discussion of its main points in section 1.9.

1.2 BACKGROUND ON TRADE UNION IDEOLOGY AND ORGANISATION

Trade union ideology includes the underlying assumption that employment relationships are unequal, as the interests of workers are subjugated to the interests of their inherently more powerful employers (Colling and Terry, 2010). A critical function of trade unions, then, is to leverage their collective bargaining power and to represent their members' interests in relationships with managements (ibid). Trade unions are also political organisations that have traditionally derived their strength by appealing to, and aligning themselves with, the interests of working class people and the Labour Party, so as to influence governmental policy (Hyman, 1995). Yet, trade union membership in the U.K. has declined since the 1980s, largely because of economic recession related and political changes (Edwards, 1995). These changes have included an increasingly diverse workforce and a 'decline within the manufacturing sector where union membership was strong' (Simms et al, 2013: 20). It has also been suggested that the general decline in trade union membership during the late 1970s and onward is a reflection of widespread changes across industries in 'advanced economies' or the globalisation of production (Nolan and Walsh, 1995: 58). Furthermore, the previous authors indicated that linking the

Thatcher government's anti-union policies to the general decline in trade union membership would be an over simplification (ibid: 58).

Scholars within the area of industrial relations have debated the organising and recruitment efforts of trade unions, in part because trade union membership density levels are a measure by which trade union power is evaluated (Simms and Charlwood, 2010). While the majority of 'researchers and practitioners' have generally advocated for a kind of trade union renewal and revitalisation that has 'consequences for workers and for unions' (Simms et al, 2013:33), there are challenges to trade union revitalisation efforts. Some of these challenges have included an increase in the power of employers that is related to a general restructuring of employment across the U.K., high levels of unemployment and job insecurity and the ability of some employers to resist trade unions (Waddington and Whitston, 1997). These challenges aside, the organising and recruitment efforts of trade unions have generally focused on recruiting new members in workplaces where trade union members already exist 'and/or' recruiting new members in 'hitherto unorganized areas' (Waddington and Whitston, 1997: 538). Trade union renewal in the U.K. has also been associated with an '"organizing model" (OM)' that involves empowering trade union members to use collective action and, to an increasing extent, a '"servicing model" (SM)' that emphasises trade union effectiveness (Heery et al, 2000: 38 as quoted in Fiorito, 2004: 27). In contrast to the organizing model, which is aimed at recruiting trade union members, the servicing model is focused on how trade unions can increase their strength by providing better services and representation to their current members (Fiorito, 2004).

In the light of the discussion thus far in this section, it is important to clarify how the present research could relate to trade union organisation and renewal efforts. As the present research studies job dissatisfaction with interviewees who are current trade union members, and the trade unions at each of the two case studies in the present research are recognised by managements, the results of this dissertation likely shed more light on the servicing aspects of trade unionism.

1.3 THE PROBLEM OF TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AND JOB DISSATISFACTION

Research has consistently shown an association between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction (Freeman, 1978; Borjas, 1979; Berger et al, 1983; Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Schwochau, 1987; Hersch and Stone, 1990; Meng, 1990; Miller, 1990; Heywood et al, 2002; Guest and Conway, 2004; Krieg et al, 2013), although there is no consensus across these works to explain the phenomenon. As previous works included in this section will help to show, the association between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction is paradoxical because trade unions have been linked to positive effects on major areas of employment. This section begins with a literature review to describe the positive effects of trade unions on these areas, which include earnings, terms and conditions of employment, and job control and decision-making. Following this, literature is included that shows a consistent association between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction. The positive effects of trade unions revealed at the beginning of this section will help to underscore why the consistent association between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction seems contrary to what one should expect. Lastly, subsection 1.2.4 will suggest that because previous works have not agreed on why trade union members express job dissatisfaction, a problem remains that deserves further attention.

1.3.1 EFFECTS OF TRADE UNIONS ON PAY

Perhaps the biggest surprise surrounding trade union members' reports of job dissatisfaction is related to income. Trade unions are known to positively affect earnings (West and Mykerezi, 2011; Long, 2013; Torm, 2014) and trade union members are known to receive a wage premium (Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Jarrell and Stanley, 1990; Booth, 1995; Arabsheibani and Marin, 2001; Blanchflower and Bryson, 2004; Hirsch, 2004; Rios-Avila and Hirsch, 2014). Furthermore, income has been positively associated with job satisfaction in multi-country studies (Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000; Warr, 2008; Timming, 2010) and as revealed in this subsection, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the effects of trade unions on pay has been largely positive.

To begin, previous research has found that trade unions impacted their members' wages to the extent that their members earned 20 per cent to 30 per cent more than non-union employees (Freeman and Medoff, 1984). Booth (1995) reported that the average earnings of trade union members were 15 per cent higher in the U.S. and 8 per cent higher in the U.K. than non-union employees. Likewise, Pencavel (2009) found that trade union members in the U.K. had a wage premium over non-union workers of 15 per cent. Lastly, Delery et al (2000) showed that wages were 8 per cent higher in unionised U.S. trucking organisations than their non-union trucking counterparts. Research has also indicated that the primary reason workers join trade unions is for the 'union wage mark up' (Guest and Conway, 2004: 107), whilst influencing pay has been described as a central aim of trade unions: 'The purpose of unions is to further the economic interests of their members by negotiating on their behalf' (Hammer and Avgar, 2005: 241). When shown in the light of the research included in this subsection, it seems unlikely that trade union members would express job dissatisfaction as a result of their comparatively higher earnings.

1.3.2 EFFECTS OF TRADE UNIONS ON TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

Employment terms have been described as an 'authority relationship' between the worker and employer (Simon, 1951: 293). Clegg (1976: 1-2) clarified conditions after referring to a description by Webb and Webb (1897) of the key purpose of trade unions: 'This purpose unions achieved by imposing rules upon employers as to the way they should treat their employees, or those classes of their employees with whom the unions were concerned; but they devised and enforced these rules in different ways according to their circumstances'. Trade unions thus have a 'duty' to their members: 'trade union leaders have a responsibility *to* their members *for* protecting their interests, maintaining and improving their terms and conditions of employment and maintaining the integrity, continuity and strength of the union as an organisation' (Salamon, 1998: 77; emphasis original).

Research has linked trade unions to positive effects on terms and conditions of employment (Freeman, 1978; Freeman, 1980; Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Aryee and Yue, 2001). For example, where a trade union was recognised, Budd and Mumford (2004: 212) found a greater

instance of ‘parental leave policies, special paid family leave, child care facilities, subsidies, and job sharing arrangements’. Furthermore, Buchmueller et al (2002) showed that unionised firms had a 15 per cent greater likelihood of covering the entire health insurance premium for family coverage than non-union firms. Given that work-life balance has been linked to job satisfaction in multiple countries (Timming, 2010), findings such as these should be expected to positively affect satisfaction for trade union members.

In other findings, Mitchell (1983) revealed that United Steelworkers’ contracts during difficult financial times included generous benefits such as worker wage concessions, early retirement options and increased unemployment benefits for older workers. Long (2013) found trade union members had more retirement, medical and life insurance benefits and with few exceptions, more disability and paid leave benefits than non-union employees. Furthermore, Goerke and Pannenberg (2011) found annual dismissal rates over a twenty-year period in West Germany were approximately 3.6 per cent for non-union employees compared to a lower rate of 1.3 per cent for trade union members. Lastly, job security has been associated with job satisfaction in multi-country studies (Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000; Clark, 2005), and should be expected to positively affect trade union members’ job satisfaction as well.

Additionally, the likelihood of receiving training was lower by seven per cent for non-union males and 10 per cent for non-union females, as compared to workers covered by trade unions in Arulampalam and Booth (1998). Green et al (1999) found trade union member manual and non-manual employees were more likely to have been trained and to have spent more time in training than non-union employees. Boheim and Booth (2004) found union-covered non-manual males and females were more likely to have been trained than their uncovered counterparts. Trade unions have also been linked to increased wages for employees after training in Booth and Chatterji (1998). Furthermore, there is a correlation between training and job satisfaction - research by Jones et al (2009) revealed employees with more training had higher job satisfaction.

When shown in the light of the research included in this subsection, it seems unusual that trade union members should report lower levels of job satisfaction than non-trade union members.

1.3.3 EFFECTS OF TRADE UNIONS ON JOB CONTROL AND DECISION-MAKING

Research has shown that trade unions have positive effects on job control and decision-making (Freeman, 1976; Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Gall, 2010). Trade unions provide workplace justice systems that enable trade union members to express their views to management without fear of reprisal, so that members can effect changes in the workplace (Freeman and Medoff, 1979). By contrast, individual employees generally do not have the ability to influence decision-making because they can be dismissed more easily for voicing their discontent (ibid). According to Freeman (1976), the impact of trade unions on job control has been positive. Hammer and Avgar (2005: 241) went so far as to describe the trade unions' 'system of due process and participation in decisions about employment and working conditions' as being 'social benefits'. Gall (2010: 364) indicated that trade unions used collective bargaining to regulate labour markets by means of 'job control and demarcation'.

Studies have shown a link between trade union membership and job control. In the work of Belonger (1989), trade union members controlled a production line and worked hard in the first half of their shifts so that by the second half, they had accumulated more than two hours of idle time. Berg et al (2004) linked trade union representatives' focus on working time, trade union coverage, trade union density and collective bargaining to employees' control of their own work-time. The research of Lyness et al (2012) showed that trade union coverage had a positive impact on employees being able to control their own work schedules. Furthermore, trade unions can negotiate for 'unilateral control' so they can be programme overseers, or for *'process'* controls so that they can choose who fills important work roles (ibid: 173; emphasis original).

The power of trade unions over job controls has also evolved over time. From 1968 to 1979, high economic growth in the U.K. and a general climate of support for shop steward organisation from the government and from managements led to shop stewards forming more centralised groups that negotiated over plant-wide policies (Terry, 1983). Yet, the concept of centralised bargaining by shop stewards was sometimes complicated in factories with multiple unions wherein certain occupational groups (i.e., engineers) maintained unique traditions (ibid). During the 'harsher climate of the 1980s', unemployment rose, manufacturers with powerful trade

unions closed, and the product and labour market in the U.K. changed so that trade union representatives had less power in their negotiations with managements (Edwards and Terry, 1988: 232). Managements were thus able to institute changes, such as new human resources practices that shifted job control away from trade unions, in organisations where employees had less power to resist (ibid).

The influence that trade union representatives have over job control is also nuanced. As the work of Terry (1977) has indicated, informal agreements between managements and trade union representatives can exist in organisations that have formal agreements in place. Moreover, certain occupational groups within factories may have more informal agreements with managements than other occupational groups within the same factory. Even more, the extent to which informal agreements exist within a given factory is dynamic and can change over time (ibid).

The literature reviewed thus far has highlighted the positive effects of trade unions on major areas of employment including earnings, terms and conditions of employment and job control and decision-making. This review helps to underscore that trade union members' reports of job dissatisfaction are 'deeply counterintuitive' (Powdthavee, 2011: 1000).

1.3.4 TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP'S ASSOCIATION WITH JOB DISSATISFACTION

Despite the largely positive effects that trade unions have had across studies, there is wide agreement that trade union members report lower levels of job satisfaction than non-union employees. Furthermore, there is no agreed explanation for why trade union members express job dissatisfaction. This subsection includes a literature review that describes the relationship between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction chronologically, and shows that there is no consensus across research to explain the phenomenon.

In the work of Borjas (1979), trade union members reported more dissatisfaction with their jobs than non-union employees. The findings were not evenly distributed, however, as older trade union members expressed stronger job dissatisfaction than younger members (ibid: 1979).

Freeman (1980) found trade union members reported stronger job dissatisfaction than non-union employees and suggested that this was because collective voice and grievance systems had enabled trade union members to express their discontent. Interestingly, his explanation was contingent on his not being able to find another reason to explain the phenomenon: 'the voice interpretation of the relation rests on the inability of other factors to explain the union effect, rather than on positive support for the hypothesis' (ibid: 666-668). In the research of Odewahn and Petty (1980: 152), trade union members expressed stronger dissatisfaction than non-union workers with their jobs as well as their pay. Odewahn and Petty (1980) also found that trade union members reported more stress and lower levels of competence than non-union employees, and the authors recommended that trade union members' personalities be considered in future studies.

Research to date has not agreed on why trade union members express job dissatisfaction, although a range of factors have been associated with the phenomenon. Freeman and Medoff (1984) linked trade union members' expressions of job dissatisfaction to lower turnover rates and suggested that job security enabled trade union members to safely express their dissatisfaction without fear of reprisals from management. This is known as the exit-voice hypothesis and is based on the consumer behaviour theory of Hirschman (1970), which suggested that loyal customers complain instead of ceasing to be customers when they are dissatisfied. Miller (1990) found trade union members were largely dissatisfied and attributed their dissatisfaction to poor union work environments, and did not show support for the exit-voice hypothesis of Freeman and Medoff (1984). Hersch and Stone (1990) discovered that whilst trade union members reported more dissatisfaction with their jobs than non-union workers, the likelihood that they would quit was the same. Like Miller (1990), Hersch and Stone (1990) indicated that they did not show support for the exit-voice hypothesis of Freeman and Medoff (1984). However, unlike Miller (1990) and Borjas (1979), Hersch and Stone (1990) suggested that trade unions had a direct effect on job dissatisfaction that was independent of work conditions and earnings.

In the research of Lincoln and Booth (1993), the presence of a trade union led to higher levels of job dissatisfaction that the authors linked to lower non-pecuniary rewards in unionised industries. Bender and Sloane (1998) suggested trade union members' job dissatisfaction was due to

collective bargaining having a negative impact on industrial relations climates. Like Miller (1990) and Hersch and Stone (1990), Bender and Sloane (1998) indicated that they did not show support for the exit-voice voice hypothesis. Clark (1996) showed that trade union membership was linked to job dissatisfaction and, like Odewahn and Petty (1980), proposed that individuals could be predisposed to join trade unions, again returning to the issue of personality.

The research of Heywood et al (2002) found trade union members were more dissatisfied with their jobs than non-union workers and expressed dissatisfaction with their pay regardless of their employment sector. Renaud (2002) discovered that trade union members were more dissatisfied than non-union workers and, like Miller (1990), attributed trade union members' job dissatisfaction to their work conditions. Furthermore, Renaud (2002) suggested that trade union members' low opinions of trade unions were not the source of their job dissatisfaction and unlike Hersch and Stone (1990), did not show support for the direct effect of trade unions on their members' job dissatisfaction. Bryson et al (2004: 452) found job dissatisfaction among trade union members and indicated that they expressed higher levels of job dissatisfaction than non-union workers because of their personal characteristics and 'higher aspirations'. Guest and Conway (2004) linked trade union members' job dissatisfaction to trade unions not having met their members' expectations and to management's restrictions of trade unions. The latter study is similar to the work of Bender and Sloane (1998) for its consideration of management influence. Jones and Sloane (2009) found trade union members were more dissatisfied than non-union workers in a regional U.K. study, but did not offer an explanation.

Krieg et al (2013) indicated that trade union members reported strong dissatisfaction as shown by the strength of the coefficients in their study, which the authors suggested were like coefficients they had found in previous quantitative studies of trade union membership and job dissatisfaction. Krieg et al (2013) suggested that trade union members were primarily dissatisfied with their workloads. Furthermore, after controlling for work-related factors, Green and Heywood (2015) showed that trade union members expressed higher levels of job dissatisfaction than non-union members. The previous authors indicated that more needed to be understood on factors such as those that affect why employees join trade unions.

Key points from the studies included in subsection 1.3.4 are summarised in the table below.

Table 1.1

Work	i) Sample Description and ii) Results	Country
Freeman (1978)	i) The author created samples from these datasets: National Longitudinal Surveys *NLS* Older Men (1966-1971) and *NLS* Young Men (1966); Michigan Work Quality (1968-1969) and Quality of Employment (1972-1973); and Michigan Panel Survey of Income Dynamics *PSID* (1972). The author did not describe the participants (for example, their age or occupation) included in his sample. The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data. ii) Job Dissatisfaction was a significant predictor of turnover. Unionism raised dissatisfaction, but lowered turnover rates among union members. This was attributed to union member voice.	U.S.
Borjas (1979)	i) The author created a sample from one dataset, the National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Men (1971) aged 50 to 64 years of age. The author describes his sample as 'white working men' (Borjas, 1979: 25). The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data. ii) Older union workers were more dissatisfied than younger union workers. The union wage premium declined with tenure. Support was shown for the voice hypothesis of Freeman (1976).	U.S.
Freeman (1980)	i) The author created samples from four datasets: National Longitudinal Surveys *NLS* Older Men (1969-1971) aged 45 to 59; NLS Younger Male (1969-1971) aged 17 to 24; Michigan Panel Survey of Income Dynamics (1968-1974); and Current Population Surveys (1973, 1974 and 1975). Freeman combined the three years of CPS data and created a sample that included 95,000 participants. The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data.	U.S.

	ii) Unionism raised dissatisfaction and lowered turnover rates among union members. This was attributed to union member voice.	
Odewahn and Petty (1980)	i) The authors obtained primary data from non-professional male and female care workers at mental health facilities consisting of 102 trade union member and 76 non-trade union member employees. The largest proportion of the trade union member employee sample was between the ages of 26 to 30 and the largest proportion of the non-union member employee sample was between the ages of 20 to 25. The authors compared trade union and non-trade union member employee data. ii) The union members' personalities could play a part in their dissatisfaction. A lack of past data was a limit in this study.	U.S.
Berger et al (1983)	i) The author created a sample from one dataset, the Quality of Employment Survey Panel (1973). The sample included 1,155 'working adults' of which 386 were trade union member employees (Berger et al, 1983: 296). The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data. ii) Unions had an effect on rewards and work values and an indirect effect on job dissatisfaction.	U.S.
Freeman and Medoff (1984)	i) The authors created a sample from one dataset, the Quality of Employment Survey (1977), to study job satisfaction. The sample included 1,023 trade union member and non-trade union member employees, some of which (although a number is not provided) are described as 'Non-white workers' (Freeman and Medoff, 1984: 138). The authors created samples from different datasets including the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (1972-1973), the National Longitudinal Survey Older Men (1969-1971), the National Longitudinal Survey Younger Men (1969-1971), and the Quality of Employment Survey (1973 and 1977). The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data. ii) Unionism raised both dissatisfaction and lowered turnover rates. This was attributed to union member voice.	U.S.

Schwochau (1987)	i) The author created a sample from one dataset, the Quality of Employment Survey, U.S. Department of Labor Statistics (1977). The sample included trade union member and non-trade union member employees '16 years of age or older' in 'non-agricultural industries'. The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data. ii) The Union members had lower satisfaction with co-employees, supervision, adequacy of resources, and the content of their jobs, but higher satisfaction with pay than non-union members.	U.S.
Hersch and Stone (1990)	i) The authors gathered primary data from 'manufacturing and warehouse firms' consisting of '380 mail, full-time workers between the ages of 18 and 64' whereby 'one-third' were members of a trade union (Hersch and Stone, 1990: 740). The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data. ii) Union members had lower job satisfaction than non-union members, but were as likely to quit their jobs. Findings disagreed with the voice hypothesis of Freeman and Medoff (1984).	U.S.
Meng (1990)	i) The author created a sample from one dataset, the Social Change in Canada Survey (1981). The sample included trade union member and non-trade union member 'adult men and women between the ages of 18 and 64 years with positive 1980 incomes' (Meng, 1990: 1638. Union members were less satisfied with job quality, but more satisfied with pay than non-union members. The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member employee data. ii) There were differences in the attitudes of the union and non-union employees. Findings supported the voice hypothesis of Freeman (1980) and Freeman and Medoff (1984).	Canada
Miller (1990)	i) The author created a sample from one dataset, the Australian Longitudinal Survey (1985). The sample included 'a representative sample of 15-25 year olds' consisting of trade union member and non-trade union member employees (Miller, 1990: 228). The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member data.	Australia

	ii) Union member dissatisfaction was attributed to work conditions and did not support the voice hypothesis of Freeman and Medoff (1984).	
Lincoln and Booth (1993)	i) The authors used surveys to gather primary data (1982-1983) from 43 manufacturing plants in Japan (1,894 respondents) and 51 manufacturing plants in the U.S. (2,788 respondents). The authors compared plants with trade union contracts to plants without trade union contracts because, as the authors indicated, employees at the plants with trade union contracts were mostly trade union members whilst employees at the plants without trade union contracts generally were not. Their sample included 'nonmanagerial production employees' (Lincoln and Booth, 1993: 166). ii) Union presence in a U.S. plant was related to lower levels of job satisfaction, but not in a Japanese plant. This was possibly due to less non-pecuniary rewards in the U.S.	U.S. and Japan
Clark (1996)	i) The author used a random sample of one dataset, the British Household Panel Survey (1991). The sample includes 'a wide range' of 'individual household demographics, health, employment, values and finances' (Clark, 1996: 193). The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member data. ii) Union job dissatisfaction could be because union members were dissatisfied prior to joining the union or because they could voice dissatisfaction as suggested by the voice hypothesis of Freeman (1980).	U.K.
Bender and Sloane (1998)	i) The authors created a sample from one dataset, the Social Change and Economic Life Initiative Survey (1986-1987). The sample consisted of 1,509 trade union member and non-trade union member employees who were 'full-time, non-self-employed' (Bender and Sloane, 1998: 227). The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member data. ii) Union member dissatisfaction was due to a question asking employees to rate their employee and employer relationships. The industrial relations environment was considered the reason for union member discontent.	U.K.

Heywood et al (2002)	i) The authors created a sample from four datasets consisting of the British Household Panel Survey (1991 to 1994). Their sample included 9,604 male and female, trade union member and non-trade union member employees. The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member data. ii) The sorting hypothesis only explained public sector employment and pay, as union members were dissatisfied with pay regardless of the sector of employment.	U.K.
Renaud (2002)	i) The author created a sample from one dataset, the Social Survey: Education and Work (1989). The sample included 3,352 male and female trade union member and non-trade union member employees. The author compared trade union member and non-trade union member data. ii) Union member dissatisfaction was attributed to their poor work environments and not to the unions.	Canada
Guest and Conway (2004)	i) The authors examined one dataset, the Workplace Employment Relations Survey (1998). Included in the dataset are 11,000 trade union member employees and 17,000 nono-trade union member employees (5,150 of which were ex-trade union members). The data includes a mixture of male and female blue and white-collar workers, professionals and sales workers. The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member data. ii) Union member dissatisfaction was possibly the result of management and union relations and unions not meeting the expectations of union members.	U.K.
Bryson et al (2004)	i) The authors used two elements of the Workplace Employment Relations Survey (1998) consisting of management interviews and employee self-surveys. Included in the data are trade union member and non-trade union member employees in work across different sectors of the British economy. The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member data. ii) Union member dissatisfaction was possibly related to the personal and unobservable attributes of the trade union members themselves.	U.K.

Jones and Sloane (2009)	i) The authors examined waves 1 to 11 of the British Household Panel Survey. The data included a wide-range of demographic information and trade union member and non-trade union member employees. This study focused on regional differences (i.e., Wales, London, Scotland, the Southeast and England) in job satisfaction. ii) Although it did not provide an explanation for union member dissatisfaction, it did clarify that industrial relations were better in Wales, which had the highest levels of job satisfaction for both union and non-union employees.	U.K.
Krieg et al (2013)	i) The authors created a sample from the National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (1988, 1993, 1999 and 2004). The sample includes 'full-time faculty members at 4-year' unionised and non-unionised institutions, inclusive of 'instructors, lecturers, and tenure-track and tenured faculty members' (Krieg et al, 2013: 623). Included in the sample are trade union member and non-trade union member employees. The authors compared union-covered workplaces to non-union workplaces. ii) Union members were dissatisfied possibly as a result of workloads, but the study was constrained by data limitations.	U.S.
Green and Heywood (2015)	1) The authors examined datasets from the British Household Panel Survey (1995 to 2008). The datasets include male and female trade union member and non-trade union member employees. The authors compared trade union member and non-trade union member data. ii) Union members were dissatisfied after having controlled for fixed effects related to the members' work environments. The researchers suggested that more needed to be known about other factors, such as why the trade union members had joined their trade unions.	U.K.

It must be noted that the works cited in the table above are likely reflective of wider structural changes that occurred within the times periods in which they were written. For example, the recession of the late 1970s in the U.S. likely affected the works of Freeman (1978; 1980), Borjas

(1980) and Odewahn and Petty (1980), whilst the economic restructuring in the U.K. described below using an excerpt from Colling and Terry (2010: 12) likely affected the works of Clark (1996), Bender and Sloane (1998), Heywood et al (2002), Guest and Conway (2004) and Bryson et al (2004):

> 'Over 25 years between 1981 and 2006, employment in the primary (e.g. mining and agriculture) and secondary industries (e.g. manufacturing and construction) more or less halved to 4.7 million jobs (Self and Zealey 2007: 46). The implosion of British manufacturing employment has been especially dramatic, falling by 58% between 1978 and 2008 to just 2.9 million employees (Hughes 2009: 53). Overwhelmingly, the long-term shift has been inexorably towards service sector employment'.

1.3.5 ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS FOR TRADE UNION MEMBERS' JOB DISSATISFACTION

Three previous arguments that have attempted to explain why trade union members express job dissatisfaction at higher rates than non-trade union members were used in this dissertation as the foundation of the research design. Including these three explanations in the research design enabled this dissertation to make a valuable contribution to the industrial relations literatures by adding new insights to prior works on trade union membership and job dissatisfaction, the lion's share of which is quantitative. The three explanations are related to trade union members' (i) unmet expectations, (ii) awareness of inequalities and (iii) perceptions of industrial relations climates. These three alternative explanations are introduced in this subsection and expanded upon in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, respectively.

The first explanation for why trade union members express job dissatisfaction is related to the often unachievable expectations that they form when they join trade unions. This explanation suggests that employees join trade unions because they expect to receive benefits from trade union membership and express job dissatisfaction when they do not receive the benefits they had expected (Guest and Conway, 2004). The first explanation includes the idea that trade union members evaluate aspects of their jobs, such as pay and benefits, to decide if their expectations have been met (Hammer and Avgar, 2005).

The second explanation is predicated on the idea that trade unions organise their members around, and raise awareness of, inequality (Turner, 1986). Trade unions try to recruit members from previously marginalised groups (Lindsay et al, 2007), and trade union ideology is shifting to address more issues related to discrimination and inequality (Gregory and Milner, 2009). Within this explanation is the idea that trade union members express job dissatisfaction that is related to their having an increased awareness of issues surrounding inequality.

The third explanation is that trade union members' job dissatisfaction is the result of the more adversarial industrial relations climates in their workplaces, as suggested in the works of Bender and Sloane (1998) and Guest and Conway (2004). Trade unions and managements contribute to the creation of workplace atmospheres, or industrial relations climates, that everyone within a particular workplace setting perceives and feels (Dastmalchian et al, 1989). These workplace atmospheres can be negative, and are affected by the quality of labour relations within a particular organisation (Tetrick and Fried, 1993). In the research of Bender and Sloane (1998), it was collective bargaining rather than trade unions per se that had a negative impact on industrial relations climate. Bender and Sloane (1998) highlight that the interactions between trade unions and managements could impact on industrial relations climates.

Previous research has questioned whether explanations such as the three described in this subsection can provide an adequate rationale for trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Powdthavee (2011) suggested that few studies have controlled for sorting, workplace and individual heterogeneity. He found only four studies had accomplished this: 'The notable examples are Bryson et al. (2004), Bender and Sloane (1998), Gordon and Denisi (1995), and Renaud (2002)'. Donegani and McKay (2012) described conflicting findings among explanations for trade union members' job dissatisfaction and highlighted the works of Bryson et al (2004), which showed support for sorting, and Heywood et al (2002), which did not show support for sorting. The results of Heywood et al (2002) were thus described: 'the negative relationship with union membership held even after controlling for the sorting of dissatisfied workers into union jobs' (Donegani and McKay, 2012: 474). Furthermore, Pfeffer and Davis-

Blake (1990) criticised the works of Borjas (1979) and Kochan and Helfman (1981) for not including work conditions in their analyses.

In sum, research to date has demonstrated a relationship between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction. As shown in this section, there is no consensus across previous studies on what explains trade union members' job dissatisfaction. This is because previous works were largely quantitative and unable to readily establish causality. Thus, the literature described in this chapter calls for further qualitative analyses that can broaden the scope and depth of the investigation into trade union member's job dissatisfaction. The next section presents the research question driving this dissertation, followed by a brief introduction to the methods.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

This review of the literature on the association between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction, and on the benefits of trade unions to employment, revealed a conundrum. Perhaps this is largely due to the overwhelming quantitative bias in studies of trade union membership and job satisfaction. This research therefore sought to understand why trade union members express job dissatisfaction by interviewing them using qualitative methods, which enabled this dissertation to capture more of the factors that influence their perceptions.

The research question asked in this dissertation is simply: Why do trade union members express dissatisfaction with their jobs? Noticeably, this research question emphasises job dissatisfaction over job satisfaction. The emphasis is plausible inasmuch as more than four decades of research has shown that trade union members are less satisfied than non-trade union members. However, this research acknowledges that job satisfaction and dissatisfaction exist on a continuum. To clarify, this research is focused primarily on trade union members' perceptions surrounding job dissatisfaction and not on their perceptions of job satisfaction, which can be addressed in future research. The next section briefly discusses the methodology, which will be outlined in detail in Chapter 2.

1.5 HOW THIS DISSERTATION ANSWERS THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Uniquely, this dissertation uses a qualitative approach to explore the research question so as to better our understanding of the sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. The selection of qualitative analysis and the use of interviews is part of a robust methodology to explore the phenomenon, as this approach facilitates the discovery of insights that previous studies were perhaps unable to capture. Compared to the quantitative studies included in Table 1.1, this dissertation's use of qualitative analysis could enable a more in-depth and complex view of trade union members' perceptions of job dissatisfaction. The ontological and epistemological assumptions of this research are described below, followed by the data sources and methods that are used.

This research's ontological and epistemological assumptions are based on the philosophy of phenomenology and interpreted using a social constructivist framework. The nature of reality and ontological approach of phenomenology suggests that there are multiple realities that vary according to individual experience (Moustakas, 1994, cited in Creswell, 2007: 18). Phenomenology is relevant to this research, as each trade union member interviewee has an interpretation of job dissatisfaction that is unique to them. Social constructivism suggests an individual's perceptions in particular contexts help them to create meaning, and this idea is included in the phenomenological work of Moustakas (1994). It is important to understand how trade union members create meaning within their dynamic work environments, as this can capture undiscovered insights on their perceptions of job dissatisfaction. The epistemic assumptions are that individuals use their own perceptions to form objective meanings (Schutz, 1967). The axiological assumption is that the researcher acquires knowledge through indirect and deliberate interactions with subjects: 'All social sciences are objective meaning-contexts of subjective meaning-contexts' (ibid: 241). As Schutz (1967: 248) stated: 'The primary task of this science is to describe the processes of meaning-establishment and meaning-interpretation as these are carried out by individuals living in the social world'.

The use of a qualitative approach is an important aspect of this research, as qualitative methods enrich and deepen analyses (Ackers et al, 2006; Brown et al, 2007; Timming, 2011). This

research conducts interviews with trade union members at two case study organisations in the UK. These case study organisations include a manufacturing organisation (hereafter XYZ) and a public services organisation (hereafter ABC). Interviews are conducted with 20 trade union members at the manufacturing organisation and 23 trade union members at the public services organisation. The points of contact for this study are a trade union representative and an HR representative at the manufacturing organisation, and a trade union representative at the public services organisation.

The research design used to explain the relationship between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction focuses on these interviews. Grounded theoretical techniques are used to guide the research process, and data collection and data analysis occur simultaneously (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As previously highlighted in this chapter, three alternative explanations for trade union members' job dissatisfaction are evaluated in the context of the research design. As will be described in Chapter 2, these three explanations are used as grounded theoretical 'sensitising concepts' (Glaser and Strauss, 1965: 263). Details of the research design and a definition of the grounded theoretical terms used in this dissertation are included in Chapter 2 as well, which includes an extended discussion of the methodology.

1.6 WHY THIS DISSERTATION IS IMPORTANT

There are three main reasons why this research on trade union membership and job dissatisfaction is important. First is an ethical argument that job satisfaction research provides insights into employee well-being that are in the best interests of employees and society in general. Second, the findings could contribute to trade union revitalisation efforts by highlighting how trade unions influence job (dis)satisfaction. The third reason is that job dissatisfaction affects employee behaviours that can negatively impact on organisations. In addition to the reasons mentioned above, this study will likely contribute to the work of other researchers, given that job satisfaction is studied more often than any other subject in organisational behaviour (Spector, 1995).

Job dissatisfaction impacts on the well-being of workers and the quality of their lives and has been linked to overall life satisfaction in Rice et al (1992). Wolfram and Gratton (2014) found negativity at work spills over and contributes to lower life satisfaction. As such, if trade union members express job dissatisfaction, there is reason to believe that their personal and family lives are being negatively affected. Furthermore, the following statements from Levesque and Murray (2002: 47) help to highlight that the spirit of trade unionism is reflective of the ethical argument that research of trade union members' job (dis)satisfaction is important to individual well-being and society:

> 'Unionism has long been about arguing for alternatives. The presence of an agenda suggests that there are other ways of seeing the world, a hope--indeed, a conviction--that things might somehow be different. One of the compelling reasons to unionize is, of course, the belief that joining a union will make a difference. But the importance of agenda transcends a narrow economic view of improved working conditions to embrace the possibility of greater fairness in the workplace and of broader social transformations affecting workers as both workers and as citizens'.

The second reason why this research is important is that trade union revitalisation efforts could benefit from insights into trade union members' job dissatisfaction. There is evidence to suggest that many workers who are not currently trade union members would be predisposed to joining. Gomez et al (2010) suggest employees have a demand for voice – which could be addressed by trade unions. Yet, it seems that trade unions need to show themselves in a new and positive light to attract this potentially responsive audience of employees. For example, it has been suggested that trade union revitalisation is unlikely if trade unions continue to use instrumentalism as a means to organise members (Tapia, 2013). Yet, Fairbrother (2015) shed light on the idea that trade union renewal is possible if trade unions reinvent themselves and find new purpose. It is therefore important that trade unions understand job dissatisfaction from the perspectives of trade union members themselves, as it could inform unions of the issues that are the most important and relevant to their members.

This research is important for a third reason, as links have been shown between job satisfaction and organisational productivity, turnover and employee behaviours. To begin, job satisfaction

has been linked to job performance (Judge et al, 2001), customer satisfaction (Koys, 2001), and increased profits (Bernhardt et al, 2000). Job dissatisfaction, however, has been linked to increased sick absences (Roelen et al, 2008) and deviant employee behaviours such as theft (Lau et al, 2003). Furthermore, associations have been found between job dissatisfaction and intentions to quit (Sibbald et al, 2003; Valentine et at, 2011; Ramoo et al, 2013), as well as to higher quits (Lambert et al, 2001; Jou et al, 2013). Interestingly, research has shown that whilst trade union members reported higher levels of job dissatisfaction than non-union employees, they had lower levels of turnover (Freeman and Medoff, 1984). By exploring trade union members' job dissatisfaction, this research can provide insights on, and understanding of, factors that have strong implications for organisations.

In short, this section has identified three broad reasons for why the study of trade union members' job dissatisfaction is important, as well as its potential impact on employees, organisations and society.

1.7 HOW THIS DISSERTATION MAKES AN ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION

This research contributes to the industrial relations literatures and, to a lesser extent, to the human resources and job satisfaction literatures, in at least three ways. First, this research provides a methodological contribution through its unique use of qualitative, grounded theory techniques. Second, evaluating three alternative explanations for trade union members' job dissatisfaction in the research design enables this dissertation to add new insights as well as to expand on what is already known of the phenomenon. Furthermore, this research will make a third contribution to the industrial relations literatures by developing integrated insights that will help in understanding the unresolved phenomenon of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

The first expected contribution is methodological, as this dissertation draws from grounded theory for an innovative and fresh approach to exploring trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Findings from Walters (2005) and Brown et al (2012) suggest that interviewees' responses can differ based on whether a survey or interview method is used. The failure of the largely quantitative methods to find a widely agreed upon reason for trade union members' job

dissatisfaction helps to underscore that, through qualitative interviews, this dissertation can address some of the problems inherent in methodologies used in earlier works. Qualitative interviews enable this research to include contextual factors and to engage workers directly for a depth of understanding that cannot be gained using quantitative methods. Delbridge and Whitfield (2007: 2178) have suggested: 'Effective research typically requires the bringing together of a range of methods that complement each other'. It has been shown in this chapter that many quantitative analyses of trade union members' job dissatisfaction exist, so that the use of qualitative techniques to explore the research question is an important methodological contribution.

This dissertation offers a second contribution to the industrial relations literatures by adding insights that will help to expand on the previously mentioned three explanations. By evaluating these explanations in the research design, this dissertation is able to contribute new insights to competing arguments within the industrial relations literatures that have attempted to explain why trade union membership appears to be associated with job dissatisfaction. These arguments are related to trade union members' unmet expectations, their awareness of inequalities and the industrial relations climates in their workplaces.

As for the third contribution, this research uses grounded theoretical techniques so that discoveries and insights can emerge in the data. By capturing emergent data, this dissertation will develop and contribute ideas toward an initial model to the industrial relations literatures that include fresh insights in respects to the sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 2 discusses the methods employed in this dissertation and explains why these are appropriate to the aims of this research. It describes grounded theory and the use of grounded theoretical techniques to explore the phenomenon so as to develop insights from emergent data. Three alternative explanations of trade union members' job dissatisfaction, or *sensitising concepts*, are presented and their use within the research design is clarified. Grounded theoretical terms used in this study are defined. The use of interviews to collect data from trade union

members at two case study organisations and the techniques used to analyse this data are discussed. Lastly, the use of the computer programme NVivo to store, manage and retrieve data is explained.

Chapters 3 to 5 report the results of the data analysis for the three alternative explanations of the research phenomenon, with a separate chapter devoted to each. Thus, Chapter 3 reveals the results pertaining to the sensitising concept of 'unmet expectations', and in Chapter 4, the results are presented in relation to the sensitising concept of 'awareness of inequality'. Chapter 5 then presents the results of this exploration as it relates to the sensitising concept of 'industrial relations climate'.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation by discussing its implications, contributions, limitations and recommendations for future research.

1.9 CONCLUSION

The chapter began with a summary of previous findings on the positive effects that trade unions have on major areas of employment, followed by studies that show trade union membership is paradoxically linked to job dissatisfaction. This suggested that trade union members' job dissatisfaction runs counter to what should be expected. Three arguments that have tried to explain the link between trade union membership and job dissatisfaction were then presented, as well as why these have not led to a generally accepted explanation for the factors that contribute to trade union members' job dissatisfaction. This was followed by a description of the research question posed in this work, as well as an overview of the grounded theoretical techniques used to explore the research phenomenon. Thereafter, this research was described as important for its links to employee well-being, trade union revitalisation efforts and potential benefits to organisations. The expected contributions of this research were then discussed, followed by an outline of the chapters in this dissertation.

--CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY--

This chapter presents the empirical approach used to explore trade union members' job dissatisfaction and why it supported the aims of this research. Grounded theoretical techniques were used in the research design to capture emergent data and to develop insights towards an initial model of the phenomenon. Three alternative explanations of trade union members' job dissatisfaction were featured to focus and strengthen the research design and theoretical framework. Most importantly, the data was gathered using in-depth interviews with trade union members at two case study organisations, so as to capture their perceptions of job dissatisfaction.

This chapter has two sections. These cover both the design and structure of the data gathering for this research and the subsequent data treatment. The first section discusses the research design, followed by an overview of the data collection. Grounded theory and the inclusion of its methods in this research are then discussed. The next section describes three alternative explanations of trade union members' job dissatisfaction that featured prominently in the research design. Details of the interview techniques and multiple sources of evidence are then presented, followed by the use of reflexivity by the researcher. Afterwards, issues surrounding grounded theory as a methodology are discussed. Then, the sampling strategy, case study organisations, case study approach and possible weaknesses of the case studies are described. Following this, details of data analysis including grounded theoretical techniques and the use of NVivo software are revealed. Lastly, a summary concludes the chapter.

2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The aim of this research was to develop integrated insights towards understanding the roots of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. A qualitative approach was used to collect data so that a fresh perspective could be added to the mostly quantitative body of research on trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Presented here are the reasons grounded theoretical techniques were used to guide the collection and analysis of data collected in interviews with trade union members at two case study organisations.

A qualitative approach enabled an analysis of trade union members' job dissatisfaction to be constructed using the perspectives of trade union members themselves. It included data collected in interviews with trade union members so as to capture real-life contexts (Miles et al, 2014: 11), embedded in a process where 'meaning, interpretation, and representation are deeply intertwined in one another' (Denzin, 1998: 322). Interviews with trade union members exposed the social interactions and workplace situations which quantitative analyses are generally unable to detect. Qualitative research is both an 'art' and a 'science', as researchers build 'stories' from data using their own interpretations, and multiple interpretations of the same data are a certainty (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 47). Subtle nuances and candid expressions of meaning were captured by engaging trade union members directly in face-to-face interactions, so new topics could come to light that would have been unobserved otherwise. Interpretations were entirely those of the author of this dissertation and they added to the understanding of trade union members' job dissatisfaction, and to the insights of other researchers (ibid: 50). Qualitative approaches are flexible and modifiable (Creswell, 2013: 47), and so granted this researcher the space to engage in self-reflection whilst interacting with the data (Mason, 2002).

2.1.2 OVERVIEW OF DATA COLLECTION

To explore the research phenomenon, intensive interviews were used to collect primary data from trade union members. Interviews suited the aims of this research because they allowed participants to discuss their points of view on topics (Kvale, 1996). Intensive interviews are commonly used in grounded theoretical studies as they allow researchers to ask participants unscripted questions to delve deeper into responses (Charmaz, 2014). Multiple sources of secondary data were collected and this is encouraged in grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 27; Yin, 2014). Details of the interviews and multiple sources of evidence are included in a later section.

2.1.3 OVERVIEW OF GROUNDED THEORETICAL METHODS

Grounded theoretical methods, or the 'discovery of theory from data' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 1), were used within this study. Features of grounded theory were suitable to exploring and

gathering insights on trade union members' job dissatisfaction. First, grounded theory studies are used to understand how participants construct meanings (Suddaby, 2006: 634). Grounded theoretical methods enabled this research to tease out trade union members' perspectives and allowed strong antecedents to job dissatisfaction to emerge in interviews, so as to create conceptually dense insights. Unlike ethnography, this research did not assume that a theme existed in crystallised form before beginning data collection (Stern, 1994) and unlike phenomenology, data collection was not limited to studying particular experiences (Wilmpenny and Gass, 2000). Grounded theoretical methods are analytically rigorous and flexible to adaptations made during research (Charmaz, 2014). Here, the freedom to make changes was critical, in the light of the fact that data collection in interviews was dependent on the willingness and co-operation of trade union members to provide information.

Grounded theory is a 'general methodology' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 167 on Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and has been used by researchers across many disciplines including religion (Gottheil and Groth-Marnat, 2011), counselling (Tillman et al, 2013), business research (Gustavsson and Age, 2014), information systems (Urquhart et al, 2010), philanthropy (Mair and Hehenberger, 2014), nursing (Laitinen et al, 2014), medical education (Watling et al, 2013), teaching (Cherubini et al, 2010), athletics (Pitney and Ehlers, 2004) and psychological research (Lagutina et al, 2013). Grounded theory is also described as a 'methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) for the purpose of building theory from data' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 1). In their first grounded theory work, Glaser and Strauss (1967: 8) encouraged sociologists to publish theory-generating methods and to adapt grounded theory as needed, and intended to promote structure in theoretical processes. Indeed, two major adaptations to grounded theory have since been published by Strauss and a co-author (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and by a former student of Strauss and Glaser (Charmaz, 2006; cited in Kenny and Fourie, 2014). The development of grounded theory is dynamic and 'the history of GT continues to unfold' (Kenny and Fouries, 2014: 7).

In the light of grounded theory's use and adaptation across a wide range of disciplines, 'method slurring' is unavoidable. Here, grounded theory methods were adapted to develop innovative ideas and to contribute fresh insights to previous attempts of explaining trade union members'

job dissatisfaction. The ability to adapt methods is critical as research suggests that a 'combination of conservative knowledge generation and ideological constraints imposed by institutions, paradigmatic communities, and individuals has limited theoretical and methodological innovation' (Hibbert et al, 2014: 282). Thus, researchers should not be bound to using structured approaches that are not conducive to generating innovative ideas, and grounded theory is a methodology open to adaptations. Furthermore, there is a strong case for using innovative methods to better understand a question where decades of research has not provided an agreed explanation, such as that of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

The methodological flexibility of grounded theory is suggested in more recent research. For example, Corbin and Strauss (2008) clarified that researchers that benefitted from their work did not have to ascribe to their pragmatic or symbolic interactionist views. According to constructivist grounded theorist Charmaz (2014), coding, writing memos, theoretical sampling and comparative analyses are not restricted to particular epistemologies or ontologies. It is the analytical techniques of grounded theory that cross epistemological and ontological borders. In this research, analytical techniques from grounded theory were used in the development of conceptual insights to enable a greater understanding of the roots of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

Given the descriptions of grounded theory provided here, grounded 'theory' could be viewed as a bit of a misnomer. Indeed, grounded theory is referred to as a method in Suddaby (2006: 634), who states '[g]rounded theory, therefore, is a method that is more appropriate for some questions than others'. Grounded theory is closely associated with method in Charmaz (2014: 34): 'The grounded theory approach of simultaneous data collection and analysis helps us to keep pursuing these emphases as we shape our data collection to inform our emerging analysis'. In this research, grounded theory was considered a method, as separating grounded theory from grounded method is not plausible.

The use of simultaneous data collection and analysis, memo writing and constantly comparing the data distinguishes grounded theoretical methods from other interpretive approaches (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Constant comparative analysis in this study was used to identify themes

embedded in trade union members' statements and to place them into abstract categories, or sensitising concepts, developed by the researcher (Miles et al, 2014: 285). As grounded theoretical methods are used to develop innovative ideas on phenomena, (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978), it suited the end goal of this dissertation to develop insights towards better understanding the sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

2.1.4 THE ROLE OF CAUSALITY IN GROUNDED THEORY

Although a quite positivist-laden term, causality is still critical to the development of analyses in grounded theoretical studies. The identification of categories includes 'causal links between conditions, interactions, and consequences in the evolution of a social process, not forgetting the strategic role of the various actors involved' (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007: 178). Grounded theorists use an integrated approach to data analyses that considers the importance of contextual factors to interpretations of research phenomenon as these are underscored by dynamic social processes. Causality in grounded theory is described as 'not consequent upon categorization but integral to it' (ibid: 178). An example of from Corbin and Strauss (2008: 244) is included here to highlight causality in grounded theoretical research:

> 'Not every condition has been presented but there is sufficient background to understand why combatants were in Vietnam and why they faced the particular set of conditions or problems that they did'.

The present study considered environmental and contextual factors that surrounded the data from trade union member interviewees as being integral to understanding the social processes that underscored the research phenomenon. Causality was therefore integral to achieving the aim of the present study, which sought to gather rich insights into trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

2.1.5 THE ROLE OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW IN GROUNDED THEORY

Having described the suitability of grounded theory to this research, the role of the literature review in relation to this method is now discussed. Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Glaser (1978) suggested that grounded theoretical researchers should have little to no background on their

topics and to not conduct literature reviews before entering their fields. Clearly this was not the case in this dissertation, as the 'problem' of trade union members' job dissatisfaction was identified from the chapter one literature review. In practice, no researcher enters the field without knowing what it is they intend to study, so Glaser and Strauss' (1967) guidance on this matter should be taken with a grain of salt. Dunne describes literature reviews in grounded theory under the appropriate heading of 'The chicken or the egg?' and states:

> 'Firstly, from a purely pragmatic viewpoint, the idea of postponing a literature review until data collection and analysis is well underway is simply unworkable for many researchers. This is particularly true for PhD students, whose research funding, ethical approval and progression through the doctoral process may all be heavily dependent upon producing a detailed literature review prior to commencing primary data collection' (Dunne, 2011: 113, 115-116).

Suddaby (2006) criticises grounded theory research that conducts explorations and ignores literature where 'a long and credible history of empirical research' exists. Justification and contribution are elements in research projects across all disciplines. This study sought to develop integrated insights towards understanding the sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction and was justified by, and contributes to, more than four decades of extant research. Thus, whilst aspects of grounded theory were included to capture emergent data, another endeavour of this study was to add to or illuminate previous research of the phenomenon. This study was an adaptation, and the idealised notion that researchers should not be prepared to review the literature in their fields is impractical.

The most obvious criticism of grounded theory, then, is the idea that literature reviews should not be conducted before entering the field, and this idea has generated 'considerable debate in the research community' (McGhee et al, 2007: 334). First, *a priori* literature reviews are needed to create solid research designs and to find out if studies have been conducted on a phenomenon (McCallen, 2003), and to identify gaps (Hutchinson, 1993) as well as sensitising concepts. Literature reviews enable 'conceptual clarity', suggests Cutcliffe (2000: 1480), who used one in his grounded theoretical doctoral study 'to differentiate hope from similar and related concepts'. Further still, literature reviews justify conducting research (Coyne and Cowley, 2006; McGhee et

al, 2007) and are needed to avoid repeating methodological and conceptual errors. Based partly on the literature review discussed in Chapter 1, three alternative explanations for the phenomenon were used as sensitising concepts, described next. The researcher discusses the use of reflexivity below as a means to address grounded theory's criticisms of literature reviews.

2.1.6 SENSITISING CONCEPTS

Three alternative explanations of trade union members' job dissatisfaction were evaluated in the present study as sensitising concepts. Sensitising concepts are theories or ideas used by grounded theorists to stimulate creative thought processes as themes emerge from the data (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2014). In grounded theory, sensitising concepts are recognised if they '*earn* their way into the theory' by emerging from the data (Glaser, 1978: 8), or else they are discarded (Charmaz, 2014). The three alternative explanations for trade union members' job dissatisfaction used in this research were obviously *a priori* sensitising concepts and did not emerge from the data, and therefore were not discarded, as they helped to strengthen the overall research design. Furthermore, the results of this study in relation to the three sensitising concepts make a useful contribution by expanding on what is known within the trade union members' job (dis)satisfaction literature.

2.1.7 THREE EXPLANATIONS OF TRADE UNION MEMBERS' JOB DISSATISFACTION

Three alternative explanations for trade union members' job dissatisfaction had a central role in this research. They were not hypotheses, but instead helped to focus the inquiry on concepts with known associations to the research phenomenon. The constructs were loose, defined in the course of research and laid the foundation for later discussions. Furthermore, these three sensitising concepts aided the overall study by building focal points for investigation into the actual research design. The three sensitising concepts used in this research were: (i) unmet expectations, (ii) awareness of inequality and (iii) industrial relations climate. The sensitising concepts are briefly discussed here, as each has its own chapter (Chapters 3, 4 and 5, respectively) and literature review.

2.1.8 UNMET EXPECTATIONS

The sensitising concept of unmet expectations was loosely based on the association between trade union members' job dissatisfaction and the idea that trade unions do not fulfil their members' expectations. Guest and Conway (2004) found that trade union members report low levels of job satisfaction because they are dissatisfied with the performance of their trade unions. The authors suggest that workers join unions for instrumental reasons and when trade unions fail to meet the outcomes expected by their members, their members express job dissatisfaction. Moreover, dissatisfied trade union members express more loyalty to management than to their trade unions (ibid). Hammer and Avgar (2005: 243) posited that trade union members' job dissatisfaction is due to trade unions raising their members' expectations 'beyond what is realistic'. The term 'unmet expectations' was used to describe the theory that trade union members expect to receive benefits from joining trade unions and express job dissatisfaction when they do not receive them. Interview questions used in this research to explore expectations included asking the participant why they had joined the trade union, what they expected in return for joining the union and whether or not the union had met their expectations. Chapter 3 is devoted to the concept of unmet expectations.

2.1.9 AWARENESS OF INEQUALITY

The concept of awareness of inequality is embedded within the trade union's function as a political organisation. To begin, trade unions address an 'employment relationship' that is inherently unequal, as the 'employee is subjugated and consents to' managerial control (Colling and Terry, 2010: 8). Trade unions highlight issues surrounding inequality to increase their membership and generate interest among their current members. They use commonly held societal beliefs of equal conditions and equal outcomes for all individuals to organise trade union members, and use collective power to pressure governments and affect the distribution of resources (Turner, 1986). Thus, trade unions address inequality that is related to the employment relationship and social inequalities.

Modern trade union ideology includes issues such as discrimination and gender equality (Gregory and Milner, 2009). The workforce is increasingly diverse and trade unions now recruit from underrepresented groups (Lindsay et al, 2007) and are improving the employment conditions for marginalised classes (Munro, 2001). This suggested a potential link between trade union membership and a heightened awareness of class-consciousness and class inequalities. Moreover, as the following statements on underrepresented groups help to highlight, raising trade union members' awareness of inequalities is relevant to trade union revitalisation efforts: 'Thus there are those who argue that if organizing efforts do not attempt to address inequality, unions are likely to become increasingly irrelevant within contemporary workplaces and labor markets' (Simms et al, 2013;159).

When shown in the light of the works included in this subsection, trade union members should have a heightened awareness of inequalities related to their employment relationships and to social inequalities. Furthermore, the works in this subsection suggest that some trade union members, such as those from previously underrepresented groups, could have unique experiences related to inequalities that impact on how they interpret job dissatisfaction. Thus, this research sought to capture trade union members' perceptions of equal treatment as well as their experiences of inequalities to understand its impact on trade union members' job dissatisfaction. This concept was explored at the level of individual trade union members, but captured insights into social issues that impact on wider community. The results of this research as it relates to awareness of inequality are presented in Chapter 4.

2.1.10 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CLIMATE

The concept of industrial relations climate included an idea suggested in previous research that relationships between trade unions and managements affect the overall atmospheres in organisations (Dastmalchian et al, 1989). Every individual within a particular organisational environment is affected by and feels the industrial relations atmosphere (ibid). Moreover, these atmospheres, or industrial relations climates, have been linked to job dissatisfaction (Tetrick and Fried, 1993).

Included within the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate was the idea that trade unions might have adversarial relationships with managements that negatively impact on trade union members' perceptions of job satisfaction, as trade unions are known to organise their members around feelings of injustice (Kelly and Kelly, 1991). Thus, this research sought to capture trade union members' perceptions of the relationship between their trade union and management at each of the two case study organisations. Moreover, trade union members' perspectives of workplace fairness at each of the two case study organisations was explored in relation to this sensitising concept, as research suggests that justice is the employee's subjective view of fairness (Totawar and Nambudiri, 2014). Exploring workplace fairness helped this research to capture the social interactions between trade union members as well as factors that impact on industrial relations atmospheres, and trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Chapter 5 includes the results for this sensitising concept.

2.1.11 INTERVIEWS

Forty-three trade union members were interviewed in total and each interview lasted for approximately one-hour. Twenty trade union members were interviewed at the private sector organisation (XYZ) and twenty-three trade union members were interviewed at the public services organisation (ABC). Yin (2014) suggests that interviewees should have limited influence over researchers and influence was not a problem in this dissertation, as the researcher did not have contact with the trade union member interviewees outside of interviews. The interviewees were trade union members, as only they have 'first-hand experience' of the phenomenon (Charmaz, 2014: 56). Multiple sources of evidence were used (Yin, 2014), as the data collected included the perspectives of trade union representatives as well as trade union members. For example, some trade union member participants were also trade union representatives, or had different levels of tenure.

The interviews in this study followed guidelines, which are described below. Researchers are expected to have experience conducting interviews before entering the field (Kvale, 1996) and the researcher in this study conducted practice interviews with three members of staff and two students, some of whom were trade union members, at the University of St Andrews. Efforts

were made to understand the contexts in which the interviews were conducted before the researcher entered the field. For example, the researcher met the gatekeepers for XYZ onsite before conducting interviews there and exchanged information.

This study adhered to ethical guidelines and had permission to conduct research from the ethics committee at the University of St. Andrews. The participant information sheet and coded consent form included the study's intentions, a description of the data sought from interviewees and how their data would be stored, used and destroyed. The identities of participants in this research were and will remain confidential, and participants were referred to numerically. Examples of the ethics forms can be found in Appendix 1(a), 1(b) and 4.

The interview questions were mainly semi-structured and the three alternative explanations of trade union members' job dissatisfaction were used to focus and guide the inquiry. Questions were open-ended to allow participants freedom to express themselves under as little direction from the researcher as possible. The aim was for participants to reveal and explain their perceptions, so their accounts were 'told sequentially as the events being reported unfolded' (Morse, 1994: 39). Thus, interviews included open-ended questions so the data gathered was rich with description, and so that questions could be interjected by the researcher to encourage participants to elaborate on their responses. Interviewing is complex and highly subjective, as shown in Foddy's (1993) construction of the symbolic interactionist interview. Whilst creating questions to ask participants, each interviewer considers what participants will think of them, the interviewer. The participant then decodes these questions and includes their perceptions of the researcher in their answers, at the same time considering what the interviewer thinks of them, the participant. Thus, interviewing is an inter-subjective process. To understand trade union member employees' perceptions of job dissatisfaction, participants were asked to describe what job dissatisfaction meant to them, if they felt job dissatisfaction in their previous work, or if they felt job dissatisfaction in their current position. Participants were also asked to describe why they had joined a trade union and if they were satisfied with their union's performance in meeting their expectations. Further, trade union member participants were asked to describe the relationship between their management and trade union, and how this impacted on their satisfaction at work. Participants might have responded to questions using socially acceptable responses and so the

researcher considered the data revealed across each one-hour interview. Lastly, questions were flexible, and depended on the flow of conversation between the interviewer and the participant.

An interview schedule is included in Appendix 2, although it is important to clarify that interview schedules were used loosely as guidelines in the present research.

2.1.12 MULTIPLE SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

Multiple sources of data were used in this study to ensure a rich and full exploration of the roots of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. The use of multiple data sources in general distinguishes grounded theoretical studies from other methodologies, such as phenomenology (Suddaby, 2006). Primary data was collected in this dissertation using interviews with trade union members.

Interviews facilitated an understanding of the research phenomenon constructed from the expressions of the participants themselves. Trade union members were not, however, considered as a homogenous group of employees. Trade union members' job dissatisfaction involved interactions between actors from different backgrounds, with unique personal characteristics, who might have also had official roles within the trade union itself. As such, this study endeavoured to collect primary data that represented as many trade union members as possible within each case study organisation.

Secondary data was also used in this research, such as information gathered from the Internet on the trade unions' websites and memos written by the researcher. Moreover, the researcher attended trade union events, such as the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC) 118th Annual Congress. Everything is considered data according to Glaser (1978) and multiple sources of evidence can deepen understanding of research phenomenon (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). In addition to Internet research, e-mails and organisational materials were also used, as well as notes made by the researcher in the field.

2.1.13 REFLEXIVITY

The researcher used reflexivity to be aware of how her preconceptions and personal biases might affect interpretations of the data (McGhee et al, 2007; Dunne, 2011). Reflexivity is a 'mechanism to counteract' knowledge researchers gain from doing early literature reviews (Dunne, 2011: 118). Grounded theory is concerned that researchers who do early literature reviews may interpret data in conformance to the literature they have read and not notice concepts that emerge in their data (Glaser, 1978). Grounded theorists engage in self-reflection during analysis and interpretation of data to make their biases known (Suddaby, 2006). Reflexivity addresses a criticism of grounded theory, that researchers ignore their subjective interpretations and influences on their theories to appear more scientific and credible (Cutcliffe, 2000). Memo writing in grounded theory is a reflexive process (Dunne, 2011) and by writing memos, the researcher here engaged with the data reflexively. Lastly, the self-reflexivity used here enabled insights to be constructed from the interview data, so as to build an integrated understanding of the research phenomenon (Alvesson et al, 2008: 494). The next subsection discusses complications surrounding grounded theoretical methods.

2.1.14 GROUNDED THEORY AND METHODOLOGICAL COMPLICATIONS

Grounded theory researchers have been criticised for not adhering to grounded methods and for method slurring (Cutcliffe, 2000). Method slurring is an issue where a researcher claims to have produced a grounded theory study, when it is really un-interpretive content analysis, or includes ethnological or phenomenological methods (Stern, 1994: 214). Grounded theorists differ from ethnographers who enter their fields after extensive literature reviews and select rituals to investigate and phenomenologists who analyse and interpret individual meanings using chosen existentialist perspectives (Stern, 1994: 214). Moreover, grounded theorists analyse interactions and processes and would not assume a ritual existed unless participants said as much (Stern, 1994: 214).

2.1.15 SAMPLING STRATEGY

Grounded methods use theoretical sampling and iterative data analysis, so that each wave of analysis suggests a new idea on where to sample next (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 65). Theoretical sampling is iterative, samples are taken in waves and each new sample helps to extend an idea or theoretical construct (Bagnasco et al, 2014). Theoretical sampling is used for shedding light and for extending constructs (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007: 27). Cutcliffe (2000: 1477), however, identifies an obvious issue in grounded theory, as 'before the researcher has begun to collect and analyse data, the researcher has no evolving theory which can act as a guide for further theoretical sampling' and recommends researchers start with purposive sampling before using theoretical sampling. Purposive sampling begins with theory to identify informants or participants, whereas grounded theory sampling is progressive (Miles et al, 2014: 31). Shwandt (2007) does not differentiate between purposive and theoretical sampling, but suggests researchers include sampling criterion and analysis of deviant cases in research.

This research began with purposive sampling and the criterion was that interviewees had to be trade union members. As interviews progressed at each of the two case study organisations, ideas that emerged in each interview were explored in the interview that followed, or in succession. The researcher asked the trade union representative 'gatekeeper' at each of the two case study organisations to find trade union members that would participate in interviews. Furthermore, as interviews progressed, the researcher asked that the gatekeepers find female as well as male trade union members, interviewees in different age groups and trade union members in different work roles and departments as needed. It is important to mention that at XYZ, the researcher verbally agreed with the gatekeeper, the head shop steward and the HR staff member, that access to trade union members would be made solely through the head shop steward.

At ABC, there were restructurings and voluntary redundancies taking place and the researcher learned from interviewees that the IT department had experienced severe and negative effects. This suggested that data needed to be collected from trade union members in IT at ABC. To access IT trade union members, the researcher submitted an e-mail to the library's IT helpdesk at ABC. This e-mail asked if there were any trade union members in IT that would agree to be

interviewed by a PhD student on the topic of trade union membership and job dissatisfaction. Three trade union members (D20, D21 and D23) responded and were interviewed by the researcher, and valuable data were gathered. Data also emerged in interviews at ABC to suggest that information related to senior management would be especially valuable to this dissertation. To access this data, a Director from the researcher's university contacted a department chair that was also a trade union member at ABC, D22. D22 had the most senior position of all of the trade union members interviewed at ABC and his responses enabled valuable insights into trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

Grounded theory has been criticised for using small sample sizes (Charmaz, 2006). Small samples are generally used in qualitative research to conduct in-depth studies with contextually embedded samples and not 'context-stripped cases' to measure statistical significance (Miles et al, 2014: 31). Qualitative samples should not be compared to quantitative samples, as qualitative studies strive to capture participants' detailed responses in relation to research phenomena. However, the recommendation that grounded theorists collect data from at least twenty to thirty participants (Creswell, 2013: 157) was heeded in this research and data was collected from 43 trade union members. Moreover, data was collected at two different case study organisations to help expose salient themes and patterns (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007).

2.1.16 CASE STUDY ORGANISATIONS

Two case studies were used. This approach captured data from a more diverse group of trade union members than would have been possible with a single case study. Moreover, since theoretical sampling encourages the use of data that differs from the population and remains flexible to aid conceptual development (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 156-157), this study sampled trade union members across work roles and genders, and at different levels of tenure within the case study organisations.

Case studies are useful to research of real-life situations, where the context and phenomenon are interconnected (Yin, 2014: 16). Two case study organisations were included in this study to strengthen the research design. Including multiple cases broadened the exploration's scope and

led to a more robust development of theoretical insights (Eisenhardt, 2007) of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Using multiple cases also added confidence, enabled replication and aided the understanding of processes, outcomes and local causation (Miles et al, 2014: 30, 33). Moreover, important patterns were differentiated from less important ones by using multiple cases, which leads to better theoretical insights (Eisenhardt, 1991: 620).

2.1.17 SITE SELECTION

The sites used in this research were a manufacturing organisation (XYZ) and a university, or public services organisation (ABC). Each of these sites was located in Scotland and the author of this dissertation was not a student at the university (ABC). Gaining access to the case study organisations was a major task and came about after many unsuccessful attempts to find a gatekeeper. The next section describes the processes that led to the researcher gaining access to the sites in order to conduct this study of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

2.1.18 ACCESS TO SITES

The researcher mainly contacted trade union representatives in attempts to find a gatekeeper to secure case studies for this dissertation. E-mail was the main format employed to contact the aforementioned trade union representatives and it is described in this section, followed by details of how early contact attempts were unsuccessful. Lastly, this section clarifies that access was finally gained to the two sites, XYZ and ABC.

Gatekeepers are individuals who help researchers gain access or 'allow the researcher in' to organisations (Creswell, 2013: 94). The choice of gatekeeper is important, as they influence researchers' access to organisations (Barbour, 2008) and can present obstacles to access if they feel threatened (Wanat, 2008). Trade union members' job dissatisfaction was a sensitive topic and the researcher searched for initial points of contact that were least likely to be resistant to this study. Thus, the decision was made to contact trade union representatives to use as gatekeepers. The rationale was that trade union representatives would be sympathetic to the research phenomenon and managers would not.

E-mail was primarily used to initiate contact and a basic e-mail format was followed. Trade union representatives were contacted at unions such as Unite, Prospect, UNISON, the Scottish Trades Union Congress and Nautilus. The e-mail messages included the union representative's title, a statement of the e-mail's contents and a positive close (Vassallo, 1998). The e-mails were not identical, but were adjusted by the researcher using subjective judgement in consideration of the intended recipient of the e-mail. The researcher has more than ten years of professional work experience and largely borrowed from this experience in writing the e-mails. An actual e-mail sent by the researcher is included in the appendices as Appendix 3.

The researcher had parties that were willing to aid with the study. In the first year of the study, a Prospect trade union representative was open to the researcher conducting a survey of its members. In time, communications became sparse and this contact ceased responding to the researcher. A second contact had potential, a Dundee Unite trade union representative, who responded to the researcher's e-mail, met with the researcher and connected her to a gatekeeper. Unfortunately, the Unite gatekeeper had two organisations the researcher could have gained access to, but could not use in this study. The trade union at one organisation did not have collective bargaining power, whilst the other organisation was employee owned. The Unite gatekeeper was also disappointed, as his trade union colleagues repeatedly promised to connect him to organisations, but did not follow through.

The first case study organisation is XYZ, a manufacturer located in Scotland. XYZ had approximately 800 employees and one trade union. With the exception of management staff, most of the employees at XYZ were trade union members. An employee of the University of St Andrews introduced the researcher to a human resources manager at XYZ in an e-mail and the human resources manager was willing to allow access to the site. The human resources manager then introduced the researcher to the shop steward in an e-mail. Shortly thereafter, the researcher met with the shop steward and human resources manager at the site to discuss the study. The shop steward became the point of contact for, and was the first interviewee at, XYZ.

XYZ operated in a competitive environment and was the last remaining manufacturer of its size in its area. It was also considered one of its areas major employers and as such, was critical to the local economy. The city in which XYZ was located had once been a major manufacturing hub in Scotland. During the 1980s and 1990s, most of the factories in the city closed with at least one factory closure following a lengthy labour dispute. As a result, the city lost many of its manufacturing jobs. XYZ operates within an internationally competitive industry and at one time within the last ten years, the XYZ site almost closed as well. However, the XYZ site remained open and another European site belonging to the same company that owns XYZ closed instead. At the time of the interviews, the XYZ site was in the process of a major expansion of the facility, although the researcher was not told why.

The second case study organisation is ABC, a university located in Scotland. ABC had approximately 3,000 employees and the total number of trade union members was not disclosed. After acquiring the e-mails of four trade union representatives from the website for ABC, the researcher e-mailed each of them and received a response from a trade union representative. This trade union representative became the point of contact for, and was the first interviewee at, ABC. It is important to clarify that there were three trade unions at ABC. To protect the identities of these trade unions, each is referred to as a colour in this dissertation. Thus, the Blue trade union represented clerical and manual employees; the Green trade union represented technical employees; and the Red trade union represented academics and academic-related employees.

ABC also operated in a competitive environment. During the 1980s, the U.K. government introduced the Research Assessment Exercise into the higher education system. The purpose of the exercise was to rate the quality of research (i.e., publications) being generated at higher education institutions and to allot each institution funding based on its respective rating(s). To clarify, because academic institutions generally consist of different departments, some departments can have better ratings than other departments within the same institution. The RAE was replaced by the Research Excellence Framework, but the principal remained the same – the REF was used to rate the quality of research being produced at academic institutions and these ratings, in turn, were related to how much funding each academic institution received from the government. In simplistic terms, because the REF linked the quality of research produced by

academics to the amount of funds awarded to their academics institutions by the U.K. government, academics have been pressured to produce higher quality research. There was evidence of this pressure from the responses of lecturers at ABC. Furthermore, some interviewees who were lecturers in the present study described their frustrations with what they perceived as an academic system that valued student satisfaction ratings over academic rigour.

It is important to mention that major labour disputes in higher education surrounding academic pay took place throughout 2015 to 2016 in the U.K. The disputes involved academic trade unions across the U.K. and were related to gender pay inequalities, as female academics earned disproportionately less than male academics; the small pay raises received by university staff and the general decrease in their earnings in real terms; and the increasing use of casualised contracts of employment. Although the disputes did not emerge as a major theme in this dissertation, they were a feature in the broader context during the time in which the data was collected. Non-academic employees at higher education institutions were not directly involved in the disputes as the disputes were concerned with issues related to academic trade union member employees.

The last note in this subsection is with regard to the referendum on Scotland's potential independence from the United Kingdom that took place on September 14, 2014. Given the referendum's proximity to the time frame in which data was gathered at ABC and XYZ, it was likely a strong aspect of the wider socio-political climate that surrounded the two case study organisations.

Data was collected for approximately 8 months throughout 2015. Interviews were conducted at XYZ from February to June and at ABC, interviews were conducted from June to September.

This section has explained how site access was gained. It began with the selection of trade union representatives as gatekeepers and was followed by a description of the format used to contact them. Each of the two case study organisations was described, as well as the timeframe in which the data was collected. The next section presents why case studies were used to answer the research question as well as criticisms to validity in the case study approach.

2.1.19 RATIONALE OF THE CASE STUDY APPROACH

The decision to use case studies in this research included guidance from Yin (2014) on how to choose the best approach to answer a research question. In this research, 'how' and 'why' questions were asked to explore trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Experiments, histories and case studies can all answer 'how' and 'why' research questions (ibid). Trade union members' job dissatisfaction was, however, a contemporary issue whose meaning was derived from the experiences, perceptions and voices of current members. As such, an in-depth history was not appropriate. Next, experiments were not appropriate because the researcher was not controlling and testing variables in this study. Case studies were thus best suited to developing insights on trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

This study acknowledges that there are criticisms to the case study approach. One criticism is that case studies are biased and enable researchers to use, as well as to verify, their own judgements (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Another criticism of case studies is the difficulty in understanding how researchers arrive at their conclusions (Yin, 1981). Furthermore, qualitative researchers in general arrive at different conclusions when analysing the same data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 50). These potential weaknesses were combated in the present study by ensuring that the processes used to collect data were clear and transparent, so that other researchers can form their own interpretations of the data. Validity was also addressed by storing the data and keeping records of the procedures used in this study, so external parties may view these materials after the dissertation is completed.

2.2 DATA ANALYSIS

Guided by Glaser (1978), this section describes the steps in this research of transcribing, coding, writing memos and sorting. A recording device was used during interviews with participants and transcriptions made shortly thereafter. As such, the following section presents the analytical approach used in this study in the order of transcription, coding, memos and sorting. Moreover, theoretical sensitivity and the detailed processes underlying each of the aforementioned steps are discussed.

2.2.1 TRANSCRIPTION

After each interview, the researcher transcribed all of the data gathered from each trade union member. The researcher did not transcribe data that were collected once the recording device was turned off. Furthermore, transcribing the data shortly after each interview meant the experience was fresh in the mind of the researcher. Lastly, the researcher wrote memos in a notebook as ideas occurred to her when she transcribed the interviews.

2.2.2 CODING

This study did not strictly adhere to grounded theory's use of in vivo coding. Defined, in vivo codes include the 'exact words of participants' (Creswell, 2013: 185) from transcripts. Glaser (1978) suggests researchers use in vivo coding and Silverman (2011: 70) suggests grounded theorists should not remove the actual language of participants early in the research process. In the present study, the language of the participants was used to fully conceptualise the three sensitising concept categories and for emergent themes, in vivo coding was used as much as possible as categories emerged from the data.

Following each transcription, the data was coded and memos were written in an iterative process between data and analysis. To clarify, identifying codes from the data is a two-stage process and includes open and selective coding (Glaser, 1978). Open coding identifies codes in the data, or its 'empirical substance' (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007: 199), and ceases after a core category is found. Selective coding then follows the open coding stage, and is used to analyse and describe relationships between the codes (ibid). During the selective coding stage, the researcher identifies a core category that emerges consistently from the data (Glaser, 1978). Open coding was the first coding stage in the present study and is discussed next.

2.2.3 OPEN CODING

Open coding was used to analyse the data at the start of the study and to reveal a wide range of categories. From these categories, one core category was chosen. The core category was unknown prior to coding the data and was identified by the researcher as the most common theme across interviewees' responses.

Glaser (1978: 56, quotations from original) refers to open coding as '"running the data open"', as there are many ways to initially code the fresh data. The analysis began with breaking the data into pieces and considered these in theoretical terms. Theoretical sensitivity was then used to ask questions of the data. Discoveries emerged in iterations as constant comparisons of the data were made to reveal patterns, salient themes and categories. Working with the data during open coding helped the researcher to develop a keen awareness of the prevalent themes and theoretical possibilities (Glaser, 1978). As categories were worked within a process that alternated between gathering data in interviews with trade union member employees and analysing the data, a core category was chosen on which the second stage of selective coding focused. This core category formed the locus of the conceptual insights developed this dissertation.

In this study, six rules were followed in the open coding stage (Glaser, 1978: 57). First, three questions were asked of the data including 'What is this data a study of?', as Glaser (1978) suggests it is usually not what the researcher expects. The second question was 'What category does this incident indicate?' and aided in relating emerging codes to other codes. Third, the question 'What is actually happening in the data?' was asked to tease out processes underlying the phenomenon, in order to identify a core category. The next rule was to analyse the data line-by-line and to code each sentence, so that nothing was missed in the data and the emerging categories saturated. For the fourth rule, the researcher stopped and wrote memos of ideas as they occurred throughout the coding process. Fifth, this research ensured the data codes related only to trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Lastly, the researcher did not assume, *a priori*, that participants' gender, age or ethnicity were relevant unless shown in the data. Glaser (1978: 60) states that participant characteristics 'are often of minor or no relevance in studies of process'.

2.2.4 SELECTIVE CODING

In selective coding, only codes that have a strong association to the core category are used in the analysis. At this stage, it is important to understand the core category and how a very limited number of codes relate to it (Glaser, 1978: 61), as insights should be succinct. Furthermore, as the core category does not have to be of a particular theoretical type, the process of selective coding is open to a wide range of possibilities for developing insights. As the core category and its related categories begin to theoretically saturate, 'no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 61). Lastly, sampling ends when all categories are theoretically saturated, as further respondents are no longer required (ibid: 61).

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 are presented in this research to illustrate the process of generating a code in grounded theory. The tables presented here are based on 'Figure 1' featured in the work of Gioia et al (2013: 21). Here, each of the tables indicates the two stages of open coding and selective coding as these occurred in the present study at XYZ and ABC. In each table, the data-led open codes represent the main themes identified by the researcher in interviews. As topics were identified from each interview, so were the codes that related to them. Thus, during open coding, there were many codes, and the researcher worked to identify the boundaries of these as well as to link them together, so as to condense the codes. Condensing codes during the open coding stage in grounded theoretical analyses is described as a necessity in Gioia et al (2013: 20) as 'the sheer number of categories initially becomes overwhelming'.

The selective coding stage shown in tables 2.1 and 2.2 consist of succinct theoretical ideas that were developed by the researcher in relation to the condensed open codes. This is highlighted in Gioia et al (2013: 20) as follows: 'In this 2nd-order analysis, we are now firmly in the theoretical realm, asking whether the emerging themes suggest concepts that might help us describe and explain the phenomena we are observing'. The selective codes were developed in the present study so as 'to distill the emergent 2nd-oder themes even further' into their ''aggregate dimensions''. These dimensions, the authors' suggest, are used to construct models (i.e., tables

2.1 and 2.2) that clearly show the 'data-to-theory connections' (ibid: 22). Tables 2.1 and 2.2 below show, moving from left to right, condensed data-led open codes that include topics related to job dissatisfaction that were derived from interviews at XYZ and ABC. The selective codes included in these tables are theoretical and based on the researcher's ideas surrounding the condensed codes and the aggregate dimensions are the researcher's highest-level conceptualisations of the data.

Table 2.1 below includes the open codes, selective codes and aggregate dimensions for the manufacturing case study organisation, XYZ. It highlights condensed open codes related to unmet expectations and awareness of inequality that were part of the aggregate dimension of 'Reactions to (positive) trade union changes'. Table 2.1 also shows condensed open codes for awareness of inequality and industrial relations climate that were dimensions of 'Impediments to equality'. Furthermore, the table includes condensed open codes related to unmet expectations and industrial relations climate that were part of the aggregate dimension of 'Reactions to (positive) changes in the industrial relations climate'. What is more, it includes condensed open codes that highlight XYZ's particular sector and unmet expectations that were part of the aggregate dimension of 'General context of decline in manufacturing'.

Table 2.1

OPEN CODES	SELECTIVE CODES	AGGREGATE DIMENSIONS
Perceptions trade union had lost power. Unwillingness to lower expectations of trade union. Dissatisfaction with pay/concessions despite job security. Not being kept informed by the trade union. Dissatisfaction towards rules surrounding safety. Dissatisfaction related to individual performance not being recognised by the trade union (technically management's responsibility).	➔Beliefs about trade union function.	➔Reactions to (positive) trade union changes.
Inequality between trade union members from different work groups (shifts, engineers and production). Bias from trade union members towards contracted cleaners. Bias from male trade union members towards female trade union members. Some trade union members getting away with more than others.	➔Individual biases and attitudes. ➔Occupational biases and attitudes.	➔Impediments to equality.
Trade union's close relationship with management. Perceptions trade union had lost power in its relationship with management. Perceptions management controlled decision-making. Beliefs that certain managers were problematic. Potentially more negative attitudes towards management from tenured trade union members.	➔Beliefs in more adversarial forms of industrial relations. ➔Experiences with adversarial forms of trade unionism. ➔Beliefs in trade union ideology (i.e., management power).	➔Reactions to (positive) changes in the industrial relations climate.
No other job opportunities for them. Factories closed in area surrounding XYZ.	➔Constraints on occupational mobility.	➔General context of decline in manufacturing.

*Unmet Exceptations/Awareness of Inequality/Industrial Relations Climate

Table 2.2 below includes the open codes, selective codes and aggregate dimensions for the higher education case study organisation, ABC. It highlights condensed open codes related to unmet expectations and industrial relations climate that were dimensions of 'Weak trade unionism'. Table 2.2 also shows condensed open codes for unmet expectations, awareness of inequality and industrial relations climate that were included in the aggregate dimension of 'Structural elements of inequality'. Furthermore, the table includes condensed open codes related to industrial relations climate that were part of the aggregate dimension of 'Work atmosphere of poor industrial relations'. It also includes condensed open codes related to ABC's particular sector and unmet expectations and awareness of inequality that were dimensions of 'Wider context of change and uncertainty'.

Table 2.2

OPEN CODES	SELECTIVE CODES	AGGREGATE DIMENSIONS
Low expectations of trade unions. Trade unions weak/lacked resources. Trade union reps' autonomy over decisions. Trade unions' lack of support from members. Management factionalised work environment/membership.	➔Lack of resources. ➔Fragmented membership. ➔Obstacles to trade union effectiveness.	➔Weak trade unionism.
Job dissatisfaction: female interviewees and male & female ethnic minority interviewees regarding their not being promoted. Non-academic members perceived that academic interests were prioritised over their own interests. Female lecturers defended themselves when they weren't promoted. Senior management roles were mostly occupied by white males. Management backing academics when academics had disagreements with non-academic staff. Class system in higher education.	➔Inequalities related to gender, ethnic minority and occupational characteristics. ➔Social class system.	➔Structural elements of inequalities.
Lack of transparency in the relationships between the trade unions and management. Trade unions and management having had mostly adversarial relationships. Negative perceptions surrounding management's decisions (i.e., hiring at senior level).	➔Factors that underscore perceptions of unfairness.	➔Work atmosphere of poor industrial relations.
Strong perceptions of dissatisfaction related to restructurings and voluntary redundancies; Job insecurity/distress. Inadequate trade union communications.	➔Expressions of strong job dissatisfaction. ➔Need for clarity.	➔Wider context of change and uncertainty.

*Unmet Exceptations/Awareness of Inequality/Industrial Relations Climate

Using an example from the results of the present study, bias towards females emerged in the first interview at ABC, or during the open coding stage. In each successive interview, interviewees at ABC described other inequalities, such as those related to female and/or ethnic minority trade union members' perceptions of discrimination in relation to their not having been promoted. By comparing the data and writing memos, the researcher condensed codes that included different kinds of social inequalities shown in the data at ABC. The researcher wrote memos, developed ideas and ultimately created a core category, or aggregate dimensions, that was data-led and focused on higher-level structures that impacted on inequalities at ABC, and trade union members' perceptions of job dissatisfaction.

2.2.5 SORTING

Memos were sorted as the coding process ended and aided in the development of insights. Sorting is a critical step in grounded theory and was used in this study to connect theoretical ideas from memos written during the data analysis. In the sorting stage, the data was no longer referenced, as sorting pulls together insights surrounding narrowed-down and saturated categories. There are eleven guidelines according to Glaser (1978) that were followed in this study, and these are presented here in a table.

Table 2.3

Eleven Guidelines for Sorting (Glaser, 1978)
1. Begin sorting the data. Memos do not have to be sorted in any particular order
2. Leave out concepts that do not relate to the core category.
3. One core category, or theme, must be the focus of the analysis.
4. Continue to write memos as ideas occur to lift the data to higher conceptual levels.
5. Consider how sub-categories relate to the core category during the sorting process.
6. Include as many ideas as possible from the memos on categories in the analysis.
7. Determine the dissertation's sections and sort to them.
8. Sort memos to sections when they first appear to have relevance. Do not wait.
9. Stop the analysis when it is saturated, with the 'fewest possible concepts' and 'greatest possible scope' (Glaser, 1978: 125).
10. Be organised and structured about sorting. Do not let it go into disarray
11. Find a physical space to sort the memos where the process will not be interrupted.

The researcher wrote lengthy memos immediately following each interview, while trade union members' responses were still fresh. Topics were written down in a notebook following each interview and the researcher carried a notebook at all times during the data collection period, and wrote memos as ideas occurred to her in relation to the data. As interviews progressed at each of the two case study organisations, the researcher became more aware of topics that seemed to consistently emerge in interviews. Furthermore, as mentioned in an earlier section, the researcher asked successive interviewees questions surrounding these emergent topics. Thus, memos and codes gradually became more focused as interviews progressed at each of the two case study organisations. Memos were, as the table above indicated should be done, sorted to topics as soon as they seemed relevant. The intensive process of coding was iterative, and included ideas related to codes that occurred to the researcher. Throughout the writing of memos and the identification of codes, the researcher grappled with questions such as 'what does it all mean?', or what higher level category did the codes seem to indicate.

As described earlier in subsection 2.2.4, the researcher identified a core category and its indicators. By sorting and asking questions of the data such as 'what does it all mean?', the researcher was able to develop and integrate insights on the phenomenon that include higher level conceptualisations. One such example that is discussed further in Chapter 6 includes the idea that whether trade unions have partnerships or adversarial relations with managements could influence work atmospheres and trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

2.2.6 NVivo

Data collected in this research was analysed manually by the researcher to identify themes after each interview. This research generated a large volume of data as it included forty-three interviews with trade union members, each lasting approximately one hour. Thus, the transcribed data from each individual interview was analysed manually and then stored in NVivo in participant-specific files. Manual analysis was crucial, as the computer program cannot detect, for example, sarcasm or differences in terminology used by different participants to describe the same concept. Glaser (2005: 36), as taken from Bryant and Charmaz (2007: 120, parentheses original), was not a big proponent of using computers in analysis:

> ‘Fear that one does not have creativity stops this type of sorting and causes the fleeing to computer retrieval of data on each category, resulting in full conceptual description (Glaser’s term for research that fails to reach the theoretical level). Hand sorting releases the creativity necessary to see a TC (theoretical code) in the memos, as the analyst constantly compares and asks where each memo goes for the best fit’.

Creativity was not lost in this study because the researcher analysed the individual interview data manually. Storing data in NVivo enabled the researcher to search for and retrieve data rapidly, however. Furthermore, NVivo was used to store audio recordings collected in interviews as well as documents. Any labels used to identify a participant’s data include numerical codes to protect their identity.

NVivo as a tool for data analysis was used in this study to search themes and reveal more associations in the data than the researcher could find manually, for example, pinpointing single words quickly from volumes of transcribed interviews. Moreover, by searching the data using the NVivo programme, themes and associations surrounding job dissatisfaction could be identified that stimulated or contributed to later discussions in interviews. Furthermore, through the use of NVivo, data and all aspects of the research process were stored electronically in multiple locations as a safety precaution. These other locations included a computer at the researcher’s university and the researcher’s home computer. Data was password protected and encrypted.

2.2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the methodological approaches used in this dissertation to explain trade union members’ job dissatisfaction and articulated why these were chosen in the light of the research aims. In the research design, interviews with union members were used to collect data in order to understand their meanings of job dissatisfaction and grounded theoretical methods were presented as the best approach to developing integrated conceptualisations of trade union members’ job dissatisfaction. In the sections that followed, details of the interview techniques, reflexivity and sampling strategy were presented. Thereafter, the reasons why case studies were

selected were followed by possible criticisms of their use. Three sensitising concepts were described, as were criticisms to the grounded theory approach. Data management, and the units of analysis and interview approach were then described. Next, data transcription, coding, memo writing and sorting were detailed. Lastly, the use of NVivo in this study was reviewed. Having summarised the contents of Chapter 2, this dissertation will now progress to Chapter 3, its first empirical chapter.

--CHAPTER 3: UNMET EXPECTATIONS--

This chapter reports the results of the data analysis related to the sensitising concept of unmet expectations. The results shown here include topics that emerged in interviews conducted at each of the two case study organisations. A background to describe the sensitising concept of unmet expectations is included in section 3.1. Section 3.2 and its subsections include the results for the 20 interviews conducted at the manufacturing organisation (XYZ), whilst section 3.3 and its subsections include the results for the 23 interviews conducted at the public services organisation (ABC). The main differences that emerged in the overall results between XYZ and ABC are included in section 3.4. In section 3.5, works from the body of trade union membership literature are then used to aid a discussion of the results, as presenting the literature review after the results is consistent with grounded theory. Section 3.6 includes a conclusion for this chapter.

3.1 BACKGROUND

The sensitising concept of unmet expectations revolves around the idea that employees join trade unions because they expect to receive benefits from being members and therefore express job dissatisfaction when they do not receive these benefits to the extent that they expected (Guest and Conway, 2004). Research suggests that trade union members expect more from their jobs than non-union members (Bryson et al, 2004). To decide if their expectations have been met, trade union members evaluate aspects of their jobs such as pay and benefits (Hammer and Avgar, 2005). To capture unmet expectations in this research, each interviewee was asked why they had joined the trade union to understand the benefit that they expected to receive. Trade union members were then asked if their trade union had lived up to their expectations. Where more insight was needed, trade union members were asked follow up questions.

Protection, broadly conceived, emerged as a key theme in the responses of trade union members at both case study organisations to the question asking them why they had joined the trade union. Trade union members described protection as having different dimensions and they used the term ‘protection’ passively as well as actively in their responses. That is, trade union members described protection as an aspect of trade union membership that they could use and/or as a

benefit of being in the trade union that they had used. Furthermore, lack of protection was related to trade union members' job dissatisfaction at both case study organisations, although it was not the only unmet expectation that trade union members reported. This idea seems to be linked to the results in Chapter 5 for the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate at XYZ and ABC, and to Chapters 4 for the sensitising concept of awareness of inequalities at ABC.

3.2. UNMET EXPECTATIONS RESULTS: XYZ

This subsection reports the results of the fieldwork that were related to trade union members' unmet expectations and topics that appeared to be related to trade union members' job dissatisfaction. The responses of trade union members in this subsection were at times nuanced and included mixed feelings. It seemed that trade union members could have had high or low expectations that were perhaps linked to their perceptions regarding two major topics. These two topics are loosely described here as (i) the trade union's loss of power and (ii) the idea that the trade union had kept the factory open. A list of the trade union members interviewed at XYZ is included in the table below.

Table 3.1

Interviewee	Age, Job Title, Gender, Tenure (where available)	Trade Union
M1	58, Senior Shop Steward and Production, Male, 35 years.	XYZ
M2	Over 40, Deputy Shop Steward and Production, Male, 26 years.	XYZ
M3	Over 60, Maintenance, Male, 40 years.	XYZ
M4	30, Female, Engineering, 13 years.	XYZ
M5	58, Male, Production, 31 years.	XYZ
M6	27, Female, Production, 3 and a half years.	XYZ
M7	27, Female, Production, 4 years.	XYZ
M8	55, Male, Production, 27 years.	XYZ
M9	44, Male, Production, 21 years.	XYZ
M10	Over 60, Male, Production, 41 years.	XYZ
M11	'over fifty', Male, Engineer, 44 years.	XYZ

M12	61, Male, Production, 40 years.	XYZ
M13	37, Male, Production, 11 years.	XYZ
M14	47, Female, Production, 3 months.	XYZ
M15	48, Male, Production, 14 years.	XYZ
M16	56, Male, Production, 30 years.	XYZ
M17	55, Male, Production, 15 years.	XYZ
M18	44, Female, Production, 11 years.	XYZ
M19	Over 35, Male, Services, 14 years.	XYZ
M20	55, Male, Forklift driver, 37 years.	XYZ

3.2.1 DISSATISFACTION AT XYZ

This subsection begins with dialogue from M10, within which he expressed dissatisfaction related to his unmet expectations of trade union protection. M10 had 41 years of experience and his job had been simplified because a workplace accident had limited his ability to perform other jobs. His responses related to his unmet expectations were nuanced. He used language such as 'mostly' and 'not fully' that suggested his feelings were on a continuum that included satisfaction as well as dissatisfaction with the trade union at XYZ. M10's responses are articulated below in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Researcher: 'Okay. So, why did you join the trade union at (XYZ)?'
M10: 'I saw it as being having your, getting fairness, and a...if you injured yourselves, ya got a trade union to, to, to pursue a claim. Free, free of cost. Ah, I don't know, I just...type of person I am. Want to be part of the union'.
Researcher: 'Can you describe that in greater detail, type of person? So, going back to when you joined the union, did you have an expectation, or, did everyone at the time join trade unions?'.
M10: 'Most people, most people joined...the trade union. And still do. Well in the (XYZ), yeah. Most'.

Researcher: ‘Do you think the trade union has lived up to your expectations?’.
M10: ‘Ah...mostly, yeah. But not, not fully’.
Researcher: ‘Really?’.
M10: ‘Yeah’.
Researcher: ‘Why is that?’.
M10: ‘Just ah...the power they don’t have now, that where they used to...don’t have the same, ah, clout. But they try their best’.
Researcher: ‘So, if they still had the same power, what would they do better?’.
M10: ‘I think they’d probably be able to make it fairer than, in the, the workshop, on the shop floor. I think they’d probably...go for better benefits. That sort a thing’.
Researcher: ‘Okay. So, how is it unfair on the shop floor?’.
M10: ‘Just a...the way some people get treated. Ah...disrespectfully from some of the managers. The higher up managers coming down they’re probably, they’re probably fair. But as it goes down the ranks...it’s a...I think it’s, a lot of time it’s unfair, the way people get treated. The way they get spoken to. That sort a thing’.
Researcher: ‘Can you describe that in greater detail? The managers on the shop floor...is it personal, they get away with it, I mean...’.
M10: ‘Yeah. Yeah, they do get away with it. And if you report it, they’ll go out of their way to get you back’.
Researcher: ‘Really?’.
M10: ‘Mm hm’.
Researcher: ‘That’s interesting. Because with a trade union, they shouldn’t be able to retaliate’.
M10: ‘No’.
Researcher: ‘But they do retaliate?’.
M10: ‘Mm hm, yeah. They sort a, they’ll do things...properly, but, it’s just the way they go about it, the way they treat people. The way they speak to them. Ah...that’s just my experience like, ah, throughout the years. It used to be...really bad at one time. When I first started here. Relations got better, as I believe a lot better, and, I think, the last ten years it’s slipped back again’.

*Where the interviewee did not provide their age, an approximation was made based on responses in their interview.

From his statements above, it seemed that M10 viewed the management positively in some contexts and negatively in others, as he perceived that the higher-level management was at times fair. Yet, he also suggested that there was mistreatment of trade union members by management at XYZ and this retaliation seemed to dissatisfy him. Interestingly, the responses of some trade union members as to why they had joined the trade union was to be protected, specifically, from mistreatment by management.

In Table 3.1 above, M10 suggested that the trade union had lost power in its relationship with the management at XYZ. Whilst some responses at XYZ included dissatisfaction related to the trade union having lost power, there were also responses that suggested that the trade union had kept the factory open. The idea that some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with the trade union for having lost power whilst responses also included general feelings of satisfaction with the trade union for having kept the factory open highlighted that some trade union members might have been willing to, or were perhaps in the process of trying to, make a trade off between the expectations they had versus the benefits they received from being in a trade union. Perhaps some trade union members had lowered their expectations of the trade union over time because it had enabled them to have some job security. Or, perhaps some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with the trade union's loss of power and its close relationship with management because they believed the trade union should do more for them than just keep the factory open.

The idea that the trade union had lost power is mentioned in the following comments from M12. M12 described his dissatisfaction with the trade union's loss of power and his perceptions that the management controlled decision-making at XYZ:

> 'Ah...I would say up to the time of Thatcher...put her foot down with the unions, the unions were quite powerful then, when I first started. Now, I don't think they're near as powerful as what they were. Not in nearest way, any way, shape or form. Ah...they tend to agree more...with what management are saying'.

The idea that the trade union had kept the factory open at XYZ did not seem to satisfy M12. Rather, M12's responses included tension because trade union members had to accept deleterious changes as a result of the trade union's loss of power, as there were no other job opportunities for them:

> 'You know, a lot a big changes went on...to actually keep the place here. And I think if that was in the nineteen eighties...in that era...I think that, I don't think that would a happened. They were, they were more, ah...militant then'...'Ah...all the big manufacturers gone. (manufacturer), (manufacturer), the shipyards...it's all gone now. Even a lot of the big building companies have gone. You know, so, it is quite hard to get a job in (city anonymised), it's...definitely'.

In his responses below, M12 used the words 'we are' to suggest that other trade union members at XYZ expressed feelings of dissatisfaction in addition to himself. Moreover, he repeated in his interview that regardless of their unmet expectations with the trade union, most members could not leave XYZ because they had limited job opportunities:

> 'Cuz we are, you hear it, you hear it on the shop floor, I mean there's, there's, you'll hear it on the shop floor that...guys are...unhappy with their...they moan about this, they moan about that. They moan about their manager, they moan about working...they moan about the shifts, they moan about the pay. And...but they won't leave. Because it's, it's the only thing here'.

In describing his unmet expectations with the trade union at XYZ, M13 discussed feelings of dissatisfaction related to changes that the trade union had made to keep the factory open. His responses suggested that the trade union might not have met the expectations of some of its older members, as the trade union had implemented changes that some trade union members were unaccustomed to and disliked. Some of those changes included more rules and shorter work breaks, as well as an increased focus on production targets:

> 'So there can be a bit of animosity. Not a lot, but there is...there is some guys that do like to moan, and what happens is a lot of guys...maybe, twenty, thirty years ago, they used to work here... maybe found things a lot easier. Ah, there was less safety, less rules. And they've find now that they can be constricted to rules. And they like to do their own

thing, but...'...'And ah, they kind a complain about, complain about the old days'...'Things used to be better.'...'We used to get longer breaks'.

M13's responses were interesting for at least two reasons. First, the trade union members that M13 described above expressed dissatisfaction even though they had experienced times at XYZ when the factory could have shut. Perhaps these trade union members had not lowered their expectations of what the trade union at XYZ could do for them, or the trade union's having kept the factory open in and of itself was not enough to meet their expectations. The next reason is related to the idea that it is generally known that trade unions try to improve conditions of employment, such as safety. Yet, there were perceptions that conditions were better when trade union members had longer work breaks and/or the ability to work more autonomously. Thus, although the trade union made changes at XYZ that enabled its members' jobs to be protected, the trade union had dissatisfied some of its members that did not like the changes, or concessions that were made in order to achieve that result.

The following responses from M15 were to a question asking him to elaborate on his unmet expectations with the trade union. M15 had expressed disappointment with the trade union for not having kept him informed. As shown below, his response included the idea that 'because' the trade union had not kept it members informed, it had lost the respect of some of its members:

'I know, I know a lot of people that haven't got the same respect for the union as what they used to have. Because the union...they don't tell the employees...much. They'll know things, but they...they'll not let people know'.

The following statements from M15 were in continuation to his statements above. M15 seemed disappointed with the trade union because he perceived that the trade union did not negotiate with management over issues such as pay:

'I just...I just don't, I...I just think that a, management make their decisions before...anything actually. Before the union even speak to them. Like for pay rise and everything'.

M3's reply to whether the trade union had met his expectations seemed to suggest that he had mixed feelings that included dissatisfaction and a resigned acceptance with the trade union's performance. It appeared that he might have lowered his expectations of higher pay as he suggested that he wanted to be paid more, but could not be paid more because it would negatively affect the fiscal health of the factory:

> 'I think we, things like that, you have to be realistic. Would I like to be paid as much as an oil worker? Oh, yes I would. But, what would that do to the price of a (product anonymised). So you know it doesn't work. You know, so. You've got to try and be reasonable. Do I think we could get some more money? Well, I do'.

In his responses above, M3 used language that included 'you've got to try' to be 'reasonable'. This language seemed to highlight that perhaps M3 had compromised his beliefs and lowered his expectations. To be 'reasonable', perhaps he had adjusted and lowered his expectations with regard to higher pay. This seemed possible, as it is a generally expected function of trade unions to negotiate on behalf of their members for higher pay.

Trade union member M8 seemed to have equally mixed feelings towards the trade union at XYZ. In response to being asked if the trade union had met his expectations, he replied:

> 'I'm a bit satisfied, I wouldn't say I'm satisfied, but I'm not dissatisfied, uh, either. It's the unions...just something that's there for protection'.

M8 suggested that his feelings towards the trade union had been affected by a strike incident that had occurred 20 years earlier at XYZ. As reported by M8, it seemed that the trade union had lost the trust of its members over time:

> 'Because we'd been told lies by some [union] guy from London. Ah, and then we found out maybe six month to seven month later, the actual fact was that the company had threatened to take them to court, and sue, sue the union, half a million pound a day or whatever it was. All the plant was shut. And so, so the union panicked. And they sent this guy in, to bullshit basically, to get us back to work'...'I just never trust them today, to do the right thing for the workers, rather than being in hand in hand with the company'.

Trade union member M8 linked his unmet expectations to his feelings regarding the relationship between the trade union and the management at XYZ. Moreover, he suggested that other trade union members had negative feelings about the relationship as well:

> 'Most of the employees think that the union are in cahoots with management, rather than in cahoots with the workforce. Cuz when the management team wants something to change in (city anonymised), then it seems to be that the union push for that to happen. Ah, and that's whether it's good for us or bad for us, they'll push for it to come away with, they said well, if we're gunna do this, we'll probably close for, they'll be redundancies and things. And maybe they're correct in trying to fight in our corner for that as well, but, the impression you get is they are hand in hand with management. And that comes, generally, why I get the feeling from the workforce, is, we are in cahoots with management'.

M8 then suggested that he did not attend trade union meetings because the union was weak and did not make decisions at XYZ:

> 'I feel the union's quite weak in (city anonymised) as for fighting management. And if ya, I could go to union meetings, but I don't. The vast majority of the workforce doesn't go to meetings'.

M8 also expressed disappointment with the pay that he was receiving at the time of his interview: 'Used to be a lot better paying than what it is now'. He then suggested that the trade union had lost power, or was 'destroyed':

> 'The...before, it used to be that the trade union, a, fought for the people of (city anonymised), which they still do, but on a different level than before. Yeah, I've been here for a lot of years. So the trade union was destroyed, probably about twenty year ago, when we went on strike, a, for better pay and conditions'.

M8 made a comment that seemed especially insightful, as he suggested that the trade union used to 'fight for the people' 'on a different level'. Protection, as described earlier in this chapter, was a prominent reason for why trade union members had joined the trade union at XYZ. Furthermore, his statement with regard to the trade union having kept its members' jobs included

'fight in our corner for that *as well*', and so it seemed that he expected more from the trade union than just job security.

M19 had 14 years of experience and his reply to why he had joined the trade union highlighted what seemed to be unmet expectations in relation to the trade union at XYZ: 'Um, yeah, I thought the union would be...a bit stronger in what they could do for um...conditions and stuff. But, um...that's about all, really, I didn't really expect them to do much else'.

His responses above included the statement 'a bit stronger', which suggested disappointment. To elicit a richer response from M19, he was asked to describe his expectations in greater detail. M19 replied in a way that suggested that he was not satisfied:

> 'I think...times have changed for the union, I think. I think it's a lot harder now for them to negotiate things as um, years back. When they had a bit more power and um, but everything's done to...sort a, saving your job sort a thing. You know, the job, ah, situation being so...tight and, um, what would you say, like...there isn't many jobs in...in (city anonymised) that you can go to. And you always get this thing that um...they've kept us in the job sort a thing. And it's like a record they sort a keep us in. We've been able to keep your job'.

In his responses above, M19 seemed to resent that he was reminded by the trade union 'like a record' that it had saved jobs. Perhaps M19 wanted the trade union to 'negotiate things', such as terms and conditions, as it might have done in the past. The idea that the trade union was perceived by M19 as not negotiating effectively for its members was especially insightful, given that negotiating is a well known function of trade unions in general.

As shown earlier, M10 seemed disappointed with the trade union's loss of power at XYZ. Here, his perceptions included the idea that the trade union could have negotiated for better pay and conditions:

> 'I do not think I've ever been satisfied. I've always wanted better.'...'So I don't think I've ever been satisfied. I'm always looking for improvement, better wages and conditions. So, no, I've never been satisfied'.

M10's responses above were interesting, as they seemed to suggest that he had high expectations related to trade union membership at XYZ. Responses in this section suggested that the trade union's loss of power over the years might have negatively impacted on its ability to negotiate effectively for items that are generally associated with trade unionism, and this seemed to have negatively impacted on trade union members' job dissatisfaction at XYZ. Furthermore, trade union members' responses in relation to their unmet expectations with the trade union at XYZ seemed linked to the industrial relations climate discussed in Chapter 6.

3.2.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS: XYZ

In this section, the results of trade union members' job dissatisfaction in relation to the sensitising concept of unmet expectations were presented. Trade union members' responses included mixed feelings and nuanced expressions of job dissatisfaction. Responses suggested that some trade union members had higher expectations and that some trade union members had seemingly lower expectations of the trade union at XYZ. These high or low expectations seemed to have been related to trade union members' perspectives in relation to the trade union's loss of power, but also the trade union's success in having kept the factory open.

With regard to the two previously mentioned topics, it seemed that some trade union members had lowered their expectations over time as they were perhaps willing to accept the trade union's loss of power in exchange for job security. On the other hand, it emerged that there were trade union members with higher expectations who seemed to expect the trade union to do more for them than to keep the factory open. That is, trade union members with high expectations seemed to want the trade union to negotiate beyond job security for better pay, benefits and terms and conditions. Moreover, the idea that the trade union did not negotiate effectively with management was a source of their dissatisfaction.

Other topics that were related to dissatisfaction in this section included the idea that the trade union had not kept its members informed and had implemented rules that some trade union members disliked. Yet, it seemed that the strongest sources of dissatisfaction for trade union

members in relation to their unmet expectations at XYZ were related to the trade union's close relationship with management. This close relationship could have affected the trade union's ability to protect its members from management as well as promote better pay, benefits and terms and conditions.

3.3 UNMET EXPECTATIONS RESULTS: ABC

The results related to unmet expectations with the trade union at ABC are presented in this sub-section. Some of the topics that emerged in the interviews included the idea that the trade union had not met the expectations of its members on an equal basis. That is, some trade union members perceived that the trade union had focused on the issues of its academic members over the issues of its other members. Furthermore, it emerged that trade union representatives had autonomy to decide what issues they would represent and this seemed to affect trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Moreover, some trade union members' responses in this subsection include reports of dissatisfaction with individual trade union representatives. Other topics in this section include perceptions that the trade union was weak, had not enabled its members to participate in decision-making and had not kept its members informed. A list of the trade union members interviewed at ABC is included in the table below.

Table 3.3

Interviewee	Age, Job Title, Gender, Tenure (where available)	Trade Union
D1	58, Lecturer, Female, 25 years.	Red
D2	65, Professor, Male, 4 years and 4 months.	Red
D3	45, Student Funding Officer, Female, 17 years.	Red
D4	50, Lecturer, Male, 21 years.	Red
D5	31, Lecturer, Male, 1 year.	Red
D6	56, Male, Technician, 26 years.	Green
D7	47, Male, Library Assistant, 13 years.	Blue
D8	57, Female, Lecturer, 5 years and 6 months.	Red
D9	34, Female, Lecturer, 2 years and 6 months.	Red

D10	48, Male, Security, 8 years.	Blue
D11	60, Male, Security, 27 years.	Blue
D12	Over 30, Female, Finance Officer,14 years.	Blue
D13	58, Female, Undergraduate Administrator, 36 years.	Blue
D14	26, Male, International Business Development, 5 years.	Blue
D15	56, Female, Student Coursework Administrator, 15 years.	Blue
D16	53, Female, Lecturer, 12 years.	Red
D17	Over 40, Female, Administrative Support, 6 years.	Blue
D18	Over 30, Female, Finance Officer, 2 years.	Blue
D19	53, Female, Finance Administrator, 11 years.	Blue
D20	56, Male, IT, 34 years.	Green
D21	57, Male, IT, 17 years.	Green
D22	66, Male, Academic Department Chair, 3 years.	Red
D23	45, Male, IT, 13 years.	Green

*Where the interviewee did not provide their age, an approximation was made based on responses in their interview.

3.3.1 DISSATISFACTION AT ABC

Similar to the results for XYZ, responses from trade union members at ABC included mixed feelings and nuanced expressions of dissatisfaction. The first responses in this subsection are from D10, who was a member of the Blue trade union. As mentioned earlier in chapter 2, the Blue trade union represented clerical and manual workers. D10 worked in security and had 14 years of experience. He replied to being asked if the trade union had lived up to his expectations with a mixture of dissatisfaction and satisfaction:

> 'Um...yes and no. Um, I mean you've got quite good conditions, ah, which is probably been a mixture of the university and the trade union, ah, throughout the years trying to, ah, ah, get things. Ah, and then I think it all depends...Yeah, um. I think also it just depends um...on ah, who you've got also as shop steward as well. Um, I know, ah...as far

as ah, they can...um, speak on behalf of the members. Um, I know, so, I think it, a big thing is ah, who the shop steward [is]'.

D10 seemed largely dissatisfied with the trade union because the shop steward had not met regularly with his department:

'Um, I think since I've started here at the university...I think they've had one union meeting, and that was when the janitors and the security were amalgamating. Um, and, I actually I was on holiday then. Um, so in eight years, I've never had a union meeting... Um, but that, on um...the union front at the university, I'm a wee bit disappointed, ah, that they don't have um...more union...meetings. Ah, but again, that's probably nothing to do with...the university side. That's probably more to do with...your full time official and shop steward at the university. Ah, they should be, ah, having meetings. Um, and just sort a...you know, little things can build up in a work place. Um, and I've seen that before. And they're, they're probably very little things. But, if you...let...every little thing build up, it can come to a head...and explode. Um, so I always think it's better to um, keep the air a bit clearer I know and things, on that side, it could probably do a bit better'.

The responses above from D10 included his disappointment that trade union members in security had not been consulted by the trade union regarding changes to their jobs. Furthermore, whilst the unions of the janitors and the security personnel had amalgamated, the amalgamation had benefitted some shifts and not others. As D10 reported, he had not benefitted from the amalgamation. The original terms of his position included working night shifts, which he 'enjoyed'. Yet, after the amalgamation, he had to work the day shift instead:

'Um, well what it was um...what's changed in my job is, as I say, we were ah, permanent night shift, ah, security, and the security and the janitors...amalgamated. Um, and...I was hoping, you know, they might of said, you know, keep the janitors on...day ah, like an early shift and, which they were basically used to. And, we were going to stay on night shift, but that never, ah, happened. Everyone, ah, got amalgamated together and um...the shifts changed...without really...much notice. Um, there was, ah, extra money involved...for the people that were coming off day shift. So I can see, um...their incentive. I know it was a lot more money, um, for the night shift workers then, I know we never

> really...benefitted. But we had to come on day shift...um, as well as doing night shift'... 'Ah, where, ah, when I first started in the university, I applied for a job, it was permanent night shift. Um, which I enjoyed, and you got in a slight routine'.

It seemed that perhaps the trade union had not met D10's expectations because he somehow perceived that the trade union had not enabled its members in security to have a voice in decisions that affected them:

> 'Um, but obviously, um...people don't like change. Um, but I think that sometimes it'd be better going to um...the people that do the jobs, and ask them...what their um, opinion on the matters would be. Where sometimes, um, things are just changed without um...asking people that do the job'.

Trade union member D11 was also employed in security and he expressed dissatisfaction with the trade union because it had not kept him informed. D11 reported that he expected the trade union to keep him informed and emphasised that he paid the trade union to do so:

> 'So, and then sometimes you wonder if their...they, they, the union sometimes know things that they haven't told us. And like the management say well we don't want this to be known until this thing happens, and I've heard these things...these things happening, or maybe, like, changes that's going on. And I think to myself, well obviously, I'm paying my union dues to be informed...not to have things kept from me, but. That's just, that's just a bugbear at the moment'.

D11 was 60-years old and had worked at ABC for 27 years. He indicated that he was largely dissatisfied with the trade union and expressed his belief that the trade union had not protected the interests of the lowest paid workers. D11 described a situation in which the trade union had planned a day of action that benefitted the academic staff and hurt the cleaning staff:

> 'you're supposed to have solidarity with...the, the um...lecturers I think. They just take a holiday...so they don't lose any money. So the only people that are really suffering is anybody...takes a day off, like cleaners or security or something like that, or who cross the picket line. They lose money'.

The aforementioned statements from D11 seemed to be linked to results in Chapter 4 for the sensitising concept of awareness of inequality, as in them he described occupational inequalities. It is important to note, however, that D11 was a member of the Blue trade union, which represented clerical and manual employees, and the disputes surrounding pay in higher education affected academics, or trade union members that would have been in the Red trade union.

Blue trade union member D15 was an administrator with 15 years of experience and her reply to why she had joined the trade union at ABC emphasised the protection it provided:

> 'Ah, I joined initially because I could see some problems happening in my work environment. And that was why I joined, I joined for some...protection that I may need in the future. And I, I joined as a backup...for a potential problem'.

In response to the question of whether the trade union had lived up to her expectations, D15 stated: 'No, not always, I have to say. This is confidential, isn't it?'. The researcher assured her it was and D15 stated:

> 'Not always, no, no. It hasn't. I had a situation a, about three years ago...where I had, new management came in. And it was very suppressing. Very bullying. Ah, and I, I went off...with stress. And, while I was off, I was in the union at this point. Um, I did have a student, I had to tell the union rep helping me, and initially I thought...this is good, this is good help. But it didn't...it, they...I didn't feel that the union rep did her job properly. So that was a...that wasn't, that wasn't good. And, I managed to get back to work, I was off for eight months'…'Um, so...yeah, I can say that it depends on who your rep is'.

D15 described a university staff survey wherein her department 'came out as the worst for the bullying' in ABC. Furthermore, D15's statements shown above suggested that she believed the quality of trade union representation depended on the trade union representatives themselves. The idea that trade union representation might have depended on individual trade union representatives is also highlighted by the following responses from D6. D6 was a trade union representative for the Green trade union and he indicated that he had some degree of autonomy to decide how he would represent trade union members, or if he would represent them at all.

D6 was a 56-year old senior technician with 26 years of experience at ABC. He was a trade union representative and described trade union protection from his point of view as a trade union caseworker:

> ‘There are times when I have to represent people, and I don’t feel...I want to do it on a personal level, because I feel they are wrong. I sometimes feel that in order to represent person A, I might be compromising person B, who might be completely innocent. So, it’s a, it’s a, it can be a moral dilemma, because I’m obliged to represent every single person who is a member of the union who comes to me for representation. However, how I represent them...is largely down to my experience and judgement. So, I can try to channel them into a course of action which is less confrontational, and that’s what I try to do. If I genuinely think, I, I...how do I put this. I don’t represent people in the way that they want to be represented. I represent them in what I believe to be is their best interest. And it may be if someone’s simply being foolish, or simply misunderstanding a situation, the best thing I can do is to tell them to grow up and let the matter drop. And that can be difficult for them to hear. But it’s better coming from me, than from their department or their manager, where it might then compromise their future career. So that’s a difficult conversation, and I, I have that on a regular basis. I think, to me the, the outcome is what’s important. And the outcome is to protect the individual. And if you have to tell them something, a harsh truth to do that, then that, that’s simply something that has to be done’.

D6’s responses above help to shed light on trade union members’ dissatisfaction with their trade union representatives. As D6 reported above, he did not represent trade union members as they wanted to be represented. Rather, he represented trade union members according to what he believed was in ‘their best interest’. Moreover, he could potentially advise trade union members to ‘let the matter drop’, even though this may not be what they want to hear. D6’s statements helped to shed light on why some trade union members at ABC might not have received the representation that they wanted or expected. That is, it seemed possible that the personal beliefs of trade union representatives at ABC could have affected the quality of the representation that some trade union members received there.

The following responses were from trade union member D9, a 34-year old lecturer from India who seemed dissatisfied with the Red trade union (i.e., the academic trade union) at ABC because it had not addressed all of its members' issues. Furthermore, D9 suggested that her expectations with regard to the trade union had not been met. In the first of three responses included here from D9, her disappointment with the trade union is linked to it being weak, as the trade union did not have enough members:

> 'No. Um, the reason I'm not satisfied with the trade union's performance is unfortunately I think they're fighting too many battles. And they can't. They don't have the membership, not...I think, maybe a quarter of staff or maybe even less than that...are, um, is a member of the trade union, a member of the trade union. So they have a very small pool to work with anyway. Um, and they have just too many battles to fight'.

D9 then suggested that the management at ABC had tried to close the political science department in which she was a lecturer. She and other trade union members in her department had sought protection from the trade union against their Dean. Her responses below include details related to the situation that describe how she and her colleagues had suffered mentally and emotionally. Moreover, she expressed dissatisfaction with the trade union for not having acknowledged the situation even though, as she indicated, trade union members were 'obviously' aware of it. Yet, D9 also indicated that the trade union perhaps had many 'battle(s) to fight', which suggests that circumstances were likely dire for academics in general at ABC:

> 'our acting Dean would basically call us for a meeting and not tell us what the meeting was about. Uh, almost, uh...send us an ultimatum, um, not an ultimatum but a decree...that's when the meeting is happening. And, not knowing what it is about, you have to attend because you don't know what it's about. Whether there is something minor, or something that's potentially...might change the way you do your job. So, um, that kind of uncertainty, that kind of, you know, ruling with an iron fist and....oh, it was a very, very difficult, um...few months, um. I certainly...ended up...um, having to seek counselling...um, during that, during that period. My, I know at least one colleague also had to seek counselling for, you know, it, the level of stress was just...unprecedented. F- for me, I've been an academic now for four and a half years, and I've never had a situation where I've been...so bad, where I've had to seek counselling. And just

> completely work related stress. And there's no acknowledgement of this, um, by the university...certainly. Um, I think the union is fighting too many battles to acknowledge this. Um, they know...I mean, obviously members know on an individual level, but there's too many things that are going wrong, for the uni, for the union to be able to say right, that's another battle we need to fight'.

D9 suggested that she had joined the trade union with the expectation that it would enable her to have a say in decision-making at ABC. These are some of D9's responses related to her expectations: 'Um, I want to be able to express...um...my opinion...um, on what's going on in the university'. However, D9 repeatedly suggested that the trade union had not acknowledged her or its members' issues, at least 'not officially'. This might have been due in part to the Red trade union's lack of resources to address all of its members' issues, as 'so much' had 'happened all over':

> 'And there's a lot of things that have happened at (ABC) in the last year, ah, with redundancies, with, um...ah, what is the word...um, voluntary severance. Um, and not just the fact that these have been introduced, but the way in which they have been introduced. So a lot of bullying. Um...um, that's not been acknowledged at all. Not even by the trade union, actually. Um, or if it's been acknowledged by the trade union, it's, it's been acknowledged by members, not officially. Um, so it, that's just the tip of the iceberg, I mean there's so much that's happened all over'.

Blue trade union member D14 was a 26-year old from Pakistan who worked in the international office. His reply as to why he had joined the trade union suggested that his expectations were low: 'So, I mean, I didn't really have any expectations, I mean, like obviously worse case scenario you have that kind of safety net'.

In response to being asked to provide more details related to his expectations, D14 communicated his belief that the Blue trade union was weak and expressed disappointment with the trade union's circumstances. His descriptions of the trade union seemed to highlight his low expectations, as he did not believe that the trade union had the support of its members:

> ‘And, I think, like a trade union is as strong as its membership. Ah, and, like I think...we’ve struggled, like people have dropped out, some of them have come back. And, I think what...they’ve noticed is that...when things go wrong, and there’s a sudden spike in membership. So suddenly, you know, people are joining in from that particular department, if there’s...talks going on for them. Then, when things calm down, people just...you know, kind of discontinue that’.

The next two trade union members, D20 and D23, were technical staff employees in the Green trade union. Their department was the main target for voluntary redundancies at ABC and they had recently experienced a major restructuring. All of the technical employees’ jobs were made obsolete and each technical employee had to reapply for new jobs within the department. Some employees, such as D20 and D23, had been able to get better positions.

Trade union member D20 had worked at the university for 34 years and was close to retirement. He was dissatisfied with the trade union because he believed that the trade union prioritised the academic staff’s issues over the issues of the technical staff. Yet, D20 was a member of the Blue trade union that generally represented trade union members in technical roles at ABC:

> ‘But I do kind a feel that the union has been more focused on academic wrong...so, a, I will still...still remain a member of the union, but um...I, I didn’t think that, I thought they could have been more proactive in some of the things that, that were going on’.

D20 indicated that the restructuring had negative effects on his mental health and that of the technical staff in general. It also became clear in the latter part of D20’s responses that he was considering contacting the trade union’s health and safety representatives, perhaps for representation, to confront the university regarding ‘what they did’. This is shown in his responses below:

> ‘But it did seem very unnecessary and brutal, there are a lot of people now on medication. Ah, I nearly went, I, I, I got in the car one day and drove three hundred miles. Ah, and, and so the rest of me got sick, just because the pressure all became too much. Um, that was just at the time when we had to apply, finally apply for the, the final tranche of jobs, I just couldn’t cope any more. Um...we’ve sat with

> colleagues in tears'...'Oh, loss of sleep, um, irritability, um...I'd say I just...went mental one day and...just got, threw a lot a stuff in the car, took my passport and...was not going to come back. Um, it a...yeah, the pressure has been intolerable. It's been for eight months, and um, I'm, I started doing a wee bit of digging, stuff here, not sure where it is. Um, there seems to be a huge, huge body of psychological research which says that um...job uncertainty of that kind of level, or that kind of the same time period, will make you sick. Um, and will have quite detrimental effects. And I am seeing that, I mean I know people are on medication and they're, people have been very, very stressed and ah, lost sleep and...it was just, it was just uncertainty'...'Um, so I think a...I think something needs to be done about that. That they should never be allowed to get away with that again. Um, and I've not yet had my return to work meeting from the time when I had my week off sick. And I'm going to insist that that happens. And I'm going to, to insist that um...maybe somebody from a, um...health and safety's there. Ah, and the university's made to look at what they did. And a, I don't think it's acceptable, um, what they did to this place'.

D20's dissatisfaction seemed to suggest that the trade union was somehow unable to improve circumstances for the technical staff during their department's restructuring. As D20 highlighted, he 'went mental one day' because of high levels of uncertainty at ABC and had to take a 'week off sick', which suggests that his dissatisfaction was severe. Moreover, these negative effects were embedded within a general context of uncertainty. His responses clearly indicated that the restructuring was a highly emotional topic for D20, even though he was effectively promoted in the end.

D23 was a 45-year old male technical services manager who had joined the Green trade union for protection: 'No, no benefits, just...being part of an organisation that stands up for everybody else in the university, whether they're union members or not'. For clarity, it is important to mention that whilst D23 perceived the trade union as 'an organisation' that protected 'everybody', the trade union representatives at ABC did not provide trade union representation to non-union members.

Although D23 applied for a job within his department's new structure and had been advanced, he expressed disappointment with the trade union:

> 'I feel they treat professional services slightly less...compared to academics. I feel that, because they're on the...union committee. There aren't that many professional service representatives. So that feels as though well, it's not really as important. Purely my opinion, we're not as important as academics...within the organisation, and the union, that's just my feeling. Feels like...every time we raise an issue, it's not taken as serious as...issues that are raised from...fellow union members in Schools. I don't know why that is. It's, it's how it feels'.

D20 and D23 thus suggested that the trade union supported academics more so than technical staff, and this seemed to indicate a potential link between unmet expectations and awareness of inequality, discussed in Chapter 4. As D23's response above suggests, he perceived that the trade union at ABC focused on academic trade union members because the trade union representatives themselves were mostly academics. Yet, D20 and D23 were both members of the Green trade union that was generally known to represent the interests of technical trade union members at ABC.

3.3.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS: ABC

Section 3.3 reported the main topics that emerged in exploring the sensitising concept of unmet expectations at ABC. The results suggested that some trade union members had low expectations of their trade union in the first instance and/or believed that their trade union was becoming weaker over time. Some trade union members alluded to organisational changes that were taking place at ABC and it seemed that their perceptions surrounding these changes might have negatively impacted on their expectations. Responses from trade union members in the Green, Blue and Red trade unions included beliefs that the trade unions did not have the resources to address all of their members' issues. Furthermore, some trade union members suggested that their trade union had prioritised the issues of some of its members over the issues of its other members, even though the other members were not represented by their trade union.

There were also trade union members that expressed dissatisfaction with their trade union's representatives. From the responses of trade union representative D6, it also seemed possible that some trade union representatives at ABC might have had autonomy to decide who to represent and how to represent them. Thus, whilst the trade unions might not have had the resources to address all of their members' issues, it seemed that some trade union representatives might have a certain degree of autonomy to decide what issues the trade union(s) did represent and/or the quality of representation received by trade union members. Yet, the two previous issues– the trade unions' lack of resources and the trade union representative's autonomy over critical issues regarding representation – might have been linked. For example, maybe the number of trade union representatives at ABC was not enough to manage the number of issues, so that perhaps representatives such as D6 had to limit the number of members they represented out of necessity.

The idea that the trade unions at ABC had focused on the issues of some of their members over other members emerged repeatedly in interviews. For example, it was suggested that the Blue trade union had prioritised the issues of its academic members over the issues of its lowest paid members. Yet, the Blue trade union was generally known to represent trade union members in clerical and manual roles. Other perceptions were that the Green trade union had prioritised the issues of its academic members whilst its technical members suffered through a painful restructuring. However, the Green trade union was generally known to represent the interests of trade union members in technical roles. Responses such as these seemed to highlight that the Green and Blue trade union members might have felt confusion about the many changes that were occurring at ABC, perhaps because they lacked information. This idea seems possible, as dissatisfaction emerged in relation to the Blue trade union not having kept certain members, such as the security staff, informed.

It is important to mention that D9 described dissatisfaction related to the Red trade union not acknowledging issues that were taking place in her department. Thus, there were differences that seemed to exist within occupational classes, specifically for academics, in relation to trade union members' dissatisfaction. These differences in relation to the academics also emerged in the results for the sensitising concepts of awareness of inequality and industrial relations climate, discussed in the following chapters. Furthermore, occupational inequalities emerged in the

results for awareness of inequality and topics related to changes at ABC and the trade unions' loss of power emerged in the results for the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate.

3.4 SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RESULTS AT XYZ AND ABC

The results reported in section 3.3 included differences as well as similarities between the kinds of unmet expectations that trade union members had at XYZ and ABC. It seemed that at both case study organisations, protection, broadly conceived, was an expectation that trade union members had when they joined the trade unions. Another similarity was that some responses at XYZ and ABC included feelings of dissatisfaction that seemed related to their trade unions having apparently lost power over time. There were also trade union members at both case study organisations that expressed dissatisfaction related to changes taking place within their organisations. Furthermore, trade union members at XYZ and ABC expressed feelings that were nuanced at times and included mixtures of dissatisfaction as well as satisfaction.

Two other topics were related to dissatisfaction with unmet expectations at both case study organisations. The first topic includes the idea that trade union members had expected their trade unions to keep them informed, but failed to deliver. For example, trade union member D11 expressed dissatisfaction with the Blue trade union at ABC for not having kept him informed even though he paid monthly union dues and M15 suggested that the trade union at XYZ similarly withheld information from its members. The second topic is that trade union members had expected to participate in decision-making at XYZ and ABC, but again the unions failed to deliver. For example, D10 suggested that the Blue trade union had not given the security staff a chance to participate in decisions that had affected his job. M12 and M15 expressed their frustrations with the trade union at XYZ because their ability to participate was limited.

There were differences between the data that emerged at each of the two case study organisations. At ABC, trade union members believed that their unions were struggling to address issues related to decisions that had been made by management, which included voluntary redundancies. Furthermore, some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with their trade unions because they believed their unions had somehow prioritised the issues of the academic

members over the issues of other members. Moreover, trade union members reported having suffered severe emotional distress that seemed to highlight that circumstances were very dire at ABC. The trade union at XYZ, however, had worked with management to keep the factory open and whilst some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction, responses at XYZ did not suggest that trade union members had experienced severe emotional distress. This suggests that circumstances were likely better at XYZ than at ABC. Yet, the data also suggested that trade union members might have reluctantly accepted job dissatisfaction, as there were no other job opportunities available for them outside of XYZ.

In the next section, works from the trade union membership literature are used to advance a discussion of the results for XYZ and ABC. Consistent with grounded theory, the review of the literature follows the reporting of the results.

3.5 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

In this section, the results are discussed in reference to works from the trade union literature. The topics included in this section are related to management; trade union members' interests and participation; pay; job security; safety and rules; lost power; and the trade unions' priorities at XYZ and/or ABC.

It is important to clarify that it seemed as though trade union members expressed at least some dissatisfaction with unmet expectations that was related to what trade unions are generally expected to do. For example, research has suggested that the purpose (Sverke and Goslinga, 2003) and function (van den Berg and Groot, 1992; Stinglhamber et al, 2013) of trade unions are to protect their members and to represent their interests (Simms and Charlwood, 2010). As a voice mechanism for their members, trade unions 'balance management voice with employee voice and reach some sort of compromise between the two' (Johnstone and Ackers, 2015: 3). The topic of participation is also 'the key debate for employment relations' around which scholars have argued which of the three main types of participation - employee involvement (E.I.), workers' control or representative participation - 'works best' (ibid: 3). Handel and Levine (2004: 2) suggested that a 'broad consensus emerged' during the 1990s in the field of employee

relations that participating in decision-making would enable employees to be more satisfied with their jobs. Yet, Ackers (2010: 71, 72) suggested 'the enduring virtue of searching out the facts of organizational participation is as germane as ever', as there is no consensus within the field of industrial relations on how workers' participation can be improved. Thus, the results of the present study will help to shape debates in the field of industrial relations and the wider area of employee relations, as it captured the perceptions of trade union members with regard to the expectation of effective participation and its relation to job dissatisfaction.

Some of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction that seemed related to their trade union not having protected them and/or represented their interests effectively. These trade union members suggested that trade unions at ABC had inadequately acknowledge all of their members' issues on an equal basis. Moreover, they described having experienced mental and emotional distress in relation to their issues not having been addressed, which suggested that circumstances were especially dire for trade union members at ABC. These insights can add depth to previous survey findings that linked trade unions not having addressed their members' concerns or enabling them to participate effectively to their members' job dissatisfaction (Waddington, 2006). Whilst the dissatisfied trade union members in the previous study were shown to exit their trade unions, the present study adds that there could be negative effects to the well-being of trade union members who do not perceive adequate protection or representation from their trade unions. Yet, the present study clarifies that when trade union members' perceive inadequate protection and representation from their trade unions, this may have something to do with their trade unions not having the resources to address all of their members' issues. Also, the idea that some Green and Blue trade union members in the present study seemed to believe that their trade unions could represent academics, or members of the Red trade union, suggests that contexts of uncertainty like that of the higher education case may have negative repercussions on trade union members' perceptions in general. Some trade union members, moreover, may potentially assign blame to their trade unions when it is difficult for them to decipher what is occurring in their wider environments.

This research also adds a different perspective to previous findings on participation as an expectation of trade union membership. A previous study showed that participation was a main

expectation that trade union members had from trade union membership (Fiorito et al, 1988). Moreover, trade union members being able to participate was positively linked to the attitudes that they had towards their trade unions (ibid). Conversely, the results of the present study highlighted participation as an unmet expectation that was linked to trade union members' negative perceptions and dissatisfaction with their trade unions. Topics that emerged in the present study included trade union members perceiving that their issues had not been addressed by their trade unions and/or that they had not being able to participate in decisions that affected their departments (e.g., ABC).

Furthermore, the idea that the trade union at XYZ was not an effective participant in decision-making with management underscored why at least one trade union member did not attend trade union meetings (M8). Whilst Fiorito et al (1988) suggested a positive association between trade union members' attitudes and their ability to participate in decision-making, the present research suggests a potential link between trade union members' job dissatisfaction and perceptions that being in a trade union did not enable them to participate in decision-making. Moreover, the results of this dissertation add insights to previous findings that showed trade union members had negative perceptions on their ability to voice, or participate (Benson and Brown, 2010), as some of the factors that contribute to trade union members' negative perceptions surrounding participation were identified.

Some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction in this research because they perceived that their trade union had not kept them informed. This suggested that the trade unions had somehow not communicated or enabled communication with their trade union members. Furthermore, the present study highlighted that being informed was perhaps a different kind of expectation, as trade union members might have paid dues for the right to receive information from the trade union (D11). These results confirmed the findings of Waddington (2006), who found that trade union members expressed job dissatisfaction because they had not received information and were not contacted by their trade unions. Yet, the present study also acknowledges that the trade unions at ABC may have been lacking in resources, so that it might have been difficult for them to inform their members of the many changes taking place at ABC as these changes occurred.

Trade unions are known to protect their members' rights and to represent them to management (Stinglhamber et al, 2013), and to protect them from 'managerial abuse' (Kaufman, 2004: 377). In the present study, trade union members suggested that the trade union had not protected them from managerial retaliation (M10) and expressed disappointment related to the trade union's close relationship with management (M12). Furthermore, the perceptions of some trade union member interviewees was that the trade union had, over time, lost power in its relationship with management and no longer fought on behalf of its members (M8). Trade union members also described circumstances in which they needed the trade union's help to fight against managerial decisions and their trade unions had not come to their aid (D9, D20 and D23). Moreover, the allusions of some interviewees to mental and emotional distress shed light on negative effects to well-being that might have had something to do with their trade unions not having the resources to influence major organisational decisions made by management (D9, D20 and D23). The present study therefore adds to Kaufman (2004) and Stinglhamber et al (2013) by suggesting that in situations where trade unions have little control over organisational decisions made by managements, trade union members may experience dissatisfaction that includes negative effects to their well-being.

The results also showed that pay was an unmet expectation linked to trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Trade unions are generally expected to increase pay, and research suggests that trade union members expect trade unions to ensure that they receive fair wages (Hammer and Berman, 1981). In the present study, dissatisfaction was expressed in relation to unmet expectations with the trade union for not having a positive impact on pay raises at XYZ (M15). Furthermore, it was suggested that trade union members on the shop floor expressed dissatisfaction related to their unmet expectations with pay and that they could not quit (M12). What's more, at least one trade union member interviewee seemed to have lowered his expectations for higher pay because he believed that receiving higher pay would negatively affect the factory (M3). Thus, it seemed that the expectation of pay was strong and that some trade union members at XYZ would not, or at least could not easily, trade off this expectation for job security and the factory staying open. These results add a rich, qualitative perspective to previous findings that showed that wage concessions had a negative effect on trade union members' job satisfaction (Leicht, 1989).

There were other expectations that have known associations with trade unionism that were related to trade union members' job dissatisfaction in this research. Trade unions are known to protect their members' jobs (van den Berg and Groot, 1992) and to protect their members in uncertain working environments (Rose, 2002). Yet, it seemed that having their job protected by the trade union was not enough to satisfy the expectations of some trade union members at XYZ. For example, there was resentment expressed towards the trade union at XYZ because it constantly reminded its members that it had kept the factory open (D19). It also seemed that some trade union members did not trust the trade union's role in keeping the factory open, as they believed that the trade union simply complied with changes that the management wanted (M8). Despite having job security, some trade union members at XYZ expressed dissatisfaction that was perhaps due to their high expectations and frustrations with the trade union's seeming loss of power.

In contrast to XYZ, trade union members at ABC expressed dissatisfaction with the trade unions because it was not clear to them that the trade unions had tried to protect their jobs. Thus, it seemed that trade union members at ABC had experienced feelings related to job insecurity. Previous research has shown that job insecurity is linked to job dissatisfaction (Emberland and Rundmo, 2010) and negative effects to mental health (Kim and von dem Knesebeck, 2016). This dissertation suggested that whilst there were shared perceptions of job insecurity at ABC, the trade unions were perceived by some members as not having addressed their members' issues in relation to job insecurity on an equal basis. For example, some trade union members experienced job insecurity that they perceived was not addressed by the Green trade union and reported that the trade union had focused on the issues of academic trade union members instead (D20 and D23). Yet, the Green trade union represented technical staff whilst the Red trade union represented academic trade union members, and so some trade union members might have experienced distress and confusion that was related to the general climate of change and uncertainty at ABC.

Another expectation of trade unions is that they ensure safe working conditions for their members (van den Berg and Groot, 1992). This research enabled interesting insights, such as the

idea that increased rules related to safety might have been linked to trade union members' dissatisfaction at XYZ (M13). There were perceptions that XYZ used to be a better place to work, or an 'easier' place to work, when there had been fewer rules (M13). Thus, the trade union's positive effect on rules to improve safety at XYZ might have had a negative effect on trade union members' interpretations of satisfaction. This dissertation therefore seemed to support findings that showed trade unions that increased rules negatively impacted on their members' job satisfaction and feelings of loyalty to their union and employer (Leicht, 1989). For example, the word 'animosity' was used to describe the strong feelings of dissatisfaction that trade union members had towards the trade union with regard to rules to improve safety at XYZ (M13). These results seemed paradoxical, however, as trade unions have a 'responsibility' to improve their members' terms and conditions of employment (Salamon 1998: 77).

The present study also adds insights to previous research that suggests that trade unions do not always represent the interests of different groups on an equal basis (Dickens, 1997). In this exploration, there were trade union members at ABC who believed that the trade unions did not represent the interests of their members in different occupational groups on an equal basis. Specifically, trade union members suggested that the trade union(s) represented the interests of the academic members over the interests of other members including IT staff, cleaners and security staff (D11, D20 and D23). This dissertation supports Dickens (1997) by relating the idea that trade unions do not always represent the interests of their members equally to their members' occupations. However, the present study suggests that this could have something to do with trade unions not having the resources to address all of their members' issues, as seemed to be the case at ABC. The present study also contributes new insights by linking trade union members' perceptions of unequal representation to their feelings of job dissatisfaction, with the caveat that some interviewees in the present study were unclear about what occupations their trade union(s) represented. The idea that trade union members might perceive themselves as not being represented equally by their trade unions adds to a major debate in the field of industrial relations, as Greene (2015: 73) suggests: 'Much of the debate around employee voice within the industrial relations field concerns the level of influence over decision-making that is offered by the particular voice mechanism'. This is because the results of the present study showed that trade union members in different occupational classes seemed to believe that they did not have

the same influence over decision-making as trade union members in other occupational classes. Furthermore, these results contribute to the employee voice literature, as Timming (2015) suggested that more research was needed to understand the reasons that underlie why some employees have more access to voice than others. As the present study seemed to suggest, trade unions with limited resources may not be able to address all of their members' issues.

It seemed that how trade union representatives treated their members' interests at XYZ and ABC influenced their members' perceptions of job dissatisfaction. As suggested by the present study, some trade union representatives were perceived in a negative light by trade union member interviewees in relation to their unmet expectations. For example, dissatisfaction was expressed with the quality of representation received from a particular Blue trade union representative, and it was reported that the quality of representation trade union members received was dependent 'on who your rep is' (D15). The results of this exploration seemed to be highlighted by research that suggested trade union representatives do not always do what their trade union members want them to do with the power that is delegated to them (Tart, 1946). Tart (1946) helps to illuminate the idea that trade union representatives have decision-making power that impacts on whether, or the extent to which, trade union members receive benefits from trade union membership such as representation. Thus, whilst the trade unions at ABC might have lacked the resources to address all of their members' issues, trade union member D15's rich description of her personal experience with a trade union representative highlights that trade union representation may also include subjective aspects.

Responses from a Green trade union representative suggested that they had a certain degree of autonomy to decide how to represent, as well as whether to represent, their members (D6). Thus, the present study seemed to suggest that the personal judgements and biases of trade union representatives could potentially affect how they interacted with or treated their members. Research has shown that the individual attitudes of trade union representatives affect how they perceive their members (Landsberger and Hulin, 1961). The previous authors tried to understand the attitudes of trade union representatives towards their members and found that trade union representatives perceived their members as being less than equal to themselves (Landsberger and Hulin, 1961). It seems possible, then, that perhaps the shop steward's attitude had affected why

the shop steward had not met with the security staff (D10). Furthermore, perhaps the lowest paid workers were expected to join the picket line and suffer because trade union representatives did not regard them as their equals (D15). Moreover, perhaps the issues of the academics were prioritised by the trade union over those of the technical staff because some trade union representatives personally preferred the academic staff (D20). Yet, as the results indicated, trade union member interviewees such as D10, D15 and D20 seemed to believe that their trade unions had a role in how academic trade union members were represented, even though they were not members of the academic (Red) trade union. This seemed to suggest that wider contextual issues had an influence on how trade union members experienced inequalities, as trade union members from the Green and Blue unions seemed to have similar misperceptions about their unions representing academic staff at ABC.

There were other aspects of trade union representation that seemed to have negatively affected trade union members' expectations and feelings. Research has suggested that trade union representatives do not have the same skills as compared to each other (Heery et al 2003) and if their skills are inadequate, the representation that they provide to trade union members might be deficient (Simms, 2013). The results of this dissertation can contribute to the previously mentioned topics by suggesting that unskilled trade union representatives could also negatively affect their members' expectations and feelings of satisfaction. In this exploration, it seemed that trade union representatives with poor skills might have adversely affected the expectations and feelings of trade union members, as one interviewee stated that she 'didn't feel that the union rep did her job properly' (D15). Had the shop steward been equipped with better skills, perhaps the shop steward might have scheduled regular meetings with the trade union members in security services (D10). It seemed as though trade union representatives could have done a better job and that maybe if they had, perhaps some trade union member interviewees would have felt less dissatisfaction.

As Table 2.2 helps to show, inequalities for ABC derived from the results in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were included in the selective code of 'Inequalities related to gender, ethnic minority and occupational characteristics'. It seemed that at ABC, inequalities were related to personal attributes and occupations and because these topics emerged consistently in interviews, and

seemed pervasive in the general work atmosphere, this suggested that inequalities included wider structural elements. Furthermore, the idea that inequalities were a source of strong dissatisfaction at ABC was suggested by the consistently rich and deep responses of trade union member interviewees in describing them in relation to their job dissatisfaction. It also seemed possible that wider contextual factors at the higher education case might have negatively affected trade union members' perceptions surrounding their ability to participate in decision-making, in part because the work environment was highly uncertain. As shown in Table 2.1 for XYZ, condensed open codes from the present chapter highlight dissatisfaction related to the effectiveness of the trade union, or how it functioned. It seemed that some interviewees might have been uncomfortable with changes at XYZ, even though the changes might have been for the greater good. The data also highlighted that tenured trade union members might have expressed more dissatisfaction than other trade members at XYZ, especially with regard to changes in their work environment and the trade union's loss of power, and perceptions that management controlled decision-making. Moreover, this might have something to do with tenured trade union members' previous experiences with trade unionism.

3.6 CONCLUSION

The result of exploring the sensitising concept of unmet expectations at XYZ and ABC revealed interesting insights into trade union members' job dissatisfaction at both case study organisations. To begin with, the responses of trade union members at XYZ and ABC suggested that their perceptions of dissatisfaction related to their trade unions were nuanced and at times seemed to include mixed feelings. It seemed that trade union members had high or low expectations as well, although these high and low expectations were related to different concerns at XYZ and ABC. At XYZ, trade union members with seemingly high expectations did not seem willing to lower their expectations that the trade union could do more for them than just keeping the factory open. At ABC, it seemed that perhaps some trade union members had lowered their expectations because they believed that the trade union was either too weak and/or lacked the resources to help them, or indequately represented their interests. Either way, the result was job dissatisfaction.

Other unmet expectations that seemed to have impacted on trade union members' perceptions of dissatisfaction were related to trade union protection. It seemed that some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction that was related to their trade union not having effectively protected its members from management, or specifically at XYZ, from managerial retaliation. It also emerged that trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with the relationship between their trade union and management, and with their trade unions' loss of decision-making power within this relationship. Trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with their union's loss of power, and the idea that their trade union had lost power might have been linked to other aspects of their dissatisfaction as well. For example, the trade union's loss of power at XYZ seemed to have negatively affected trade union members' perceptions related to other benefits that they wanted to receive, such as higher pay. At ABC, the perception that the trade union was weak seemed to have been related to lowered expectations, as shown in the responses of D14 and D9. Yet, the present study also acknowledged that tenured trade union members seemed to express more job dissatisfaction than other trade union members at XYZ, might have had something to do with their previous experiences of trade unionism. Furthermore, the trade unions at ABC might have lacked the resources they needed to address all of their members' issues, whilst the wider context of uncertainty there might have affected their members' perceptions and feelings of distress. Thus, the results were nuanced and included unique contextual and/or situational elements at each of the two case study organisations.

Unmet expectations that emerged in this research also seemed related to trade union members' perceptions that the trade unions had not kept them informed. For example, M15 at XYZ perceived that the trade union withheld information from its members. Furthermore, D11's perceptions suggested that information was also viewed as a right that trade union members had paid their monthly union dues for. Somewhat relatedly, at least one trade union member expressed dissatisfaction because the trade union's representative had not met with him and his colleagues. Yet, the present study acknowledged that the trade unions at ABC might not have had the resources to inform their members of all of the changes in their work environment as the changes occurred.

The idea that trade union representatives could have a negative effect on trade union members' expectations also emerged in the results of this exploration. It was suggested that some trade union representatives were related to their members' dissatisfaction as they were perceived as not having performed their jobs correctly or, as suggested in the previous paragraph, as not having communicated with their members effectively. Perhaps these trade union representatives had inadequate skills and, as such, provided their members with poor representation. Or, perhaps these trade union representatives had personal biases that negatively affected their members' feelings of satisfaction with expectations of trade union membership. It also seemed possible from the results for ABC, moreover, that some trade union representatives lacked the resources (i.e., time) to address all of their members' issues.

The present study also suggested that trade union members had experienced dissatisfaction that was related to their not being able to participate in decisions that affected them, and that they perceived their trade unions as not having acknowledged their concerns. For example, it seemed that trade union members from each of the three trade unions at ABC were dissatisfied because they perceived that the trade union(s) had not enabled them to participate in decisions that affected their departments. The issues that these trade union members had experienced, specifically at ABC, seemed to have left them feeling mentally and emotionally distressed. Yet, trade union members from the Green and Blue trade unions also seemed confused about whom, exactly, their trade unions were supposed to represent. Thus, it seemed that wider contextual elements might have been more salient to how trade union members experienced dissatisfaction and/or interpreted changes in their environment their trade unions. Insights such as these enabled this dissertation to contribute rich insights to a major debate within the field of industrial relations, as by adding rich contextual elements, more is now understood on the topic of trade union participation and its relationship to job (dis)satisfaction.

Despite what has been shown in this research of unmet expectations, questions still remain. Whilst some trade union members at XYZ and ABC seemed to have been dissatisfied with their trade unions for not having met their expectations, there is still much to be understood in relation to trade union members' dissatisfaction at each of the two case study organisations. As stated previously, there were topics related to dissatisfaction in this exploration that seemed similar to

results that emerged in the analysis of other sensitising concepts in this dissertation. This exploration now continues to the results for Chapter 4 and the sensitising concept of awareness of inequality.

--CHAPTER 4: AWARENESS OF INEQUALITY--

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis related to the sensitising concept of awareness of inequality are presented. The main themes that emerged in interviews at each of the two case study organisations are shown here. A background to describe the sensitising concept of awareness of inequality is included in section 4.1. Section 4.2 and its subsections include the results for the manufacturing organisation (XYZ) and section 4.3 and its subsections include the results for the public services organisation (ABC). Differences between the results for XYZ and ABC are then included in section 4.4. In section 4.5, the literature on trade unions as well as inequality is used to advance a discussion of the results, after which a conclusion is presented in section 4.6.

4.1 BACKGROUND

The sensitising concept of awareness of inequality is related to the idea that trade unions highlight issues of inequality in order to increase trade union membership and to generate interest among their current members. They use societal ideals such as equal conditions and equal outcomes for all individuals so as to organise their members, and collective power to pressure governments and affect the distribution of resources (Turner, 1986).

This sensitising concept is related to 'the most significant development in British trade unionism of recent years: the increasing focus on organizing activity' (Simms et al, 2013: 1). Trade union organising activities include 'improving the representativeness of the union movement, particularly in relation to age, gender, ethnicity, and sectoral presence' (ibid: 5). It has been argued that modern trade union ideology is no longer heavily focused on the ability of trade unions to increase wages and is shifting to include issues such as discrimination and gender equality (Gregory and Milner, 2009). The workforce is increasingly diverse and trade unions now recruit from underrepresented groups (Lindsay et al, 2007) and are improving the employment conditions for marginalised classes (Munro, 2001). In this research, trade union members' experiences and views of equal treatment were explored so as to understand the effects of this sensitising concept on trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

In the light of the works described above, trade union members should have a strong awareness of inequality, which in turn promotes dissatisfaction with inequalities that they perceive in their own workplaces. Therefore, this research sought to first ascertain if inequality was a focus of the trade unions at XYZ or ABC and if so, whether the trade unions had conveyed messages that included inequality to their members. This was accomplished by using two questions at the beginning of each interview. The first two questions asked in the interviews helped to establish a link between the messages sent by the trade unions at XYZ and ABC and their members' awareness of inequality. The first question was 'Do you think all people should be treated as equals?'. Interviewees were then asked to describe what equal treatment meant. Together, the responses from these two questions helped to capture the general perceptions of trade union representatives and trade union member interviewees at XYZ and ABC in relation to inequality.

4.2 AWARENESS OF INEQUALITY RESULTS: XYZ

This section includes the results of this exploration for XYZ. It begins with a discussion of the main topics that emerged in exploring the meaning of equality with trade union members. The salient themes expressed by interviewees that were asked to describe their views on equal treatment are then presented. Thereafter, the issues related to inequality at XYZ that interviewees described as dissatisfying are then imparted.

The consistency of the responses at XYZ included in the first two subsections below, 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, were surprising, as responses were remarkably similar across all twenty interviews. As will be discussed in the results for XYZ, it seemed likely that this consistency was linked to the trade union's message at XYZ, which had indeed prioritised equality.

4.2.1 MEANING OF EQUALITY

Similar language consistently emerged in interviews at XYZ in response to the first question about whether people should be treated as equals. Although interviewees did not expect to be

asked questions about equality, their first reactions when asked to describe equality were affirmative and virtually the same across all respondents.

Trade union representative M2's response to this question indicated that people should be treated the same: 'Yes, a hundred percent. Everybody is the same, and you come into the world the same, you go out the same...I think it matters that you treat people the same. And everybody deserves to be treated the same'. As shown in the next subsection, the descriptions of equal treatment provided by trade union members were similar to M2's response above.

4.2.2 MEANING OF EQUAL TREATMENT

Participants were asked to describe what equal treatment meant to them and their responses were again consistent. Respect, fairness and the expression 'everyone should be treated the same' emerged repeatedly in interviews. This excerpt from M13 showed that fairness and equality were often given similar meanings at XYZ:

> 'equal treatment is just everybody should be treated fairly. Ah...the description of fair...should be agreed. And...that's basically it. Just...fairness. And one person's being treated one way...that's...agreed that's a good way to be treated, so should someone else. Regardless of gender, age, um, race. Doesn't matter. Just fairness'.

4.2.3 MESSAGE OF EQUALITY

In the two previous subsections, it was suggested that trade union members at XYZ had similar beliefs regarding equality and equal treatment. Moreover, the consistency of these beliefs suggested that a message of equality had been sent by the trade union at XYZ. This was not altogether surprising, as women were actively being recruited into XYZ. Furthermore, gender equality was the shop steward's primary focus at XYZ:

> 'I think even the company know that, so...employing women in the future, which we're starting to do, will add more cost, but it also means a more great working, a more equal society' (M1).

M1 indicated above that the trade union's equality agenda at XYZ could positively impact society. He also suggested that inclusiveness was the most important issue trade unions needed to address at the national level as well:

> 'And I think that's my, most important thing I feel, that's what trade unions have got to do'...'Inclusion. And I mean inclusive, so we want to try and keep that going'.

The following quote from M1 is a clear example that shows how trade unions work to increase awareness of inequality among their members. In describing his role in addressing inequality, M1 suggested that part of his role was to ensure that trade union members were aware that inequality and unequal treatment were no longer acceptable:

> 'So we have a way to go in making people aware that some of the things that woulda happened in the past are not acceptable nowadays because there's a way of the world's changing as well. Uh, this used to be a very male only environment and that is part from ah being a...personnel and things a that nature...but now we are starting more and more ah, females in actual production so there's a learning curve for everyone. It's some of the standards that used to be in the past are not acceptable in the future. So we have to have a part in that in changing some people's concepts'.

M1 also indicated that new technologies such as Facebook and Twitter could be used to communicate the trade union's message to a wider audience that included young people, 'cuz communication's a key'. He indicated that M2 was technologically savvy and that together, the two trade union representatives were working to ensure that all of their members received their messages. Yet despite their efforts, the results shown in later subsections indicated that the trade union's message of equality had not positively affected all of the trade union member interviewees at XYZ. As later subsections will show, trade union member interviewees expressed dissatisfaction with inequalities that were associated with trade union members who might have had discriminatory personal beliefs.

Thus far, the results have provided insights into the perceptions of trade union members and trade union representatives at XYZ on equality and equal treatment. The next sub-section includes the perceptions of trade union members in relation to inequality and dissatisfaction.

4.2.4 DISSATISFACTION AT XYZ

The results of exploring awareness of inequality with interviewees at XYZ are presented in this subsection. As described above, interviewees consistently expressed their beliefs in equality and equal treatment. Furthermore, the awareness of inequality generated by the trade union should have shed a negative light on unfair treatment by the employer toward the employee. However, interviewees' responses at XYZ generally did not describe perceptions of unfair treatment on the part of the employer. Responses did suggest that some trade union members treated other trade union members unequally at XYZ. One theme that emerged was that trade union members treated other members differently depending on their occupations. As shown below, the engineers believed that the production workers were inferior. Furthermore, the production workers and the engineers were dissatisfied that their trade unions had been amalgamated. As articulated by M11 in the table below, there was animosity between the engineers and the 'production jobbies'.

Table 4.1

Researcher	'Do you think that there's a difference between the young and the old employees? With regards to their feelings about the trade union?'.
M11	'Yes. Yes, I, I, I think a lot of them have a...have mixed feelings about it as well. We actually, I have mixed feelings about it as well, because...it's now (trade union name anonymised). When it was engineering union, it was solely based on engineering. Now we've got...the production jobbies with us...and, it's...not a very nice. It's not as friendly as what it used to be. I think'...'I think a, I think it's a lot of animosity between the engineers, and there is an animosity between the engineers and the production side of it. You know, but that's the world they revolve in, (trade union name anonymised) took over, and we're all supposed to sing from the same hymn book now, but'...'It's a them and us culture. You know...people think that, um...they're, they shouldn't be really involved in it, the production boys, but. They've got a say as much as we've got a say in it. So, but all the big unions have all joined together and things like that'.

Researcher	‘So is there an occupational status difference between the two?’.
M11	‘Oh, yeah, we think we’re an elitist group, the engineers’.

Another topic that emerged was that groups of trade union members treated other groups of trade union members as unequal to themselves. This is shown below.

Table 4.2

M20	‘No, well we’re night, I’m night shift. Ah, day shift and night shift, that’s twelve hours that we do. Ken* it’s not a twelve hours, so there’s no back shift. It’s only an early and a night shift’.
Researcher	‘What’s the relationship like between the shifts?’.
M20	‘Well, as I’m saying there again...ken* we’re better than you, and all that’.

*The word ken above is a Scottish term and means know. To illustrate, *know what I mean?* is the same as *ken what I mean?*

A third topic that emerged at XYZ was that trade union member interviewees were dissatisfied because the trade union did not seem to recognise individual members’ job performance. The irony, however, is that job performance is supposed to be recognised by the employer, not the trade union. As reported by M19, some trade union members were expected to perform the work of less productive trade union members. In the following statements from M19, he described his dissatisfaction with having been made to perform the work of other trade union members. He suggested that the trade union was to blame for his dissatisfaction:

> ‘And I used to produce, like, say, say for example I produced eighty reels of (product anonymised). I just...and a guy on the next shift to me produces sixty reels of (product anonymised), right? He walks out with the same money as what I do. But he does...three quarters of the work that I do. Now for years I asked the union to...um, do something about it. And nothing got done about it. Because...the way they look at it, if he’s not

> doing it, then I'm doing it. They don't need to bother. And that's why I think the union's...bad. Because they, there are things that they should be picking up on'.

As the results showed earlier, equality was part of the trade union's agenda at XYZ and equality according to the trade union meant that its members were treated the same. Furthermore, the animosity between the engineers and the production workers was related to the amalgamation of two groups that had not wanted to 'sing from the same hymn book' (M11). Despite the trade union's message of equality at XYZ, trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with unequal treatment between groups that worked different shifts. The results seemed to suggest that whilst the trade union had a message of equality that reached its members, some trade union members at XYZ had not treated other members as equal to themselves.

The next topic includes the views trade union members had towards contractual employees. These contractual employees were employees of a company other than XYZ and their job was to clean the shop floor. Furthermore, they were not members of the trade union at XYZ. In the excerpt below, participant M8 described his dissatisfaction with having observed the mistreatment of the contractual employees by some of the trade union members at XYZ:

> 'Eh, in the factory, our factory, there is a, people we don't, ah, work for (company name anonymised), they work for people like (X) and things like that. Ah, and they may be cleaners or something like that, and some of the workers won't speak to them because they think they're of a lower standard than ourselves. But no, I don't believe that, I think we're all the same' (M8).

M8 explained the attitudes of trade union members towards the contractual employees: 'Because they think they're, the job is lower than what...we are, they're on lower pay or whatever. Ah, they don't think they're the same standards as what we are'. The previous statements indicated that there were trade union members at XYZ who believed their jobs gave them a higher status because they were paid more than the non-union cleaners.

M8 described hostile behaviours used by trade union members to prevent their co-workers from speaking to the contractual employees: 'Because when you speak to them, they tell everybody,

well, what are you speaking to him for? Well, why not? So you get that'. These statements suggested that dissatisfaction with inequality was linked to peer pressure. Furthermore, the personal views of some trade union members seemed to have discriminated against others and this was related to dissatisfaction for trade union members such as M8, who worked with them and did not share their views.

The next topic included in this subsection is dissatisfaction with women entering XYZ. M1 mentioned that 50 female new starts were expected to arrive at XYZ, which was a historically 'male' factory. The results below show that some male trade union members expressed dissatisfaction for reasons that were related to women entering their workplace.

The first response included within this topic is from M3. He reported that women were being treated differently than men by the trade union:

> 'I believe women are treated...differently from men. I believe, what-what, depending on what they do...ah...I definitely believe, you know...from an absence point of view, I think it's looked upon differently. Eh...because there's this push to get females into, into this company, I do think they're, they're, they're, they're treated differently. You know, like I've said already...ah...equality should be everybody treated the same. Ya know, it doesn't matter what you do. And to be fair, do, do this company in general do that? Of course they do. You know, you know, they, they, they wouldn't of treat, treat a (name anonymised) the factory manager any different from they would treat me. You know, and...and I would say that is equality as well. Ah like I say, equality, do ya get more equality cuz you're on the union? No, no, I find we're all treated the same'.

In his statements above, M3 suggested that trade union members were treated the same by the trade union at XYZ. Yet, his statements appeared to distance the men and the trade union at XYZ from the women that worked at XYZ. M3 seemed to suggest that male trade union members (us) were part of a group that received the same treatment, whilst the females (them) were part of a group that received preferential treatment. Thus, M3's responses suggested that there was unequal treatment at XYZ as male and female trade union members received different treatment. It is important to mention that it seemed that M3's perspective was biased against the female

trade union members. This is because other trade union members in interviews at XYZ suggested that any preferential treatment women received was related to the women being new starts. That is, new starts in general received preferential treatment as part of the induction process at XYZ.

Another topic that emerged in conversations with male trade union members was that women would not be able to 'cope' with the jobs at XYZ. This is shown in the following statements from M10:

> 'But, I've mentioned to you about...the jobs being physical. And...I don't know how long they'd be able to cope with that. For a lot a, lot a years, in (department anonymised), I was wanting to say...get...females into this area for quality like, yeah. But I couldn't bring myself to do it. Cuz the conditions, and...the, the weights that we were handling. I believe they're risks, make a budge on...doing that now, ah, bringing females in, but. I, I don't know...how long that would last before they started...being physically injured'.

The statements above were critical to later discussions because they helped to highlight the mechanisms behind discrimination against women. These statements suggested that M10 would not have hired women into certain jobs because he believed that they could not perform those functions. Furthermore, the statements above showed that some of the male trade union members at XYZ had negative attitudes towards women. Thus, there was a tension between these negative attitudes and the efforts of the trade union to recruit women into all of the work roles at XYZ.

The next responses included here are from M14, a female trade union member that worked with a machine that many interviewees described as the most important to production. M14 was the only female in the U.K. to work with this particular machine. She expressed dissatisfaction with the treatment she received from male trade union members who did not seem to believe that she was capable of performing her job:

> 'because you're learning, em...on...they expect that, people, people that's been here for a long time, right, are all got experience, so. If you make a mistake, like that guy that I work with, him that thought I was not gonna make it. And there was one day, he was like 'oh, you're not quick enough, or', now what was it, what was it he says to me? It wasn't it was quick enough, it was em...'if you do it this way, you're gonna be quicker', and I'm

> like, well, I timed 'em, and says to him 'you do it your way and I'll do it my way, and we'll see'. And we done it exactly the same and was like five seconds. We both done it in five seconds, so I says to him 'so', he said, he was like, 'oh, but if you do it this way, it'll be a bit quicker', and I was like, 'well it's not gonna be any quicker', so. I think he was trying to get...what happens is, I think they try and get you to conform into the way they do it'and 'But it was just his tone of voice that he used, I found it quite offensive. Cuz I don't speak to people like that and I don't expect to be spoken to like that from other people like. Regardless if it's male or female, know what I mean?'.

The responses above highlighted the idea that the trade union's message of equality challenged some deeply held and discriminatory beliefs. This idea is supported by M10's suggestion that women could not cope and by M14's assertion that her co-worker did not think she would 'make it'.

4.2.5 SUMMARY OF RESULTS: XYZ

The results indicated that the trade union at XYZ had a message that was focused on equality. Awareness of this message was shown by linking the responses of trade union representatives to the responses of trade union members at XYZ. Furthermore, the first two questions asked in the interviews indicated that the trade union members at XYZ believed in equality and equal treatment. However, the personal beliefs of some male trade union members were potentially discriminatory and seemed related to dissatisfaction for other trade union members. Furthermore, it appeared that the trade union's message of equal treatment made some trade union members dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction appeared to be related to the bias some trade union members' had towards women. Yet, the trade union at XYZ had enabled female trade union members to have access to all of the jobs at XYZ. Other topics related to inequality emerged at XYZ and included some trade union members' views of contractual cleaners as somehow unequal to themselves, and dissatisfaction related to the trade union's not having acknowledged individual work performance.

4.3 AWARENESS OF INEQUALITY RESULTS: ABC

In this section, the results of this exploration of ABC are imparted. To begin, the main topics that emerged in exploring the meaning of equality are discussed. The perceptions of interviewees related to equal treatment are then presented. Following this, issues of inequality within ABC that interviewees found dissatisfying are described.

4.3.1 MEANING OF EQUALITY

Interviewees at ABC used similar language to respond affirmatively to the first question asked in the interview, *Do you think all people should be treated as equals?*. Interestingly, 3 interviewees at ABC did not respond affirmatively. These 3 interviewees' used responses such as 'it depends' and suggested that equality included situational elements. This is shown below in statements belonging to D9, a female trade union member and lecturer that had emigrated from India to the U.K.:

> 'So it's not really a yes or no answer for me. Because there's different ways in which you can treat people...there's different meanings of equality. And so it would depend on what you mean by equal'...'Equal would probably mean...equal depending on circumstances or ability. So, I think treating people who are different...equally...is not treating people equally. So I, I guess it's more equitably, I would probably say, treating people equitably...is fairer than treating people...equally, regardless of anything else. I don't know if that makes sense'.

The response above helped to highlight a theme that emerged at ABC. Regardless of their affirmative responses to the first question, many trade union members alluded to the idea that people have different abilities, disadvantages and backgrounds within their interviews. At ABC, trade union members often suggested that individuals that were disadvantaged should have their personal circumstances recognised. The concept of equality at ABC was therefore different from the concept at XYZ, wherein trade union members consistently suggested that everyone should be treated the same.

4.3.2 MEANING OF EQUAL TREATMENT

Interviewees were asked to describe what equal treatment meant to them and the responses were consistent, and highlight the idea of fairness that was discussed in the previous subsection. Trade union members indicated that equal treatment should include accommodation for individual differences. This response highlights the idea of fairness and equal opportunities and is taken from an interview with a male trade union member who was originally from Pakistan, D14:

> 'It should mean everyone should be treated...in a fair way. Based on their individual circumstances. I keep, you know, I don't know if you've ever seen it, there's this, like, kind of comic pic that is circulating in the Internet, which means like...ah, equality would mean, if like. Yeah, so you know, they had the saying, you can't judge a fish...by its ability to climb a tree or something like that. So if you look at it like equality, that would mean everyone does the same thing. But then, fairness would mean everyone's given equal opportunities kind of thing'.

4.3.3 MESSAGE OF EQUALITY

The responses of interviewees at ABC were generally consistent with the beliefs of their trade union representatives. Regarding the beliefs of the trade union representatives at ABC, D16 had been the president of the trade union's regional branch. Her influence on the trade union members at ABC was indicated in her statement 'to a large number of people, I am the trade union here'. She expressed dissatisfaction with different aspects of inequality at ABC. These aspects included racial inequalities ('there is an overwhelmingly white staff here') and gender inequalities. D16's responses related to gender inequalities are shown below. Gender inequalities were a major theme related to dissatisfaction as it consistently emerged in interviews at ABC.

> 'Um, we have a situation in this university as we do, as, as happens across the board in all industries...where women are very often, um, at, at, in the lower levels of the, the institution, we have lot of women. So, if you look at the grading, and I've actually seen all the figures, because as, as, as a trade union representative, I've seen all the equality data. Um, we have a kind of graph...where...the higher up the, the scale you get, the fewer women there are. The lower down the scale, the more women there are'...'There's an

> understanding that that is a problem. That, that equality, em, gender equality is a problem'...'But what ultimately happens is...you go up towards, and, and, and the ultimate, em, decision-making body in this university is university court...and we, on court...have a very serious gender balance issue. Um...mostly it's very serious, because there isn't really that much acknowledgement that it's a problem. Some, certainly the, the, the executive staff...so principal and, and his kind of team of vice principals. They understand that it's a problem. But they are all men. Um, but, you know so we've got this sit-, this situation where there, there are a lot of men at the top saying yes, we really need to get more women in. But they're not actually willing to do anything to change it. So for example, if, if em, one was to suggest...some kind of positive discrimination, immediately, the old silly arguments set in, oh, but, but women want to be in a job because they're, em...the best person for the job. To which my a-, my answer is always...I do not believe for one second that all the men around this table are only here because they were the best person for the job. The majority of you are here because you're men'.

D16's responses above enabled interesting insights into positive discrimination and preferential treatment, as well as awareness of inequality. Her responses related to positive discrimination suggested that the principal and his team of vice principals were largely ignorant of the issues that female employees experienced at ABC in relation to discrimination. Moreover, senior management did not seem aware of how dire the inequalities were that women experienced at ABC, as women were disproportionately in lower level positions. Furthermore, D16's responses highlighted that there might have been preferential treatment of men at ABC, as the 'old silly arguments' (M16) used by senior management might have reinforced a falsehood that women were not qualified for higher-level positions at ABC.

D4 was the acting president of the trade union branch at ABC and he expressed dissatisfaction with racial inequalities at ABC: 'In my role as a trade unionist, I meet management on another basis, and this is where I see lots of people being promoted who, who, because, you know. Their face fits rather than their potential to do the job better than somebody else'. He had an English accent and indicated that the selection process for redundancies had excluded white Scottish males:

> ‘And...there was only one..white..Scottish male. Out of the twenty people, who were selected to be made at risk of redundancy. The other...nineteen...were all of different backgrounds. And, even though something like sixty per cent were white, Scottish male...the selection criteria seemed to have biased that the people who were selected for being at risk of redundancy weren’t white Scottish male. And that, and that...that shocks me’.

The trade union representatives at ABC included inequality in their message to trade union members. Moreover, the statements above showed that the trade union representatives were aware of gender, racial and occupational inequalities within ABC. Furthermore, these kinds of inequalities were consistently related to dissatisfaction by trade union member interviewees at ABC.

4.3.4 DISSATISFACTION AT ABC

Dissatisfaction related to inequalities featured prominently in interviews at ABC. As mentioned in the previous section, the dissatisfaction expressed by trade union members was similar to the beliefs described by their trade union representatives. This similarity in beliefs suggested that the message sent by the trade union and their members’ awareness of inequalities were linked. The topics related to dissatisfaction that are discussed in this subsection include inequalities due to gender, race and occupational class.

Dissatisfaction with gender inequalities is the first topic discussed here, as it was the most salient theme to emerge in interviews at ABC. To start, interviewee D2 suggested that he was dissatisfied with the treatment of women at ABC: ‘because as they say, the little fridge magnet says you know, women have to work twice as hard to prove they’re half as good. So there’s not enough diversity, there’s not enough women in senior positions’. D2 was Scandinavian and male, and had a well-paid position as a professor at ABC.

Similarly, D8 described her dissatisfaction with gender inequalities at ABC:

> ‘There are a lot of women, but...there is no one above, no woman above the level of, of senior lecturer. We had a, a professor, a, two Deans ago, was a professor, so when I came, we had a woman professor. She left...the year after I came, and, which was replaced with a man’.

D8 was a senior lecturer and a member of the trade union branch committee. She indicated that the trade union at ABC did not have the support it needed to resolve issues related to inequality at ABC:

> ‘I can see the commitment. What I would say is I think the situation is disappointing, and I would imagine that...my colleagues, um, on, on the union, ah...you know, the branch committee...find...the situation very disappointing as well. I think the union isn’t supported enough by...even members, let alone people who don’t even become members’.

The comments from D8 allowed insights into why inequalities had remained a source of trade union member dissatisfaction at ABC. The results suggested that trade union representatives and trade union members were aware of, and dissatisfied with, similar issues related to inequalities at ABC. However, D8 indicated that the trade union at ABC did not have adequate support from its own members to resolve the inequalities that existed at ABC. Moreover, it was also suggested that the trade union was overwhelmed with issues related to the previously mentioned voluntary redundancies. Thus, whilst the trade union’s message to its members included an awareness of inequalities, these inequalities might not have been the primary focus of the trade union at ABC during the timeframe in which interviews were conducted for the present study.

Female trade union members also described their dissatisfaction with having been discriminated against at ABC. The next two interviewees were passed over for positions that they believed they should have received. D8 described her dissatisfaction with having been refused a promotion:

> ‘I’m actually coming to the end now of, um, an appeal, because my...application for readership wasn’t sent for external review. Um...and most people believe it should have been sent for external review. A man was promoted to readership, um, I don’t...um, you know, I, I’m happy for him....to be promoted to readership, but...as far as I’m aware, his

> CV isn't as...strong as my own CV. So I decided to, um...um, appeal. And I won the appeal'.

As a member of the trade union branch committee, D8 was aware that she could appeal the decision that had prevented her application from being sent for external review. Thus, being in a trade union gave D8 access to information that enabled her to assert her rights at ABC. Yet, D8 was also a senior lecturer at ABC. Furthermore, female academic trade union members D8, D16 and D9 had expressed dissatisfaction, and each described initiating or being involved in an action to defend their interests. Compared to the statements from D17 that follow, the responses from D8, D16 and D9 helped to highlight that inequalities seemed to have had different effects on trade union members that were somehow related to their occupational class. D17 was a female trade union member who worked in administration and despite having received advice from an equality and diversity officer to take action, she did not.

D17 was an experienced administrator. She had applied for a job and a man with less experience got the position instead. D17 indicated that a trade union representative had advised her to take action:

> 'I went for quite a senior, well it was in a, it was actually an academic related, um, post. And the person who got it...the man who got it...had been um...a student president. But basically, he was, he'd graduated...I think, the year before. And he'd done this, this presidency. Um, he got the post over my years and years of experience. Um, and I worked in a lot of different posts in this university and others. Um, and I really felt that...that was...I, I felt that that was unfair. I didn't bring it up because...I think that if you do do that, then you're just seen as a trouble maker. And um, so you just suffer in silence, basically'...'But funnily enough, and unprompted by me, I did speak, I was chatting to the, um...equality and diversity officer, the university one. Um, about the interview and the post and, and who got it. And he raised his eyebrows and said that he thought that was, I should have questioned it'.

D17 also described her dissatisfaction with beliefs that seemed embedded in the culture at ABC:

> ‘Um, there seems to be an implication that because they’re a man, especially if they’re married, you know they’ve got a family to support, you know. But...but it doesn’t matter if a woman is a single parent, and has a family to support. Um, she’s a, you know, she’s sorted of regarded as, well, a bit of a second class citizen, I think. Um, I think it’s also...kind a glaringly obvious that although the university has a fantastic...policy on disability, ah, or access for students with diff-, disabilities, it, um, employs...very, very few...members of staff with difficult, disabilities’.

The responses included above from D8, D16 and D9 help to highlight that some female trade union members were aware of their employment rights at ABC. D8, D16 and D9 were academic trade union members and each had fought for their employment rights at ABC. By contrast, D17 worked in administration and believed that she should ‘suffer in silence’. Thus, it seemed that academic trade union members were perhaps more attuned to inequality as a result of the benefits (e.g., information and support during appeals) received from being in a trade union. The idea that D17’s perceptions included remaining silent suggested that she was not aware, or was at least less aware, of those benefits of trade union membership.

Indeed, the following responses from a female trade union representative, D12, help to highlight that the trade union at ABC promoted awareness of inequality among its members. In this example from D12, she described how she ensured that a female trade union member was aware of her rights. Her responses are interesting because D12 was the only trade union representative at ABC whose work role was that of a manager at ABC. This is in contrast to some academic trade union representatives that had roles as academics and managers. D12 was a manager in the finance department who had worked her way up from a position as a clerk. Her responses suggest that perhaps because she had once been an office clerk herself, she had a deep understanding of the issues that the non-academic trade union members had that she represented:

> ‘Um, it was because one of my friends, um...was treated really badly by her line manager. And, having started off as a filing clerk and working my way up to a manager, and...you know, sort of...seeing it from both sides, I thought...there was things that I identified when she spoke to me that I would have done differently as a manager...but she wasn’t aware of. And, I thought, having two sides of the...you know,

> the spectrum served me well, and I think it has...to a certain extent. Yeah, so that, it was, it was hard...um, having so much bother. And not knowing her rights and not knowing where to look for things. Um, and not knowing who to ask'.

The next topic discussed in this subsection is dissatisfaction with racial inequalities at ABC. D3 was the trade union's regional equality and diversity officer and a native of Scotland. She expressed dissatisfaction because her personal characteristics negatively affected her at ABC: 'I think I'm at a disadvantage because I'm a female, I have disabilities, and I'm a trade union rep'. She then described diversity at ABC as 'Um, it's too white male'.

D3 elaborated on her previous statements:

> 'I should know all the statistics off the top of my head, cuz I'm the equality and diversity officer for (region). Em...particularly when you get to higher grades, most people...you meet are white British male. Now I think that's symptomatic of a longstanding cultural economic issue. Em, the women who, that I'm aware of, who have kind of broken that glass ceiling, tend to be white British or um, European'.

A white Scottish male lay trade union member, D11, expressed his dissatisfaction with racial inequalities at ABC: 'people of colour...oh well, surely there must be somebody...who's ethnically different from me, and should be looking for a job, which would be better'. He had been in the trade union for 27 years.

The previously mentioned interviewee from Pakistan, D14, had at one time been a trade union representative. He expressed his dissatisfaction with racial inequalities at ABC:

> 'And, like, based on...not my experience, but a lot of people that I went to university with like, you know, people from ethnic backgrounds and all that, um...they, they applied to loads of jobs here, ah, never got short listed. Right, and, like some of them were like over qualified, or like super qualified properly, but...and no feedback. I mean, one of them got rejected for an internship, and, like, and it's just...it's just, I think it's just individual bias that people have or whatever, in the recruitment process I, I mean I don't think they are as diverse as other universities are'.

Additionally, D14 also expressed dissatisfaction with his not having been promoted. He indicated that rules were applied differently to different people, and that some employees had been promoted into positions created especially for them at ABC. When he asked his managers if a position could be created for him, he was told that the university no longer allowed it. Thus, he felt that he had been treated unfairly. Like the previously mentioned female trade union member, however, he had not complained to the trade union at ABC.

The last topic included in this subsection is dissatisfaction related to inequalities based on occupational class. It is important to mention that trade union representatives at ABC did not indicate that occupational inequalities were an issue. However, the responses of lay trade union members consistently suggested occupational inequalities were a serious problem.

Recall that in chapter 3, IT professional D23 said that the Green trade union prioritised the interests of the academic staff (i.e., Red trade union members) over the interests of other staff at ABC. Here, the first response included within this topic is from an administrative staff member, D17. This response is used here to highlight that dissatisfaction related to the academics was not confined to the IT department, as D17 was not in IT and was a member of the Blue trade union:

> 'But I think there's still, a, a big gap between...academic staff and clerical staff. Um, there's a sort of...often an expectation by academics that support staff are...somehow beneath their notice'

D23 was similarly dissatisfied with the Green trade union for having supported the academics whilst ignoring the IT department as it underwent a restructuring. His responses are included in the table below. His answers are in response to the question 'So, from your perspective, do you think that say, the, the cleaners, the admins, IT, have the same level of input or voice as, say, a professor?'.

> 'No, not at all. No'...'Yeah, there, there is a hierarchy in the university. There are people who have egos bigger than...Lake Superior. Um, and they very much demand...and get whatever they want. And quite often, the university management...will, will say one thing like...this is the way we are doing something...and if one professor or one PI out of

> (name of group anonymised) disagrees with that, that's fine. Tell IT or whoever, have to come up with another solution to fix them, and this is, goes back to the problem of well...these are all competing interests here. The university will say we're doing one thing this way, and everybody should do that, except...those with the egos and those that wave the, well I'm a researcher, I've got huge grants coming in. Then we have to do something for them as well, which can be...in a completely different direction. Those people do have more power, more say over a lot of things...then, in some cases the university management. Which is quite disheartening. University management need to be stronger, in my opinion. In telling academics, certainly academics with the huge egos, who effectively bribe the university into...having things done their way...otherwise they'll walk with their research grants. I mean that's, that's never...a happy place to be working in with that kind of blackmail going on. And that, there's a lot of that happening. Certainly in life sciences...certainly in medicine. So that, absolutely. So, an IT professional, cleaner, admin staff has got very little input in, in things...you know'.

D23 mentioned that there was preferential treatment towards a powerful group of academics and as shown in the responses above, this inequality was linked to management decision-making. Moreover, other lay trade union members consistently described this as well, and it began to seem as if inequalities were somehow embedded within the organisational structure at ABC.

Interviewee and Blue trade union member D11 mentioned the same group of academics as D23 above, by name:

> 'But ah...now, I think that there is a wee...there in, definitely the higher up you go, some of the professors up in a...the (name of group anonymised) here...in the life sciences...they think they're little gods. They, they think the rules don't apply to them. And they don't'.

Recall that in chapter 3, D11 was dissatisfied with the Blue trade union for its prioritisation of the interests of academics over the welfare of the cleaners. He said of the trade union: 'they've got themselves stuck in the dogma now I think. Rather, you must, this is what we have to do to fight, rather than think about the better ways to...help their union members'. Yet, the Blue trade

union was likely not involved in any of the academic pay disputes mentioned earlier in this dissertation. Perhaps, it seemed, occupational inequalities were a part of the organisational structure at ABC or the U.K. higher education system in general. The previous idea seemed plausible, as non-academic trade union members in the Green and Blue trade unions seemed to share similar beliefs about academics and inequalities at ABC.

D11 indicated that occupational groups did not have equal representation. A technician (i.e., Green trade union member) got a place on the university court even though the technician had received the same number of votes as a janitor (i.e., Blue trade union member) that had run against him. This is explained in the following statements that showed why the janitor was unable to win a position on the university court:

> 'a janitor went for it. Or, should say a member of security. Now...he got, what it was, it was a guy from...engineering...stood against him, he was a, a technician, and he's in security. And they, they got tied vote. And they said well how did they decide that. He said, oh well...you got a lot of...cleaners voting for you. And they only get...half votes. And we went...pardon? When, when did we find out this?'.

Some of the trade union members in this research were on the university court. These members included senior lecturers, a head of a department and a senior professor that was a department chair.

The last statements included in this section are from Green trade union representative D6. He helped to shed light on wider structural inequalities at ABC as he mentioned the concept of a class system. Most interviewees did not describe a wider class system in their interviews and the idea that D6 mentioned a class system is perhaps related to his position as a trade union representative. His statements were especially insightful and will be referred to again in Chapter 5 and the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate at ABC. As his statements seem to suggest, the very senior management were at the top of the U.K. academic class system:

> 'In academia, I think in general, um...hierarchy is very prevalent, because we have at the very top, perhaps the principal, and you have at the top end the cleaner. I'm sorry, the bottom end the cleaner. Um, and everywhere in between, there are people there who constantly try to understand their role in it, because if they're insecure, it reinforces their

> position in the pecking order, to understand where they fit. Most of the...problems I experience come from people who are insecure, who don't quite know how to perceive themselves. What I've experienced, is that very senior management tend not to...be, be difficult in this way, it's a...in our culture in the U.K., we, we have, we call it, we refer to it as the class system. Um, and the very, very senior management are usually...not affected by this, because they're comfortable with who they are'.

Occupational inequalities were embedded in an organisational context in which an elite group of academics had the same or more power than management. The Red trade union was focused on the voluntary redundancies as the voluntary redundancies were in fact targeting its academic trade union members. Moreover, some of the trade union representatives fighting the voluntary redundancies were academics themselves who had senior positions. Yet, the idea also emerged that the Green and Blue trade unions had prioritised the interests of the academic trade union members over the interests of their actual members. These Green and Blue trade union member interviewees, it seemed, might have directed their frustrations with occupational inequalities that were deeply embedded within the U.K. higher education system towards their trade unions.

4.3.5 SUMMARY OF RESULTS: ABC

Trade union members at ABC identified four main types of inequalities in this exploration, and the inequalities seemed interrelated. The first type suggested unequal representation and included the idea that the trade unions had prioritised the interests of the academic trade union members over the issues of other trade union members. This idea emerged, even though the Green and Blue trade unions were not known to represent academic staff at ABC. Unequal representation seemed to have been linked to the second type, occupational inequalities, as interviewees consistently suggested that academic trade union members might have received better treatment from the trade unions and from management that was related to their roles as academics. The third type was racial inequalities and included the idea that senior positions were filled by white males who had denied disadvantaged trade union members access to senior positions. Next, the fourth type was gender inequalities and included discrimination against women, who seemed to have been denied access to senior positions at ABC as well. These four types of inequalities

seemed to be embedded within a wider context of structural inequalities inherent in the U.K. higher education system as well as the general context of uncertainty at ABC. Furthermore, it seemed possible that Green and Blue trade union members might have directed at least some of their frustrations with contextual and structural inequalities towards their trade unions.

4.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RESULTS AT XYZ AND ABC

Sections 4.2 and 4.3 showed that there were differences between the results for XYZ and ABC. To begin with, it seemed that there was a difference in the way that the trade unions had prioritised the interests of their members. At XYZ, the responses of interviewees suggested that the trade union had used an inclusive approach that included trying to recruit women. Trade union representative M1 indicated that hiring women would lead to 'a more equal society' and that his role in addressing inequality was to change 'some people's concepts'. Moreover, trade union member M3 suggested that trade union members were 'all treated the same'. Whilst job dissatisfaction emerged at XYZ in relation to inequalities, it seemed that the job dissatisfaction was largely due to the personal beliefs of the trade union members themselves. At ABC, responses suggested that inequality was perhaps related to how the trade unions prioritised their members' interests as well as managerial attitudes. The responses of interviewees at ABC suggested that the Green and Blue trade union members perceived that the interests of the academic members were prioritised over the interests of other members, with the caveat that, as discussed earlier, this might have had something to do with wider contextual and structural factors. Perhaps relatedly, it seemed possible that senior management were largely unaware of women's lived experiences of inequalities at ABC. Differences between the results at XYZ and ABC in relation to the types of inequalities that emerged in this exploration are described in greater detail in the following paragraph.

There were four main types of inequalities that emerged in the results at ABC and these were related to representation, occupation, race and gender. These topics seemed interrelated and consistently emerged in responses at ABC, whilst dissatisfaction in relation to inequalities did not seem to be a major source of dissatisfaction at XYZ. For example, the idea that trade union members perceived that the trade unions generally represented the interests of the academic

members emerged across interviews at ABC. Whilst the present study acknowledged that this could have been due in part to the voluntary redundancies at ABC having mainly targeted academic staff as well as wider structural inequalities embedded within the U.K. academic system, these perceptions emerged nonetheless. By contrast, trade union members at XYZ generally indicated that the union had represented its members' interests equally, although there was dissatisfaction related to the preferential treatment of women. The preferential treatment of women seemed to include the individual attitudes and personal biases of some individual trade union members at XYZ, however. Whilst occupational inequalities emerged in relation to dissatisfaction with the trade unions at ABC, this was largely not the case with the trade union at XYZ. Rather, dissatisfaction related to occupational inequalities was expressed by individual trade union members in certain occupations at XYZ, such as the engineers, towards other occupational groups. In the light of the discussion in subsection 1.3.3, it must be noted that the engineers might have shared unique traditions among themselves that they did not share with other occupations, such as the production workers, at XYZ.

Racial inequalities did not emerge at XYZ and there were no non-white or non-UK interviewees, or perspectives. Moreover, whilst the personal attitudes of some trade union members at XYZ seemed biased towards women, the trade union and management were working to create an inclusive environment. By contrast, racial and gender inequalities at ABC seemed problematic. As the results for ABC suggested, female trade union member interviewees such as D17 and non-white interviewees such as D14 from Pakistan expressed serious concerns surrounding their being denied promotions. Furthermore, trade union representative D16 asserted that senior management did not believe positive discrimination was necessary, even though women were largely unrepresented in higher-level positions. From the responses of D16, it seemed that senior management was largely unaware of women's experiences of inequality and that they used an argument against positive discrimination that could have reinforced the marginalisation of women at ABC. This seemed to show further support for the idea that inequalities were embedded within the organisational context of ABC and perhaps the U.K. higher education system generally.

4.5 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

In this section, the results of this exploration are discussed using literature related to topics that trade union members linked to their dissatisfaction. These topics include the main issues that each trade union seemed to have prioritised at XYZ and ABC, as suggested by the responses of trade union member interviewees. The topic of gender discrimination is discussed in this section, as well as results that were related to dissatisfaction with occupational inequalities. Another topic included in this section is dissatisfaction that seemed related to white males having primarily filled the senior positions at ABC. Issues related to dissatisfaction with racial inequalities are also discussed, as well as the obstacles to addressing discrimination. The last topic discussed in this section highlights the potential that trade unions have to address issues related to inequalities. To begin, the following paragraphs describe trade unions in relation to topics such as diversity and social class as well as job dissatisfaction, so as to highlight the relevance of the insights gathered in this dissertation to the trade union literature.

The idea that trade unions are social organisations deserves clarification, as it aids in understanding why the results of the present study are important, as well as how they contribute to the trade union literature. To begin, trade unions have been described as social organisations that provide benefits to disadvantaged members in society (Freeman and Medoff, 1984: 18):

> 'It is argued that though unions fight for self-interest legislation--as do other groups in our pluralistic society--they have scored their greatest political victories on more general social legislation and thus are more effective as a voice of the whole working population and the disadvantaged than as a vehicle for increasing the power of a monopoly institution'.

As Freeman and Medoff (1984) suggested, trade unions have been viewed as a primary voice mechanism for working class people. Trade union membership has declined in Britain, however, and as the working class have become more prosperous, they no longer share in a strong collective identity (Kelly, 1998: 40). The 'working class' were 'collectivist in outlook' largely because they shared circumstances, such as poor standards of living, and had the same kinds of occupations (ibid: 39). Moreover, 'Trade unionism thus took on the character of a broad social

movement aspiring to the defence and promotion of class interests through a radical reconstruction of society' (ibid: 40). Some trade unions have re-focused their organising efforts on trying to recruit members from, and to provide representation to, the increasingly diverse workforce (Simms et al, 2010). Thus, an area within the trade union literature continues to be shaped and understood, as trade unions themselves are in the process of adapting their agendas to address the interests of an increasingly diverse workforce.

At least one contribution of the present research is that it enables insights into an area within the trade union literature in which there has been a dearth of research (McBride et al, 2015), as it seeks to understand more about the intersection of social class and other forms of diversity. Perrons (2004: 53) has argued that trade unions could potentially help in challenging gender inequalities. The author also suggested that 'work is typically coded by ethnicity, sexual orientation, class and gender', which helps to highlight that an individual's occupational class is composed of, and could perhaps be determined by, their other social attributes. Furthermore, the previous author indicated that ethnic minorities as well as women are generally 'over-represented' within working class occupations (ibid: 53). This literature also relates to power. Collinson et al (1990: 11) indicated that the 'structures of organisational power' are affected by social class and include hierarchies in which there are racial and gender inequalities. Differences between social classes, which include factors such as an individual's socioeconomic background, 'denote status, expectations, location, and power, as defined by access to resources' (Lott, 2012: 650). Thus, as women and ethnic minorities tend to be in more working class occupations, or perhaps low-paying jobs, they should have fewer of the factors described by Lott (2012: 650). This dissertation helps to shed light on the intersection of social class, diversity and power, as it captured trade union members' perceptions of inequality that seemed related to the organisational structures at each of the two case study organisations. Power seemed to be shared more equally at XYZ where there was little, if any, occupational hierarchy between trade union members on the shop floor. At ABC, trade union members did not share power equally, and a divisive and deeply entrenched social class system was embedded in the university's organisational hierarchy.

The present study contributes insights from the field of industrial relations to a potential area of research within the field of psychology that seeks to understand the impact that trade unions could have in helping people. Lott's (2014: 261) research sought to address the field of psychology's 'paucity of interest in' trade unions and the negative effects that social class can have on a person's mental health. The previous author asked psychology scholars to conduct research on trade unions and their potential influence on individual well-being, which she described as '*the psychological effects of heightened self-esteem, respect, dignity, and empowerment, and affiliation on the other - all related to satisfaction with life*' (ibid: 261, italics in original). She also indicated that understanding the impact that trade unions could have on individual well-being and 'social class' were consistent with the mission of the American Psychological Association 'to strive to obtain, and to apply, "psychological knowledge to benefit people's lives"' and to achieve '"social justice, diversity, and inclusion"' (ibid: 275). The results of this dissertation supported Lott's (2014) idea that more research is needed to understand the potential role of trade unions in relation to social class, diversity and well-being, although the results of the present study did not always show trade unions in a positive light. As the present exploration of awareness of inequality suggested, some trade union members might have experienced severe mental distress related to their occupational and/or social class that was not alleviated by their trade union.

Next, the trade union at XYZ had prioritised equality in its agenda and collaborated with management to hire women. This collaborative relationship may have benefitted the trade union's agenda at XYZ, given that the success of equality policies depends on managerial attitudes (Fredman, 2001). At XYZ, the management might have positively affected equal treatment, since employers' policies and strategies influence the way that trade unions represent their members (Hyman, 1997). Moreover, where trade unions organise around equality, it is suggested that employers may decide to cooperate (Dickens, 1999). Yet it is important to clarify that the management at XYZ were not members of the trade union whilst at ABC, there were trade union representatives who had academic as well as managerial roles. Thus, although any impact of the management on the trade union's agenda at XYZ was likely indirect, it seemed possible that managerial interests could have had a more direct influence on the trade union's agenda at ABC.

Many trade union member interviewees at ABC reported that their trade unions focused on the interests of academic trade union members over the interests of trade union members in other occupational classes. Cunningham (2000) suggests that organisations may not prioritise equality if they are experiencing changes and at ABC, changes were occurring that included voluntary redundancies and restructurings. This dissertation adds insights to Cunningham (2000), as some academic trade union members at ABC seemed positioned to effectively promote the interests of the academics over the interests of other trade union members. More specifically, some academic trade union members at ABC had managerial roles, and so they might have been able to impact on managerial decisions regarding organisational changes as well as to promote the Red trade union's agenda. This idea seemed possible, as academics were being targeted by the voluntary redundancies at ABC. Yet, the data also indicated that restructurings had affected other occupations, such as technical staff. It seemed, then, that perhaps these results had something to do with the distribution of power across social groups within professional organisations like ABC. It seemed possible that Blue and Green trade union members perceived that equality was not prioritised by their trade unions because individuals high in the social hierarchy at ABC, the academic trade union members with managerial roles, had positions that enabled them to promote their interests over the interests of the Green and Blue trade unions at ABC.

The next topic discussed here is gender discrimination, which was linked to dissatisfaction by trade union members at both XYZ and ABC. It is important to highlight that previous works on inequality within organisational research have generally studied individual characteristics separately, and so little is known on the combined effects of racial and gender inequalities within organisations (Acker, 2006) or cultural and economic divisions (McDowell, 2000). In this dissertation, there were trade union member interviewees that had personal characteristics associated with more than one demographic group largely known to have experienced inequality. For example, D9 was non-white as well as female. By contrast, *white male senior management* seemed to include a combination of characteristics (race, gender and occupation) that are generally perceived to have social advantages. This research therefore contributes new insights to an area in which little is known within organisational research specifically, as trade union members at XYZ and ABC possessed multiple characteristics that included gender, race and

occupation. Furthermore, this dissertation adds useful insights to intersectionality studies in which individual-level data is used to understand the structures that affect class, diversity and inequalities (Mattsson, 2014). This is because the hierarchical organisational structure, as well as deeply embedded social class divisions within the culture of the U.K. university system, seemed to have reinforced social inequalities at ABC.

Some female trade union members expressed job dissatisfaction in the present study related to their experiences of gender discrimination by male trade union members. The results indicated that there were male trade union members who thought that women could not cope with the physical demands of some jobs at XYZ. Moreover, there were male trade union members who believed that women had received preferential treatment from the trade union and management. These results seemed to add to previous research in which black female managers who had been aided by positive discrimination believed that other employees questioned whether they were truly qualified for their positions (Liff and Dale, 1994). The results of this exploration also add fresh insights to research that suggested quotas may reflect badly on the individuals they are supposed to help (Drake, 2000). Whilst the trade union and management at XYZ did not use a quota per se, their aim was to create a workforce that included an equal number of males and females. Thus, their inequality initiative might have inadvertently reflected badly on the female trade union members there. Yet, a male trade union member interviewee suggested that he would not have hired women into certain positions at XYZ. Thus, it seemed possible that to have gender equality at XYZ, some male trade union members would experience dissatisfaction as long as their personal beliefs were biased against women. The data also highlighted inequality in terms of stereotypically gendered views of male versus female jobs.

The idea that the trade union at XYZ was part of a recruitment initiative aimed at hiring women into historically male jobs deserves attention, as U.K. trade unions have tended to not focus on equal pay (Crompton et al, 1990) despite the fact that women earn less than men (Crompton and Lyonette, 2011). At XYZ, female trade union members seemed to have had access to the same jobs and rates of pay as male trade union members. This suggested a benefit to women's equality at XYZ, as differences between the earnings and achievements of males and females within the same jobs have been considered indicators of inequality (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006). If the

trade union had not challenged the beliefs of its male trade union members at XYZ, it would not have addressed deeply embedded inequalities that women experience in the workplace. Furthermore, as shop steward M1's responses indicated, his role in addressing inequality at XYZ included changing trade union members' perceptions. Thus, it also seemed possible that the trade union at XYZ was trying to be more representative of the increasingly diverse workforce mentioned earlier in Chapter 1 using the work of Simms et al (2013).

Whilst the results generally showed that the trade union at XYZ had prioritised women's equality, the results suggested that the trade unions were largely unsuccessful at promoting gender equality at ABC, even though trade union representatives there were very aware of gender issues. The differences between the effectiveness of the trade unions at XYZ and ABC seemed unusual when shown in the light of research that suggests trade union representatives are usually white males who have little in common with their members (Hyman, 1997). In contrast to XYZ, there were female trade union representatives at ABC. Previous research has also suggested that U.K. trade unions are largely unaware of their membership demographics (Stuart et al, 2013) or that discrimination is a problem (McBride, 2001; Wrench, 2015). Yet, the female representatives at ABC were well informed of issues of inequality and had even defended their own employment rights. Furthermore, there were female trade union members in lower level occupations that were dissatisfied as a result of having experienced discrimination at ABC. Perhaps the results above are highlighted using research that suggests some trade unions prioritise tangible gains to achieve social justice rather than the interests of their disadvantaged members (Holgate, 2005). This is because circumstances at ABC were such that trade union representatives, male and female, were likely focused on achieving tangible gains related to immediate issues surrounding job security. The results for XYZ and ABC discussed in this paragraph also seem to confirm previous research that suggested the personal interests of trade union representatives, rather than the gender of trade union representatives, influence trade union equality agendas (Heery, 2006).

Other research has suggested that trade unions have largely been conceived as male institutions, and that male trade union activists could dismiss issues that are of interest to female trade union activists (Healy and Kirton, 2000; Cooper, 2012; Kirsch and Blaschke, 2014). However, there

was no clear indication that the male trade union representatives at ABC were biased against the female trade union activists or towards women's issues in general. It has also been suggested that trade union members tend to challenge the promotion of women's issues by female activists (Parker and Foley, 2010) and that female activists struggle to get women's interests recognised by trade unions (McBride, 2001). Yet, male as well as female interviewees reported that their interests had not been acknowledged by their trade unions at ABC. Thus, it seemed more likely that trade union representatives at ABC were preoccupied with having to address immediate issues in their environment related to the voluntary redundancies and restructurings. The previous idea also seemed plausible because, as mentioned in Chapter 3, trade union representatives at ABC might have also lacked the resources to address all of their members' issues effectively.

Inequalities related to occupational class seemed linked to dissatisfaction at XYZ as well as ABC, and research has linked access to equal opportunities to the occupational levels of workers (Hoque and Noon, 2004). Furthermore, research has suggested that social class and/or perceptions on social class can negatively impact as well as perpetuate occupational inequalities (Gray and Kish-Gephart, 2013). In one work, occupation was described as being equivalent to social class in meaning: 'occupations are commonly used in their more aggregated form in terms of social classes' (Williams, 2013: 851). Perhaps this dissertation can contribute rich insights towards understanding the intersection of occupation, social class and inequality within organisational contexts. Cote (2011) suggested that organisational research has generally avoided addressing topics related to social class, as there is the potential for controversial results to emerge that cannot be used in organisational settings for legal as well as ethical reasons. This dissertation seemed to have revealed inequalities between female trade union members themselves that might have been due, at least in part, to their occupational statuses. It seems possible that issues such as these could be difficult for organisations to address, or detect, as they may involve within-gender inequities that are reflective of wider systemic inequalities.

At XYZ, discrimination by trade union members that were engineers towards production trade union members was reported that seemed related to occupational class. Results such as these suggested that trade union members in different occupational groups might not have had similar

interests. Indeed, the idea that trade union members might have different interests seems possible, as the work of Heery et al (2000) suggested that trade unions use messages to recruit professional members that are different than the messages that they use to recruit non-professionals. It has also been shown that different occupational classes accept inequalities that do not negatively impact on their own self-interests (Curtis and Andersen, 2015). Furthermore, as mentioned previously in section 1.2 of this dissertation, Simms et al (2013) suggested that certain trades such as engineers might share traditions among themselves that prevent them from identifying with other occupational groups. This exploration adds insights from case study analysis to the previous findings as perhaps the self-interests and shared traditions of the engineers had been negatively affected when their trade union amalgamated with that of the production workers. These results seemed to suggest that some trade union members, perhaps because of their occupational identities, expressed dissatisfaction because they did not want the trade union to treat them similarly to members that did not share these identities.

At ABC, dissatisfaction was linked to the senior management positions having been filled by white males. It has been indicated that discrimination may be ignored in organisations where white males have most of the senior positions (Creegan et al, 2003). The results indicated that an elite group of academics in managerial positions might have had more power at ABC than the senior management. These senior academics were mostly white males, and it seemed that minorities might have been excluded from senior positions at ABC. Research has suggested that whites can distance themselves from non-whites by using other whites as intermediaries to communicate with minorities (Ram, 1992). White males might have been used as intermediaries at ABC, as the results suggested that with few exceptions, individuals in higher grades tended to be white (D3). Previous research has also suggested that differences in authority enable men to discriminate against women (Wright et al, 1995). The results of this dissertation generally supported Wright et al (1995), as it consistently emerged in interviews at ABC that women had been denied access to senior positions. Furthermore, results such as these seemed to reaffirm the idea that inequalities were likely a part of the wider organisational structure at ABC, or the U.K. higher education system in general.

It seemed that occupational class, or social class, could have been an advantage that some academic trade union members had at ABC. Or, perhaps, some academic trade union members at ABC perceived themselves as being of a higher social status as compared to senior management. As the research of Cote (2011) suggests, tensions can exist when managers from seemingly lower classes have power over employees that believe themselves to be of a higher social status than these managers. It could have been, perhaps, that academics in senior positions believed themselves to be of a higher social status than the senior management at ABC. This idea seemed plausible, as responses in the present study suggested that some senior-level academics might have been more powerful than the management at ABC, and that a social class system was deeply embedded within the U.K. higher education system.

Ethnic minority trade union members at ABC described dissatisfaction related to their personal experiences with discrimination. Research has suggested that racial inequalities (Wrench, 2004) and equal opportunities for ethnic minorities and females (Cockburn, 1989) have not been prioritised by trade union activists and within trade unions, ethnic minority activists have been discriminated against by white trade union officers (Ouali and Jefferys, 2015). Also, ethnic minority workers have received equal treatment more often in non-unionised rather than unionised workplaces (Noon and Hoque, 2001) and have been disadvantaged in the private as well as in the public sector (Kamenou et al, 2013). The works above highlight the possibility that the trade unions were not aware of the kinds of racial inequalities that were experienced by ethnic trade union members at ABC, as ethnic minority (D14) as well as female trade union members (D17) had not sought help from them. The next paragraph describes why trade union members must seek help from their trade unions to effectively address their issues related to discrimination.

The idea that there were obstacles to addressing discrimination had implications in this research that were related to how the trade unions at XYZ and ABC approached equality. This is in part because trade unions that recruit workers from disadvantaged groups have to represent the interests of these groups (Dickens, 1997). Moreover, to represent workers in disadvantaged groups, trade unions must identify their grievances (Mustchin, 2012). As shown above, individuals with characteristics from disadvantaged groups might be afraid to voice their

concerns. Furthermore, since the U.K. does not have affirmative action legislation for females (Crompton and Harris, 1997), it seems that how trade unions approach equality on their agendas, or whether they are aware of the interests of certain social groups of members, could have the potential to impact on how or if their members experience inequality. For example, the trade union at XYZ worked with management to recruit women into the organisation and the results generally suggested that trade union members expressed less dissatisfaction related to inequalities at XYZ than at ABC. However, it must also be acknowledged that in contrast to interviewees at ABC, all of the trade union members interviewed at XYZ were white.

Trade unions might have the potential to use strategies to positively affect equality in their workplaces, as equal opportunities policies are not always effective on their own. For example, research has indicated no difference in the likelihood that equal opportunities policies existed between non-unionised and unionised organisations (Bacon and Hoque, 2014). Where equal opportunities policies have existed, they were as likely to be hollow in unionised as in non-unionised organisations (Hoque and Noon, 2004). Furthermore, although equal opportunities policies have generally not been shown to help disabled individuals to enter the workforce, positive discrimination has (Woodhams and Corby, 2007). Shown in the light of the works above, the trade unions at XYZ and ABC seemed to have had the potential to positively affect equality at their organisations. However, the approach used by the trade union at XYZ was more conducive to promoting equality for its members, as it seemed to have enabled disadvantaged groups to have access to the same jobs and the same pay as, and to share more power with, white male trade union members. In contrast to the trade union at ABC, the trade union at XYZ was more effective at promoting equality and addressing issues related to discrimination and, it seemed, trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Yet, the differences in effectiveness between the trade unions at ABC and XYZ could have been related to their having more or less resources, or because the organisational contexts and wider structural elements were not the same for each of the two case study organisations.

Before concluding the present chapter, it is important to clarify how the results from Chapters 3 and 4 were interrelated as selective codes and aggregate dimensions. As shown in Table 2.2, inequalities related to gender, ethnicity and occupational characteristics, women and ethnic

minorities having been denied access to senior positions and the class system in academia were part of the aggregate dimensions of structural elements of inequalities for ABC from Chapter 4. Structural elements of inequalities also included male and female ethnic minority interviewees not being promoted, female lecturers defending themselves when they were not promoted and the idea that senior management roles were mostly occupied by white men from Chapter 3. The aggregate dimension of weak trade unionism included the idea that the trade unions at ABC lacked resources, which was discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The results in Chapter 3 surrounding beliefs about trade union function and lack of communication from the trade union were combined with lack of individual recognition from Chapter 4, and included in the aggregate dimension of reactions to (positive) trade union changes as shown in Table 2.1.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter reported the results related to the sensitising concept of awareness of inequality. At XYZ, the management and the trade union had worked together to create an environment that generally favoured equality. However, some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction at XYZ that seemed related to their own personal biases towards women and/or individuals in different occupations. The context at ABC seemed more unfavourable to promoting equality than was the case at XYZ, as the results indicated that white males in senior positions at ABC had fostered an environment from which groups such as women and ethnic minorities were often excluded. Within their unique contexts, the trade unions at XYZ and ABC seemed to have been more versus less successful at promoting equality.

The trade union at XYZ had included equality in the message it had sent to its members and had prioritised equality on its agenda. That equality was a priority of the trade union was indicated by the trade union's focus on inclusivity and increasing the number of women employed at XYZ. Trade union members at XYZ consistently described a belief in equality that was similar in content to the beliefs of the trade union representatives there. Yet, the personal beliefs of some male trade union members did not include this same message of equality and the beliefs of these

male trade union members might have affected relationships on the shop floor at XYZ. For example, female M14 expressed dissatisfaction because a male trade union member had spoken to her in a manner that she found offensive. In the discussion of the results, it was also shown that the approach used by the trade union at XYZ had benefitted disadvantaged groups.

As described in the previous paragraph, an interesting trade off had emerged. This trade off was that for the trade union at XYZ to resolve issues that were related to dissatisfaction for its female members, it had to dissatisfy some of its male members. As such, the trade union's agenda at XYZ could not satisfy the individual interests of each of its members. Since the trade union at XYZ had prioritised equality in its agenda, equality was in fact related to trade union member dissatisfaction at XYZ. However, when shown in the light of the research used to discuss the results, it seemed that the trade union at XYZ was using a strategy that had benefited a previously marginalised group, women. Thus, the trade union at XYZ could have been justified in having influenced their male trade union members' dissatisfaction, as by doing so it could serve a greater good.

The trade unions at ABC were perceived as having prioritised the interests of the academic members over the interests of members in other occupational groups. Moreover, trade union members with personal characteristics attributed to marginalised groups as well as non-academic members expressed dissatisfaction with the trade unions. Yet, the trade union representatives and their members had similar perspectives on equality, as both were aware that inequality was an issue at ABC. Issues related to inequalities at ABC were not resolved by the trade unions, however, in part because trade union representatives lacked the resources to address all of their members' issues. Yet, the idea that Blue and Green trade union members believed that their trade unions prioritised the interests of academics, as well as the idea that some academics had as much and/or more power than management, suggested that wider structural inequalities had affected most trade union members at ABC. These structural inequalities included a deeply entrenched system of social class within the U.K. higher education system, which seemed to highlight how some academics could have been as, or more powerful than, management at ABC.

Trade union members expressed dissatisfaction at ABC that was related to the senior positions at ABC having largely been filled by white males. The idea that white males in senior positions at ABC had excluded disadvantaged groups seemed plausible. Yet it was also shown that disadvantaged trade union members had not tried to use their trade union to defend themselves from discrimination. Thus, inequality seemed deeply embedded within the social structure at ABC. Furthermore, the trade unions seemed largely unable to address gender discrimination in senior positions. As it stood, trade union member interviewees consistently described dissatisfaction at ABC because they perceived that the interests of the academic trade union members were promoted over the interests of other occupational groups. Thus, in contrast to XYZ, the trade unions seemed unable to satisfy the majority of the trade union members at ABC, rather than the minority. As mentioned previously, this likely had something to do with dire circumstances and systemic inequalities, as well as the trade unions' lack of resources to address all of the issues at ABC.

The results of this exploration suggest that more needs to be understood in relation to trade union member dissatisfaction in this research. For example, a paradox emerged at XYZ that seemed to suggest that some trade union members must be dissatisfied so that other trade union members can be satisfied. This merits further research to better understand the potential benefits that justified the approach used by the trade union to address inequality at XYZ. Furthermore, it still is not understood if the trade unions at ABC helped to create a better working atmosphere for their members. This research now progresses to Chapter 5 and the results for the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate. In Chapter 5, insights into trade union members' dissatisfaction will be made by trying to understand how the trade unions and managements at XYZ and ABC affected the atmospheres in each organisation.

--CHAPTER 5: INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CLIMATE--

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis related to the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate are presented. The main themes that emerged in interviews at each of the two case study organisations are shown here. A background to describe the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate is included in section 5.1. In section 5.2 and its subsections, the results for the manufacturing organisation (XYZ) are presented. Section 5.3 and its subsections consist of the results for the public services organisation (ABC). Then in section 5.4, the differences between the results for each of the two case study organisations are highlighted. Thereafter, literature related to trade unions and industrial relations is used to aid a discussion of the results in section 5.5. A conclusion for this chapter is presented in section 5.6.

5.1 BACKGROUND

The relationships between trade unions and managements contribute to the creation of organisational atmospheres that every individual within a particular organisational setting feels (Dastmalchian et al, 1989). These atmospheres, or industrial relations climates, have been linked to job dissatisfaction (Tetrick and Fried, 1993). Thus, the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate links trade union members' job dissatisfaction to potentially contentious relationships between managements and trade unions. In the present study, the shared perspectives of trade union members on their work environments and the relationships between their managements and trade unions were analysed to examine if the concept was related to job dissatisfaction.

The mobilisation theory of Kelly (1989) describes how trade unions act to promote solidarity among trade union members. Mobilisation theory suggests trade union leaders can present 'issues in particular ways, intensifying or moderating the employees' perceptions of injustice within a context of social processes and interactions (Kelly, 1989: 38). These social processes and interactions are key to creating shared beliefs, norms and perceptions in an organisation. Furthermore, Kelly (1989: 35) states, in a reference to the case studies of Fantasia (1988), that

trade union representatives mobilise their members by instilling a 'sense of injustice' in them, which presumably pervades the organisational atmosphere.

Each trade union member interviewee was asked if they perceived their workplace as fair or unfair. This question helped the researcher to understand if there was a general climate of dissatisfaction at either XYZ or ABC. An unfair workplace would likely be indicative of a negative relationship between the trade union(s) and management. Interviewees at each case study organisation were then asked to describe their perceptions of the relationship between their trade union and management. If responses included unfairness as well as poor relations between the trade union and the management, then a link presumably existed between dissatisfaction and industrial relations climate. Exploring the notion of fairness within the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate differed from exploring inequality in Chapter 4. This is because fairness was explored to gather insights into trade union members' shared perceptions of their work atmospheres.

5.2 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CLIMATE RESULTS: XYZ

This section includes the results of this exploration for XYZ. It includes shared perceptions trade union members had in relation to the question of whether they believed that their workplace was fair or unfair. Furthermore, the topics that emerged in relation to trade union members' dissatisfaction with the industrial relations climate at XYZ are presented here in subsection 5.2.1, followed by a summary of the results for XYZ in subsection 5.2.2.

5.2.1 DISSATISFACTION AT XYZ

The data generally did not suggest that the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate was related to trade union members sharing perceptions of job dissatisfaction at XYZ. In response to whether they perceived the work environment at XYZ as fair or unfair, a total of 16 trade union members suggested that it was largely fair. Furthermore, most trade union member interviewees at XYZ described management in positive terms. Thus, whilst the results in this subsection will show that some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction, this exploration generally

suggested that trade union members did not share the perception that the industrial relations climate at XYZ was unfair. Furthermore, the first interviewee included in this subsection will help to highlight the fact that perceptions of dissatisfaction in this exploration were nuanced and included mixed feelings.

Trade union member M19's interview included strong expressions of job dissatisfaction as well as, at times, strong expressions of job satisfaction. In response to being asked whether he would describe his workplace as fair or unfair, M19 said 'unfair'. He then stated: 'Because I know things that other people don't, and some people get treated differently from others. Which I think is very unfair'. He was asked to provide more detail and he replied:

> 'Um, I think it's to do with who you know. And um, there's certain aspects where...I'm, I agree with one rule for, if there's one rule somebody, it's a rule for everybody. And sometimes these rules vary a little bit, in certain cases. So I think it's very unfair.'

As shown above, M19 believed that the workplace was 'very unfair' and his dissatisfaction seemed strong. He then related his belief that the workplace was unfair to the idea that some trade union members had been able to quit XYZ and return without being penalised, whilst other trade union members had not been able to do the same. Furthermore, the expression 'who you know' referred to a trade union representative. M19 then discussed his perceptions of unfairness in greater detail and suggested that it was wrong for the trade union to protect the jobs of some of its members that were always 'at the office door' whilst other members were fired for seemingly lesser infractions:

> 'Em, and I, I just disagree with a lot of things that happen. And I think the real issue should be for, if the rule is that when you leave the company on your own, if you want to leave the company, then when you come back you should start as a new employee. Which is doesn't happen. That's only one example, there's lots of other examples I could give you, but … I mean, I just think that certain people get away with more than other people'...'Guys that...do stuff wrong, and...you'll always see the same guys at the office door, and...the guys are always like, late or they're always off and they're still here. And there's other guys that just...they didn't do nothing that's wrong and they're out the door.

So I just think it's unfair, some of the things that the union...the union's got its good points as well, don't, it's not all negative for me...'.

Following his responses above, M19 expressed dissatisfaction with the relationship between the trade union and management at XYZ. These next responses were insightful as he suggested a senior shop steward had quit XYZ and was later rehired by management into a human resources position, which was part of management staff. His perceptions seemed to include feelings of suspicion directed towards the trade union and management:

'Because I think the management have got the union guys they really wanted in. And, I think you'll, maybe ask a lot of people this question, I think everybody would say the same, that, why can you have a guy that was a union guy...leave and then come back and be in personnel. It doesn't make sense. Unless the management wanted that'.

In the next responses from M19, he suggested that having the former 'head of the union' in a human resources position could negatively affect trade union members at XYZ. M19 seemed dissatisfied that the former head of the trade union could potentially share information related to trade union members with management at XYZ. It seemed that M19 questioned the motives of the trade union and management at XYZ:

'Because I think that guys that believe that this guy's going to do stuff for them, and he knows all the guys in the factory, because of previously he had relationships with the, these guys. And then all the sudden, now he's in personnel. So he's went from one side, to me, to the other side. And I think a lot of people think exactly the same. Why would you want, well...it just doesn't make sense, um, to have somebody that's been in the union...being in personnel. Especially the head of the union. Cuz he knows a lot of things that the guys that, um...maybe shouldn't know'.

M19's feelings of dissatisfaction with the industrial relations climate seemed strong and he appeared to have adversarial perceptions of the management at XYZ. The expressions of dissatisfaction by trade union members in this exploration were hardly black and white, however, as they tended to express their feelings on a continuum that included variations of satisfaction

and dissatisfaction. Responses from M19 are included below to shed light on the previous statement as he also expressed strong feelings of satisfaction in his interview with his job:

> 'I love my job. Um, just certain aspects of it, that I don't have to get involved in, so. I can ignore it, but it does sometimes...it does get to you sometimes that...some people get certain...things and other people don't'.

The previous responses from M19 suggested that he perceived the industrial relations climate differently than he did his job. Whilst he expressed frustrations with his work environment, he loved his job. Thus, trade union members could experience and perceive a wider climate at XYZ in which their own jobs were situated.

The next responses included in this section are from the deputy shop steward at XYZ, M2. In describing the industrial relations climate at XYZ, M2 suggested that he had a good relationship with management most of the time, but not all of the time. Furthermore, his responses did not suggest that his relationship with management was excessively adversarial. M2's perceptions were also nuanced and included contextual elements, as he differentiated between fairness related to the managers at XYZ and fairness related to the company. Thus, whilst M2's responses included dissatisfying elements, it did not seem that there was much conflict in the relationship between the trade union representatives and management at XYZ:

> 'Ninety five percent of the time, really good. But every now and again, you've got to fall out. You've got to tell, you've got to show a wee bit of backbone when required, but in the same time, you've got to listen as well'...'It's it's it's fair...as a...as a company. Sometimes, a manager...is not fair, but that's not the company'...'they coulda laid us off, but they haven't. We've had pay rises when they coulda jumped on the bandwagon and said ya know, we can't afford to pay this year, you're not getting any a your three percent or two and a half or your four percent...um, they coulda said well we're not paying your healthcare scheme because we got no money. So, in-in that way, they're being fair'.

The senior shop steward, M1, was asked to describe the relationship between the trade union and the management at XYZ. He suggested that although it could be difficult, his main focus was to

protect trade union members' jobs. To keep the factory open, he found 'common ground' with management and did not seem to perceive their relationship as adversarial:

> 'Ah, sometimes it can be difficult and that's just normal. Ah, they have a job to do, I have a job to do. We will try and always find some common ground. Ah, to start but things have got better, I think, I would say. Ah, but ah, in this difficult cli-mate, climate, have all these changes...the world's changing very rapid. Ah, Europe, ah, you know yourself from the U.S.A., and Asia is an up and coming, ah, place for now for ah, manufacturing. So it's very difficult, I would have to say, ah, but we are, we keep punching above our weight to make sure we keep (XYZ) in (city anonymised). Not at any cost, we still demand that we are have good, ah, wages and conditions. But we do accept we have to do some things that in the past we wouldn't have liked to-to do, but ah, like everywhere else we need to keep jobs. Ah, and the worst thing you can do as a trade union I feel is, mislead the membership to do something that in the end you know, ah would be a silly thing to do, at striking and that, unless you have no choice, we'll always try and find a way of working with the company, to try and get the best for everyone. That's important'.

It is important to highlight that M1's responses seemed related to results in Chapter 3. Recall that in Chapter 3, M12 expressed dissatisfaction with unmet expectations and suggested that the trade union simply agreed with management, and was no longer militant. M1's statements above suggested that the trade union had to make changes that it perhaps would not have made in the past. Yet, the factory and trade union members' jobs had been protected as a result of management and the trade union working together at XYZ. Responses included later in this section from M7 also suggest that tenured trade union members at XYZ had more adversarial perceptions of management. Yet, this could have been due in part to tenured trade union members having experienced militant trade unionism during times of increasing unemployment and factory closures in the area surrounding XYZ. Furthermore, perhaps tenured trade union members had experiences that seemed to confirm a basic precept of trade union ideology as described by Colling and Terry (2010), that managements are inherently more powerful than their employees. Thus, it seemed that changes made by the trade union and the management at XYZ affected the trade union members' perceptions differently. Some of these changes included, for example, wage concessions. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, changes were also related to

the sensitising concept of awareness of inequality, as some trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with women entering the workplace at XYZ.

The idea that some managers might be a source of trade union members' job dissatisfaction emerged as the strongest topic in this exploration of industrial relations climate at XYZ. Trade union representative M2 mentioned in his responses above that individual managers could be unfair. Similarly, the following responses from M13 suggested that trade union members felt dissatisfied with certain managers at XYZ and used the words 'very disliked' to suggest that their dissatisfaction was strong:

> 'Ah...some managers...are very, very disliked. Ah, there's one or two where people think they're, they're not very competent. Ah, and a bit thick. Actually cause more problems...ah, than they solve. So yeah, just, just...some managers, not all of them, some of them are very good, there's one or two that are very, very bad'.

The idea that some managers could affect trade union members' job dissatisfaction also emerged in the responses of M12. In his responses related to the industrial relations climate at XYZ, he expressed frustration with a particular manager. He described a situation in which the manager had ignored a trade union member who had worked extra shifts and was not paid for them. The trade union member had repeatedly gone to the manager regarding their missing pay and after the manager ignored them, they sought assistance from M12. M12 had been a shop steward at that time, although he was not a shop steward at the time of the interview:

> 'But he kept...fogging him off, going ah...be okay, you'll, you'll get it next month. He said, well I do not need it next month, I need it now. It was just, you know. He couldn't do anything about it. Just...you'll get it next month. 'Til the guy came to me...and then I went and I had a talk to him. In that sense, that wasn't fair, because he was just dismissing him. And then the guy came to me. And...I went and had a talk with him, I said (name anonymous), you've got to pay the guy properly'.

M12 also suggested that there were managers at XYZ who mistreated younger trade union members and he perceived the mistreatment as unfair. Interestingly, although M12 was a lay

trade union member at the time of the interview, he indicated that he would approach managers directly to correct their behaviour:

> 'Quite a lot they, they will...an older manager, I seen older managers, there's guys that are my age that are dealing with, a, um...guys that my son's age. You know, and...it's...but they talk to them like they're...I don't know what, I don't know, um, the way I could describe it, actually. No, sorry, I can't, I can't bring a...to describe it, it's just, you'd have to see it to believe it. And the way some of them speak to...like you wouldn't speak to your own son like that. Or your own daughter like that'...'Ah, if I see, if I see it happening, I will pull, I'll pull them up. I'll say, 'just cut it out, it's not on. You know, you wouldn't talk to your own son like that. Why are you doing it to them?' You know. In a sense, that's unfairness'.

Similar to other responses included in this subsection, M12's statements highlighted that there were certain managers that seemed to dissatisfy trade union members at XYZ. In his next statements, he suggested that he and other trade union members were dissatisfied with some of the new managers at XYZ. M12 described animosity and resentment directed towards managers that were perceived as never having performed the kind of work that he and other trade union members did at XYZ:

> 'And you get...he's a lazy so and so...you know. Why, why is he telling me...what I've got to do…when he never done it himself? And that's the kind of thing you get now. And I, a lot of them, I think their man-, management skills are non-existent. Just non, the way they speak to people. They bully young, younger guys'.

The responses of M10 below seemed similar to those of M12 as he suggested that some managers at XYZ might have intimidated younger trade union members:

> 'I think, like I say at the top of the tree, for the company...relations are good. With (shop steward name anonymised), senior shop steward and ah, but as it comes down...the ranks, I think, it gets worse. What with shop stewards and, and employees...and the company. It's just a constant battle'...'But, a lot of people...feel intimidated with some of these managers, like. Especially (department anonymised). Like a pair of wheels. You got one on your back, you've got...half a dozen on your back. It's pretty intimidating for...some

> young boy or lassie'... 'So if you're arguing with them about it, and you're answering them back, that's when they take umbrage. And ah...the terminology one of them used, 'that's you on the radar', with...naming all the managers like. Terrible. Absolutely intimidating'.

M10 was then asked to describe who had been told they were on the radar and he responded:

> 'It was my nephew, actually. They didn't actually say that to others like. I went absolutely ballistic when I heard about it. And it's never been...sorted out, but. I think eventually, my, my nephew had to leave. Cuz he's...he's targeted.'

He then described his perceptions of what it meant to be on management's radar: 'Means that they're going to be watching everything that you do. And, there's all these different managers. Like I say, for a young boy, that's pretty...intimidating' (M10).

The next trade union member, M7, shared the perspectives of some of the trade union members included above in relation to managers and unfairness. To begin with, M7's perception of the relationship between the trade union and management at XYZ was that it was not always positive: 'I don't think it's a good one sometimes'. She then described a situation that dissatisfied her, as she and other trade union members were frustrated with management for not having paid them a bonus they had expected to receive. Her responses were similar to those of M12, wherein he described approaching a manager to make them pay a trade union member for the shifts they had worked:

> 'Just like bonus...one that I can only think of yesterday...em, we're due to get a bonus. Em, we keep getting told...it's going to be on this month's pay, but we get a sheet telling us how much we're getting. Em, management have never mentioned anything about this bonus to us, it was the union...guy, that was...at the management, telling them you need to give them their slips'.

She also highlighted an interesting aspect of the industrial relations climate at XYZ. That is, M7 suggested that tenured trade union members had strong negative perceptions towards management, which suggests that perhaps their views towards management were more

adversarial. She used the word 'everybody' to suggest that other trade union members at XYZ shared similar views regarding management. However, whilst she observed other trade union members at XYZ expressing dissatisfaction, she did not seem especially dissatisfied with the management at XYZ as she had 'never had a run in with them':

> 'Em, I don't know, it's just...everybody kind of blames them for anything that goes wrong. It's management's fault. Em...I don't personally have a problem with them. Em, like going back to the older guys that have been here for a lot of years, they just moan. Management is what they moan about. Em, they blame them, it's their fault, they've done it wrong. Yeah, that's why I'd...I don't know if that's why I've got the impression that management's separate, just from what I hear from everybody else. I don't really bother with...I just come in and do my job, I've never had a run in with them, I've never had to deal with them. Em...in terms of disciplinary, or time off, or...em. I don't know if that's why I get the idea that they're separate from...a lot of older ones'.

M7's responses above were insightful, as M19 had worked at XYZ for 14 years, M10 for 41 years and M12 for 50 years. Moreover, M19, M10 and M12 expressed the strongest dissatisfaction in this exploration of industrial relations climate at XYZ. Thus, it seemed possible that perhaps tenured trade union members at XYZ had more adversarial views of management. M7's dissatisfaction did not seem strong, however, as she described the workplace at XYZ as generally fair in her interview. Her responses seemed to suggest that she was dissatisfied with certain aspects of the industrial relations climate at XYZ. Specifically, it seemed to have frustrated M7 that management had not paid her and other trade union members a bonus. Yet, whilst M7 expressed dissatisfaction with the previously mentioned situation involving management, she was not especially dissatisfied ('I don't really bother') with management in general. M7's perceptions of dissatisfaction were, however, nuanced and included situational factors. For example, M7 seemed to express more dissatisfaction in relation to a situation that involved a manager not paying her a bonus and less dissatisfaction with management generally.

Thus far, data from the perspectives of the deputy shop steward as well as trade union members have highlighted the main topic that emerged in this exploration at XYZ. That is, there were managers at XYZ who had a negative influence on trade union members' perceptions of

industrial relations climate and job satisfaction. Mostly, however, this exploration did not seem to suggest that trade union members shared perceptions that the industrial relations climate at XYZ was generally unfair.

The next trade union member's responses helped to shed light on an interesting aspect of the industrial relations climate at XYZ. M13 described how some conflicts between trade union members were resolved on the shop floor, as he indicated that management staff ('personnel') at XYZ tried to resolve conflicts between trade union members before the conflicts escalated. M13's responses helped to shed light on the potential for individual management staff to have a critical role in resolving trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Furthermore, M13's responses highlighted an aspect of the relationship between management and trade union members at XYZ, as management seemed proactive in their approach to resolving conflicts between trade union members before they escalated. Thus, management at XYZ might have lowered trade union members' dissatisfaction on the shop floor:

> 'Because it just comes to a head at some point, where it just ends up in a big argument if you don't. We've got a lot a, if there's ever any problems in here, we'll have conflict resolution. Where everyone'll have a spot on the shop floor, you've got personnel, and it's like high school or something, something from the head teacher, it's like right, this guy's done this, and this is why it's annoyed me. That guy says the same thing...basically personnel will say all right, okay. This is what needs to be done, do you agree, yeah, and then we normally shake hands and that's the end of it'.

The responses included in this subsection were related to job dissatisfaction and the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate at XYZ. These responses included expressions of dissatisfaction by trade union members as well as more positive insights into the relationship between the trade union and management at XYZ.

5.2.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS: XYZ

The main topics that emerged in the responses of trade union members in this exploration seemed related to occasional frustrations surrounding management at XYZ. For example, trade

union members expressed dissatisfaction related to some managers at XYZ that might not have listened to members' concerns. In M12's responses, he described a situation wherein a manager had ignored a trade union member regarding pay that they should have received for working extra shifts. The responses of some trade union members also suggested that some managers might have mistreated trade union members at XYZ. Surprisingly, it was even suggested that some managers had specifically targeted younger trade union members and intimidated them. Statements from the deputy shop steward at XYZ, M2, also highlighted that certain managers were perhaps perceived as unfair.

Trade union members' perceptions included occasional dissatisfaction with the relationship between the trade union and the management. For example, M19 perceived that a former head of the trade union might have shared information with management on trade union members. He also perceived that the trade union protected some of its members who had broken rules whilst it had not done so for other members. M19 also self-identified as largely satisfied with his job, however. The perspectives of the shop stewards, M1 and M2, were that their relationship with management was mostly, but not always, positive. Furthermore, the head shop steward M1 suggested that having difficulty with management was 'normal' and finding 'common ground' with management was necessary to keep the factory open in XYZ's competitive industry. As this paragraph has helped to highlight, job dissatisfaction was expressed on a continuum that included varying degrees of satisfaction as well as dissatisfaction.

The idea that trade union members with more tenure might have had stronger negative perceptions than other trade union members towards management also emerged in this exploration. This idea was suggested by M7 and it seemed possible, as M19, M10 and M12 expressed dissatisfaction that seemed stronger than that of other trade union member interviewees at XYZ. As mentioned previously, this might have had something to do with tenured trade union members' perceptions and/or experiences having reinforced their beliefs in a principle of trade union ideology, which suggests managements have more power than their employees (Colling and Terry, 2010). Whilst trade union members expressed dissatisfaction at times in this exploration, they mostly shared perceptions that the industrial relations climate at XYZ was fair. Furthermore, the results suggested that the relationship between the trade union

and management at XYZ was not very adversarial, and that management had been generally proactive in trying to resolve conflicts between trade union members on the shop floor.

5.3 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CLIMATE RESULTS: ABC

This section includes the results of this exploration for ABC. It shows that trade union members shared perceptions that the industrial relations climate at ABC was largely unfair. Topics that emerged in relation to trade union members' job dissatisfaction are presented in subsection 5.3.1, followed by a summary of the results for ABC in subsection 5.3.2.

5.3.1 DISSATISFACTION AT ABC

Trade union members consistently expressed dissatisfaction in relation to the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate at ABC. Moreover, the link between trade union members' dissatisfaction and a lack of transparency surrounding the relationship between the different trade unions and management at ABC seemed strong. In contrast to XYZ, trade union members' responses at ABC generally suggested that they perceived their work environment as unfair. In all, 12 trade union members used the word 'unfair' to describe the work environment. Furthermore, Red trade union member D2 described the workplace as 'bizarre' because management's criterion to select individuals for voluntary redundancy was not transparent, whilst Green trade union member D20 described the workplace as fair because everyone had 'been treated equally badly'. Moreover, Blue trade union member D14 suggested that the workplace was fair because unfairness was normal in the public sector, or 'standard'. Thus, the idea of unfairness did not seem confined to the responses of any particular trade union's members at ABC.

The first responses included in this section were from Red trade union member D5, a lecturer from Mauritius. He expressed strong dissatisfaction with management for having used voluntary redundancies to cut costs whilst at the same time it donated university-owned land to a local business. Furthermore, he expressed concerns regarding the relationship between the Red trade

union and management, and seemed confused about the trade union's interactions with management:

> 'The relationship between man-, trade union and management would be. Would be management saying that okay, we have to save money on cuts, and then management deciding to give um...land to the (business anonymised), um, building of those ah, this new area. And they donate, they donated some land over there. So, it doesn't really make sense if you're financially constrained and then, at the same time, you get, you're, you're being able to donate land. And then you, you're making ah, your employ-, employees...you're trying to make them, ah, redundant, some of them, and, yeah. So it's, it's just a, doesn't make sense. It's not logical at all, you know. So yeah, so but I suppose I am concerned, I'm not sure about how, ah...the trade union at the top interact with management'.

D5 shed light on the idea that trade union members might have been negatively affected by having observed other staff being made redundant around them. Moreover, D5's statements highlighted his dissatisfaction with what he perceived as management's lack of concern for employees who had been impacted by voluntary redundancies at ABC:

> 'I'm not. But, but I see my colleagues, ah, so. And it's part of human nature that, I mean, you see these people going through this, it's, it's just despicable (inaudible), you know. And ah, one day could be you, I mean. Just, it's not just them, you know, so'...'I mean, it's pointless for me to look...as an economist, we know that um...we have to look at Nash equilibrium and Nash equilibrium is never to function according to your own interests. Have to have interests of a group'.

The following responses from Red trade union representatives D16 and D3 suggested that their trade union and management had a largely adversarial relationship. Their responses seemed similar to those of trade union member interviewees across ABC, who generally expressed dissatisfaction surrounding the relationship between the trade unions and management.

The first trade union representative included here was a senior lecturer, D16. She indicated that the relationship between the Red trade union and management was poor:

> ‘I think there is sometimes the, the feeling again that it has to be an advers-, adversarial style’…‘I think the dialogue between union, the, the, union branch and senior management has improved, and I think they have understood...because we have just uh well, in the middle of a, of a, of a major restructuring. And that went very...badly, because they brought restructuring and reduction in staff, and voluntary severance, all this together. And, and that was not the right approach because what this did was to...ah...get the whole workforce, and also some of the students up in arms, right? Be, because they just did not...separate this out, and also because they did not do it in, in a way, because they...staff, and it’s my and the union’s understanding that staff were seen as the problem, whereas staff...are, uh, the solution to resolving the situation’.

The next trade union representative, D3, had a managerial role in student services and was not an academic. In her description of the relationship between the trade union and management, she indicated that senior management had appointed their friends into senior academic positions:

> ‘And our current university secretary, who I do regard to be a, a decent human being. Em, and I don’t think it’s really, it’s all to do with...him as a person. But there’s something that’s slipped, in terms of what, how the or-, how the organisation expects the role of university secretary to be executed. So...running alongside that, you’ve got all the individual egos who are jostling for position and...you know, well, they’ve been principal’s best friend, so then they get, put higher and, you know. Dean’s jobs or higher academic related jobs. Em, who are useless, feckless, um...horrid individuals. And I’m being positive’.

D3 also indicated in her interview that senior management had appointed individuals that served the interests of senior management into high-level positions:

> ‘Um...nothing that I could prove. But some senior appointments don’t come as a surprise. You know, em, when...people, I mean. A previous manager in and around my area was known for their micro managing behaviour. And the impact that it had on staff. And still were appointed to a more senior role. Em, but that was because they, that individual was willing to be the university’s henchperson for that, that round of cuts. Em, and, the cuts

were decimating to...people. Still are people still carrying the hurt and pain from that and the overloaded...amount of work that they have to do'.

D3 reported that academics had the potential to benefit from their relationships with senior management, as their relationships with senior management might lead to high-level positions. Her responses shed light on the idea that promotions could have been an incentive for academic trade union members to befriend management, as it might have served their own self-interests.

The following dialogue from D3 includes her perceptions of a relationship between a Red trade union representative and an individual in management that might have impacted on decision-making at ABC.

Table 5.1

D3	'Um, well, without sounding rude, um, there would be times where some of my colleagues would, um, make comments or suggestions or ask questions. And...their...perspective, on things, um, might be a bit more, um, blunt. Than some other people could put it across. And...it was, I, I felt, that the response by management was very personal, very bitter. And, we would often come out feeling as though we were just being given a row by the head teacher. Um, whereas it's, it's less like that now. Um, I think...I, I have realised for quite a while that...the relationship between two particular individuals, one from the trade union and one from management...are, will always be civil to one another, but. The person on the management side, um, has nothing good to say or think about that...particular trade unionist. In my opinion. But, we all get around the table, and the professionalism in the discussions has increased.'
Researcher	'That's interesting. So, can, can you describe the personal relationship and how it seems to impact the actual negotiations?'
D3	'It's, it's quite difficult, I mean I think...a very basic level, is the trade unionist said something was black, the manager's instant internal response I'm probably thinking is white. And then, you know, maybe they'll both come round to a shade of gray. Um, but it's just like you can't like everyone in life. Um, but...we're in a better

	place now, and the trade unionist that I'm referring to is still heavily involved, so. Um, it's not as though someone's felt intimidated enough that they're no longer involved in negotiations or case work or anything like that. They're still very, very active.'

Trade union members also described management at ABC using negative terms. Blue trade union member D11 reported that some senior academics had been able to mistreat lower level trade union members, as management generally sided with the academics:

> 'You know, just um...academic, I mean...there's been some people, that, that they'll say to you, oh you don't want to fall out with them. You've got to be careful, he's, or he's dangerous, or she's dangerous. And ah, and those are like...usually secretaries or receptionists. And I just tell them look, they work here the same as I do. They've no right to speak to me any differently than I would speak to them. But the, but you, that's the kind of thing you can, you can hear the fear in their voices, cuz this person will cause trouble. Will put in a...a complaint...about you. And you'll get hauled in, and try, try to explain, what, what happened. And you're never too sure if the management's going to back you up here. Cuz there has been experiences here that I'm not too happy about, that management just taking, for granted, that you are being in the wrong'.

Blue trade union member D15 suggested that academics at ABC tended to be poor managers:

> 'The university? It's got a lot of faults to it. There's a lot, there's a lot of middle management that don't, don't know how to treat their staff. I mean I'm lucky at the moment, I've got a good management. At the moment. But there's a, there's a lot, that em...don't know the policies and procedures. Em, they're, you, you te-, if you have academics as managers...they're not actually, a lot of them are not trained as managers. So...there's a lot of...you know, there's potential for a lot of bullying or just mistreatment of people, lack of respect'.

Interestingly, Green trade union representative D6 perceived that it was middle management and not senior management that created issues for all three trade unions at ABC. D6's use of the

word ‘partnership’ suggested that his relationship with management might have been more cooperative than was the case for Red trade union representatives:

> ‘The issue comes in trying to persuade local or departmental management to buy into that culture. And that’s where there’s sometimes a challenge, and that’s where the trade unions have to work in partnership with senior management to enable that process’.

The Red trade union’s president, D4, suggested that there were issues with the middle management at ABC because they did not know the university’s policies and procedures. Unlike D6, however, his responses related to senior management were mostly negative. As his responses below suggest, D4 perceived that the Red trade union’s relationship with management at ABC included conflict:

> ‘Um...I would like to say constructive, but at times it is constructive, and at other times, it’s destructive. Because...there are times when management doesn’t listen, and therefore, we...the trade union movement decides that we need to have, something to remind them that we’re here and that we’re here and we’re doing, you know, we’re here to look after the membership’s wishes. Um, so...at that point, it’s quite confrontational, but at other times, it is quite constructive and we do get things achieved. I mean, if you look at our...um, terms and conditions and working practices, we’ve got some very good policies, it’s just that sometimes the university forgets to tell its managers that they need to apply, to actually apply their policies’.

D4 suggested that the work environment at ABC had perhaps been adversely affected because senior management encouraged competition among its academic faculty. He indicated that perhaps the wider U.K. university system’s focus on results had somehow enabled the management to become powerful. His ideas, moreover, seemed reflective of changes in the U.K. higher education system as discussed in Chapter 2, which included the government’s funding of academic institutions based on the quality of each institution’s research. D4’s following responses shed light on the idea that perhaps individual interests were a strong and structurally embedded factor in the industrial relations climate at ABC. Furthermore, the idea that ABC was ‘factionalised’ and ‘very political’ seemed to have obvious and negative implications for trade union members’ job satisfaction:

> ‘Who is the university...the senior management team are the university. Now, they shouldn’t be the university. The university should be all its staff, its students, and everybody’...‘Now...and this is not this principal’s, but the previous principal’s...fault, is that he put faculty against faculty to see who would be the best faculty. And funded more fac-, on the faculty with the other faculties and...it became very political. And it is very factionalised now. Um...but, you know, that’s where that, that’s what I perceive the university to be. It has become...a very management orientated structure, from what I first started to go in twenty years ago here. Because, back then, it was a fairly level structure, where you could see, that it wanted to do some good. Now it’s all about...REF results and this result, and that result, and where you’re at in the league tables. Um, but that just could be what’s happened to the sector in the last twenty odd years’.

Blue trade union member D11 suggested that the trade union had used strikes at ABC and this seemed to dissatisfy him. The strikes were for the Red trade union’s academic members and he perceived that the strikes were unnecessary as there might have been ‘better’ solutions. However, because the Blue trade union was not involved in the academic pay disputes at ABC, it seemed likely that D11’s responses were somehow reflective of his dissatisfaction with the wider social class system in academia and the higher status academics had within this system:

> ‘They, they, they, it’s, it’s, they’ve got themselves stuck in the dogma now I think. Rather, you must, this is what we have to do to fight, rather than think about the better ways to...help their union members’...‘So the, the, I think at the last one...oh, cripe, can’t remember exactly what month it was. What was that, I’m sure it was this year. And, I mean they had a few of them on going, but then it’s, it’s all been settled. They’ve accepted what was already on the table, so. There you go, and basically it was a fait accompli, because it was already...they’d all, if I remember right, they were already...put it into the wages, the management. They put it in the wages, but...the union was still fighting it...I think’.

It also emerged that trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with the relationship between the trade unions and management at ABC because it did not seem transparent. This is highlighted in the responses of Red trade union member D2, who perceived the workplace as ‘bizarre’:

> ‘And from where I can tell, and don’t think I’ve only been here for four years, it’s, it seems more and more bizarre the more, the more you find out about it. I mean, I don’t know why it’s like this, I have no idea. Um, yeah. Bizarre’s the word. I think fair and unfair...ah, it’s certainly not transparent, at all, yeah’.

D2 reported that the relationship between the Red trade union and management at ABC might have somehow contributed to the lack of transparency. His perceptions were that the relationship between the trade union and management was somehow suspicious:

> ‘I’m not a, a union, I’m not...I’m neither an active trade union member, nor am I um...an activist. Or I’m not an activist or an active trade union member. Um...economistic, I think the word would be. Um, and, and, and as far as I can tell, um...it would seem to be a little bit kind a cozy. As fa-, or has been. I on-, I only know from hearsay, but, what I hear...um. The (inaudible) is pretty strong here...as far as I can tell. Um, and you know, again, in principle that’s great. In practice, mm. You know, that’s where the principle of practice and the morality gets all kind a...mixed up’.

However, it was the following responses from D2 that were especially striking as he indicated that some academics had positions at ABC that they might not have been qualified for:

> ‘I mean, off the record, I mean, you know, it’s kind a strange when I look at who I was kind of on a list with. Okay? And, and hand on heart, I would a sacked half them buggers when I was Dean, you know and...but not because I’m a bad person, but because...my morality, after all of these years, tells me if you’re not doing a reasonable amount a work, you know you should be accountable for it’.

With the exception of D6, responses thus far have highlighted that trade union members and their representatives shared negative perceptions of the industrial relations climate at ABC. For example, trade union member D2 and trade union representative D3 each reported that some academics were in positions because they had exploited personal relationships with management. Moreover, D2 was an academic and D3 was not, and they worked in two different physical locations at ABC.

In the following responses from Blue trade union member D17, she expressed dissatisfaction related to senior management's decisions to create more senior management positions whilst at the same time, they used voluntary redundancies on other staff to cut costs at ABC. Her responses seemed similar to those of Red trade union member D5 in relation to senior management having donated land to a local business:

> 'Um, in my experience, management...has been...less than open with the trade unions, ah, during negotiations...um, of different types'...'Um...there's an awful lot of change going on in the university, as I said, and what seems to be happening...is that more and more and more posts are being created, at a very high grade. And so we seem to sort of have this kind of layer now on top of the university that's, that's...really top heavy...with...very senior posts, I mean colossal salaries. And, um...I simply do not agree or accept that...the university is going to be run...better...because of that'.

Green trade union member D20 was in the technical department that had experienced a major restructuring. He indicated that his main source of dissatisfaction at ABC was not having input in decisions that impacted on his department during the restructuring:

> 'Senior ma-, senior management making decisions without asking us. Um, yeah. Not being consulted on things that...we know a lot about. And understand, more importantly understand the implications of. That I find, that is the single most dissatisfying thing. Um, people doing stupid things. And going down, going down a path...that will lead to...train crash'.

The Green trade union was perceived by the technical staff as not having done enough for their department when it was undergoing a restructuring, although the technical staff had repeatedly sought its help. In the following responses, D20 indicated that the trade union prioritised the reorganisations of other departments over that of the technical staff. These other departments referred to by D20 below included powerful academics, as described in Chapter 4. It must be clarified, however, that the Green trade union would not have been involved directly in decisions that affected the academics:

> 'I think that the union do, are involved in...um...managerial, managerial decisions. I think that they, they meet with the senior HR...and I know that they've, um...said things the

> way...academic departments have been affected, in their re-org, their reorganisations. I think there were three, the medical school and um...ah, life sciences. I'm not convinced that they've had...as big an effect...in our reorganisation. And we've generally had to...prompt...and say do you know that this is going on. So it's kind of been...whatever. I've sent a lot of emails and, and done a lot of needling...of the union, to get them to...but they were needed on a regular basis with...with our management. Um, and I...trust that maybe some things didn't happen in the way that...they might have happened otherwise. Um, but still I wish that more had been able to be done'.

Green trade union member D23 described his dissatisfaction with the trade union in relation to the restructuring in the technical department. He expressed dissatisfaction surrounding the Green trade union's negotiations with management and suggested 'something unfair was happening'. This highlighted the idea that Green trade union members shared perceptions that the trade union and management's relationship was not transparent. These perceptions seemed similar to those of Red trade union members as described earlier:

> 'We could see that...something unfair was happening and also that there didn't seem to be much involvement from the union within this process. We were told by IT management that the union attended every meeting. But then when we raised issues with the union, and we told what about this, what about this, what about this, they had no knowledge of these things. So either, the meetings that they were attending with the IT management, IT management weren't telling them the whole...story, or the union...didn't understand what it actually meant...or, or something'.

In his responses above, D23 indicated that he was dissatisfied with his trade union as well as the management. However, he was not sure whether to blame the management or the Green trade union at ABC because the negotiations between the trade union and the management were not transparent.

The idea that there was dissatisfaction surrounding managerial decision-making also emerged in responses from Blue trade union member D14, who expressed dissatisfaction related to how much senior level positions paid at ABC in comparison to lower level positions:

> ‘And, yeah...and, I mean, and, personal opinion, why is, I mean they’re loads of changes happening. Obviously the university’s in a...kind a financial, ah, situation, but then...sometimes you kind a look at...the decisions that people are making at the top and you kind of wonder. Well, is that the best use of money. But then that’s my personal opinion. Cuz you see all these really high positions being created, like people earning...in excess of a hundred thousand, but then, you look at...the front line staff, not even being paid...minimum wage’.

Thus far, trade union members at ABC seemed to have shared perceptions that included dissatisfaction and confusion surrounding the behaviour of senior management. It consistently emerged in responses that senior management might have enriched themselves in the midst of changes at ABC that had negatively impacted on other staff. Interviewees expressed confusion, as they perceived that there was a lack of transparency in the relationship between their trades union and management. As Green trade union member D20 suggested, his trade union had prioritised the issues of some departments over other departments whilst individuals in senior positions were ‘raking it in’ (D20). There were clearly shared perceptions at ABC that some individuals had profited during dire circumstances at the university. Furthermore, there also seemed to be confusion surrounding the Green and Blue trade unions having an influence over issues related to academic staff. This could have been related to the deeply entrenched social system in U.K. academia in general and/or the idea that there were very powerful senior level academics at ABC. It is important to mention that, with the exception of a security guard that worked in various locations at ABC, the responses above were from trade union representatives and trade union members that did not work in the same departments as each other.

D21 was a technical staff member and a Green trade union representative who had been demoted during the restructuring of his department. His responses aided insights into trade union members’ job dissatisfaction as he suggested that the trade union was limited in what decisions it could influence at the university:

> ‘They, they might...ah, take actions which are detrimental...to the life and the work if ah, individual employees. Which is where the union comes in. The union will ah, scrutinise what the management does, and make sure that they’re at least...and adhere to

employment ah, legislation, to look after the interests of the work force. Um, this is...off the record, which obviously isn't cuz...um, it's not the u-, it's not the union's job to run the university. It's the union's job to scrutinise, ah, the management, and work with the management to bring in policies...which will look after the health, well being and rights of the employees'.

The responses from D21 highlighted that perhaps there were issues related to trade union members' dissatisfaction that the Red, Green and Blue trade unions could not affect, such as senior management's decisions to create new senior level positions.

The next responses were from D22, a senior professor in and the chair of ABC's highest revenue generating department. He was a Red trade union member and of all of the interviewees at ABC, he had the highest-level job. D22 suggested that employees that were highly sought after were in a separate employment pool from other employees:

'Your contribution, your ability to add value to an organisation and just...just whether or not you're in ah...demand as it were. And...yes I'm in that sort of top right hand quadrant, you know, high value and...scarce, I guess, um. That, ah...for people like th-, for people in that particular box, um, no they probably don't, but...um, they probably don't. And in some cases, what unions do is to...because it's very exclusive, I mean...people like that are...you, you, you are segmented from the rest of the...the work force, effectively. Deliberately segmented, you're singled out for special treatment, I mean....(inaudible) to get access to resources, but, if I really pushed it, I could'.

At the time of his interview, D22 was working on a special project for the senior management at ABC. The project would include D22's personal business contacts from the private sector:

'If we go out and generate extra money for the university, and we partner with a major organisation for one point one million pounds, development, you know, leadership development, um, project...Now, I know that, you know, that we're...that the university has, wants, wants to rake that money in and be able to distribute it...as it sees fit. And what I'm looking for is at least bring some proportion of that money back into the...the school and the people who generate it, that income, just a proportion. Twenty to thirty per

> cent would be reasonable. And then you can use the other seventy per cent to cross subsidise everything. So I can live, I've got...you know, I've got that sort of understanding, and its attention'.

The example of D22 shed light on the idea that some academic trade union members might have shared interests with senior management, as D22's project appeared lucrative. Furthermore, D22 was an active trade union member who occupied a position on the university's senate.

The results suggested that trade union members and trade union representatives shared largely negative perceptions on the relationships between the three trade unions and the management at ABC. Trade union members expressed dissatisfaction with the relationships as they were not transparent to them, had elements of exclusivity and seemed to benefit academics and staff in senior positions. The industrial relations climate at ABC was generally viewed as unfair and with the exception of D6, trade union representatives suggested that the relationships between the trade unions and management were largely adversarial. Furthermore, the dissatisfaction at ABC seemed very strong and the consistency and similarity of the topics described in responses was striking.

5.3.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS: ABC

At ABC, the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate was consistently linked to dissatisfaction by trade union member interviewees. To begin, trade union members shared perceptions that they worked in a largely unfair environment. Furthermore, trade union members generally did not perceive the relationships between the trade unions and management as transparent. Examples included trade union members D2 and D5, who expressed frustrations surrounding the Red trade union and management's relationship. Moreover, the perspectives of Red trade union representatives such as D16 and D3 suggested that the trade union and management's relationship was at times adversarial, and noted that the trade union had organised a strike for its academic members. Red trade union representative D4 also reported that the workforce, specifically the academics and their departments, were factionalised and competed against each other to get funding from management.

Trade union members in non-academic work roles at ABC seemed dissatisfied because individuals in senior positions might have had privileges that other employees did not have. D3, a Red trade union representative, indicated that academics with personal connections in senior management might have been promoted into high-level academic positions. The previous idea was also suggested by D2, who was a professor. Moreover, trade union members expressed dissatisfaction because senior positions had been created with high salaries, although there were voluntary redundancies and restructurings at ABC for lower level employees. Strikingly, the example of D22 seemed to suggest that special privileges and promotions were possible for senior academics that had connections in senior management. D22 believed that he was segregated from the rest of the workforce at ABC and described a potentially lucrative project that he was working on for senior management. Yet, relationships with senior management such as D22's might have negatively affected the industrial relations climate and trade union members' job satisfaction. This is because the data suggested that these kinds of relationships, which might have included preferential treatment by the senior management towards individuals in senior-level positions, were a source of dissatisfaction for most of the interviewees at ABC. Relationships such as these, however, were likely endemic to the U.K. higher educational system that, as mentioned in Chapter 4 using responses from D6, included a deeply entrenched class system.

5.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RESULTS AT XYZ AND ABC

The results for XYZ and ABC highlighted differences between the industrial relations climates that seemed to have had a critical influence on trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction. As the results suggested, the trade union and management had worked together at XYZ to keep the factory open. Interestingly, within this environment, trade union members shared perceptions that their work environment was mostly fair. Moreover, the job satisfaction expressed by trade union members in relation to the trade union and management was higher at XYZ than at ABC. Whilst some tenured trade union members did express dissatisfaction with certain managers at XYZ, most trade union members did not express dissatisfaction with management in general. Thus, the industrial relations climate at XYZ was very different from

that of ABC, where the trade unions and management had a largely adversarial relationship. The exception at ABC was Green trade union representative D6, who seemed to suggest that relations between management and the trade unions could also be cooperative at times. Trade union members at ABC, moreover, generally shared perceptions that their work environment was mostly unfair and expressed much stronger job dissatisfaction than trade union members at XYZ. It seemed from the analysis of this sensitising concept that the relationships between the trade unions and managements had something to do with the extent to which trade union member interviewees reported, and shared, perceptions of job dissatisfaction. As stated previously, however, the U.K. higher education system had a deeply embedded system of social class that likely affected trade union members' perceptions as academics, especially those in senior positions, were largely regarded by non-academic interviewees as having had more power than other occupations at ABC.

5.5 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

The results included responses from trade union members at XYZ and ABC in relation to their job dissatisfaction and the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate. Interviewees were asked to describe their perceptions of fairness at each of the two case study organisations and responses highlighted that within each organisation, trade union members had experienced different social processes. Thus, interviewees at XYZ shared perceptions that the industrial relations climate was mostly fair whilst at ABC, trade union members shared perceptions that it was largely unfair. Trade union members at each case study organisation also expressed dissatisfaction with their trade unions and managements, although the results revealed that the trade unions and management had very different relationships. The relationship at XYZ included a partnership approach. Johnstone et al (2009: 163, quotations in original) has described partnership as a ''joint problem solving approach'' in which managements and trade unions have 'a commitment to business success'. A partnership approach was demonstrated by the management and trade union having worked together to keep the factory open. Cooperative industrial relations climates, moreover, have been linked to lower levels of job dissatisfaction among trade union members (Hipp and Givan, 2015). Mobilization theory, mentioned earlier in this chapter, suggests that trade unions and their members share feelings of injustice and

‘attribute blame for their problems to an agency, normally the employer or the government’ (Badigannavar and Kelly, 2005: 520). The relationships between the trade unions and management at ABC were largely adversarial and seemed similar to mobilization theory, although interviewees there expressed dissatisfaction with the trade union as well as management. Furthermore, there seemed to have been an exception, as Green trade union representative D6 indicated that the trade unions and management worked cooperatively at times. Thus, the results for ABC were not entirely black and white, as some trade union representatives might have had better relationships with management than others.

The results of exploring industrial relations climate contribute to a critical argument within the field of industrial relations. For more than a decade, scholars have debated the processes that underlie, and the effectiveness of, partnerships between managements and trade unions (Townsend et al, 2014: 916-917). The partnership debate is important to industrial relations scholars who have argued that partnerships could have a positive impact on trade union renewal, and offer ‘British trade unions a way back into the mainstream of political and industrial life’ (Ackers and Payne, 1998: 547). Partnerships could also potentially enable ‘unions to extend their influence’ (McBride and Mustchin, 2007: 1610). This debate is important to the field of industrial relations and ‘understanding the interplay of conflict *and* cooperation at work’ as it applies to trade union members, who have different perceptions surrounding, for example, militancy (Dundon and Dobbins, 2015: 917). Furthermore, the broader implications of the partnership debate within the field of industrial relations is that it seeks to understand a global change in attitudes among trade unions and managements:

> ‘in practical terms, the interest in partnerships in liberal economies and collaboration in non-liberal economies throughout the world points to a important shift in thinking - from adversarial industrial relations to problem-solving outcomes among unions managers and workers’ (Townsend et al, 2014: 917, grammatical errors as in original).

When shown in the light of the previous statement, the insights presented in this subsection will impact on efforts towards understanding a major topic within the field of industrial relations associated with wider changes across relationships between trade unions and managements. Yet, there is also another important aspect of this debate that is highly relevant to this dissertation.

That is, scholars have largely tried to measure the effectiveness of partnerships by understanding employees' satisfaction with their managers and organisations (ibid). Given the individual-level data collected in this dissertation in relation to the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate, the results presented in this subsection offer specific insights to help inform partnership debates within the field of industrial relations.

Research suggested that the use of fairness to determine trade union members' job dissatisfaction in this dissertation was a sound approach. This is because different works have linked workers' perceptions of fairness to their feelings of job satisfaction (Nadiri and Tanova, 2009; Jepsen and Rodwell, 2012; Lopez-Cabarcos et al, 2015). Furthermore, trade union members' perceptions of fairness have been linked to their feelings of satisfaction with their trade unions and management (Fryxell and Gordon, 1989). Thus, using the perceptions of trade union member interviewees on fairness in the workplace at XYZ and ABC was a reasonable approach to understanding trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction in relation to industrial relations climate.

The relationships between the trade unions and managements at XYZ and ABC were affected by organisational changes. To keep the factory open at XYZ, the management and trade union worked together to effect changes that included shorter work breaks, pay concessions and changes to shift patterns. At ABC, the management had implemented departmental restructurings and voluntary redundancies, which the trade unions had generally opposed and fought. The idea that organisational changes might not have affected trade union members equally emerged in the results for both case study organisations. However, it featured more prominently in the data at ABC, where it also had a more negative effect on trade union member interviewees. The results for ABC highlighted an organisational culture in which the senior management and their personal associations had gained financially ('colossal salaries', D17) whilst at the same time, lower-level employees experienced restructurings and voluntary redundancies. This seemed to confirm previous research that suggested employees do not experience changes equally, as management and workplace cultures can present obstacles to change (Ichniowski et al, 1996). Within the changing organisational context at ABC, the trade unions' roles were limited to ensuring that its members' employment rights were not violated, and so they did not have the

power to affect issues such as high-level appointments made by senior management. Moreover, the deeply embedded system of social class within the U.K. higher education system seemed to have reinforced occupational inequalities as having been part of the wider culture at ABC.

It is important to clarify that one of the functions of trade unions is to attain a balance between the fair treatment of employees and the economic interests of organisations (Charlwood and Terry, 2007). The results of this exploration for XYZ help to illuminate the work of Charlwood and Terry (2007), who did not know how or if management had an effect on their correlations. This dissertation was able to capture details related to management at XYZ that suggested it had worked with the trade union to keep the factory open. Indeed, trade unions and managements have been known to form partnerships in times of business crises (Heery, 2002). The management at XYZ might have positively affected fairness on the shop floor as well, by trying to resolve conflicts between trade union members before they could escalate. Deery and Iverson (2005) showed that within the context of a collaborative relationship between a trade union and management, management increased the positive effects the relationship had on trade union members by acting fairly. Thus, the present study supported the idea that management could have a part in trade unions being able to achieve a balance between their members' fair treatment and organisational interests. It also highlights the possibility that managements could be willing to do more for trade unions when relations between the two parties are more friendly than adversarial.

The partnership approach used by the trade union and management at XYZ included 'integrative bargaining', which is used to make mutually beneficial changes and achieve a common goal (Wilkinson et al, 2014). If the factory had closed at XYZ, the trade union members and management staff would have all lost their jobs. Moreover, the critical aspect of the factory staying open was that it was a highly visible benefit to each trade union member. Regardless of the dissatisfaction expressed by interviewees, each interviewee suggested that the factory remaining open was a benefit. The trade union at XYZ had used a moderate rather than a militant approach, which has been linked to higher levels of trust in industrial relations (Bacon and Blyton, 2002). Moreover, the results for XYZ showed support for Bacon and Blyton (2002), as for example shop steward M1 suggested that strikes were 'a silly thing to do' and the trade union

worked with management instead. This suggested a certain degree of trust between the trade union and management that seemed supported by the data, as trade union members generally shared perceptions that the industrial relations climate at XYZ was fair.

The present exploration adds insights from ABC to the work of Bacon and Blyton (2002) as well, as it demonstrated the use of a more militant trade union approach that seemed linked to lower levels of trust with management. Trade union representatives generally reported that their relationships with management were adversarial (D16) and described senior management using strong, negative language (D3). The Red trade union had used strikes that trade union members generally disagreed with (D11), and trade union members and their representatives shared perceptions that the industrial relations climate at ABC was largely unfair. It seemed that the trade unions were more adversarial in their approach to management and with the exception of D6, suspicion seemed like a prominent feature in the perceptions of trade union representatives towards senior management at ABC. Furthermore, trade union members seemed to distrust the trade unions and management because their relationships were not transparent to them (D2, D5). It seemed that at ABC, the adversarial relationships between the trade unions and management might have been linked in some way to trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Yet, as stated previously, the organisational context and systemic inequalities within the U.K. higher education system also seemed interrelated with trade union members' distrust of the trade unions' relationships with management. Responses that suggested Blue and Green trade union members somehow perceived that their unions represented academics, for example, seemed to suggest that inequalities, distrust and tension were somehow perpetuated by dire circumstances at ABC as well as a deeply entrenched social class system.

Previous research has indicated that although workers might be attracted to innovative forms of trade unionism, trade unions that partner with managements can become weak (Kelly, 2004). This dissertation adds to the previous work by suggesting that whilst a trade union could become weak in a partnership with management, it could also lessen its members' job dissatisfaction in a partnership with management. Interviewees reported at XYZ that the factory would have shut if the trade union and management had not worked together. Thus, this dissertation contributes the idea that being weak(er) in a partnership with management is not necessarily bad, as it does not

in and of itself guarantee that trade unions will be powerless. Using the example of XYZ, this dissertation showed that trade unions and managements could share power to the benefit of trade union members.

Bryson et al (2005) suggested that weak voice through weak trade unionism could damage the morale of trade union members. Although the idea that the trade union had lost power seemed like a source of dissatisfaction for some trade union members at XYZ, the morale of interviewees at ABC seemed more overtly damaged, and this highlighted that circumstances were very dire at ABC. Thus, the results for XYZ differed from Bryson et al (2005) because most of the trade union members at XYZ viewed their workplace as fair and their morale did not seem very low. Moreover, it seemed likely that the morale of trade union members had risen at least to some extent in relation to the factory having stayed open, as it was a highly visible benefit to everyone at XYZ. By contrast, morale was very low at ABC, and the results seemed to support Bryson et al (2005) as trade union member interviewees at ABC expressed dissatisfaction in relation to their trade unions being weak and not having enough membership support. Pohler and Luchak (2015) suggested trade unions have more power in organisations where their membership density is high and at XYZ, with the exception of management staff, most of the employees were members of the trade union. Thus, it seemed possible that the trade union at XYZ was more powerful than the trade unions at ABC, even though the trade union at XYZ partnered with management.

The present study contributes case study insights to a fundamental topic within the field of industrial relations, that of trade union power. It is generally understood that to have power, trade unions must have members (Simms et al, 2013). Declining membership is related to trade unions losing 'the legitimacy to speak as the collective voice' for their members and has negative effects on 'any collective action' that trade unions take against employers (ibid, 2013: 154). Trade unions can have legitimate power, which is the extent to which they are recognised and accepted by the employer, and coercive power, or the power to 'force someone to do something because they fear the consequences of not doing it' (Simms and Charlwood, 2010: 128). The present study offers insights on the kinds of power the trade unions might have had at each of the two case study organisations. Both of the trade unions had the legitimate power to collectively

bargain with management, which was a criterion for being included in this study. In contrast to the trade union at XYZ, however, the trade unions at ABC did not seem to have much coercive power in their relationships with management. Trade union members expressed strong dissatisfaction related to senior management, morale seemed low and the working environment was generally perceived as unfair at ABC. The trade unions did not have the power to change senior management's decisions, such as those related to creating new senior-level positions. Moreover, the trade unions did not seem to have trusting relationships with senior management that might have perhaps enabled them to persuade management to reconsider its decisions that negatively impacted on trade union members' job satisfaction. Yet, there seemed to have been an exception to this, as Green trade union representative D6 appeared to have more trust in senior management than was suggested by the responses of other trade union representatives at ABC, including Green trade union representative D21. Green trade union representative D21, it must be noted, had effectively been demoted during the technical department's restructuring.

The results for ABC in this exploration add fresh insights to findings from Bryson (2005) that showed trade union members view relationships between managements and trade unions negatively in environments where bargaining is fragmented. One of the limitations of Bryson (2005) was that it did not capture details on trade union and management relations, whilst this exploration did. As well as suggesting that bargaining was fragmented at ABC (D4), the present study captured insights from trade union representatives that helped to shed light on the trade unions' and management's relations. For example, D3 reported that a 'bitter' relationship between a Red trade union representative and an individual in management had impacted on decision-making, which highlights that individual perspectives of trade union representatives and managers might have negatively impacted on the wider industrial relations climate. Trade union representatives seemed to blame management at ABC for having used a results-driven approach that caused the university to become fragmented and 'political' (D4), and described the trade unions' relationships with management using terms such as 'adversarial' (D16). Results such as these suggested that the relationships between the trade unions and management could be antagonistic. Regarding management and trade union relationships, Purcell (1981: 60) suggested 'distrust and antagonistic behaviour is prevalent in conditions of bad industrial relations'. When

shown in the light of Purcell (1981), the industrial relations climate at ABC seemed mostly 'bad'.

In academic environments specifically, the professional interests of academics and managements can overlap when winning grants, student recruitment and university rankings are emphasised (Godard, 2014). This helps to illuminate why ABC might have been a fragmented and politicised organisation, as some senior academics might have been as powerful as management because of the funding they enabled the university to receive (D23). Furthermore, the suggestion that academic departments competed against each other for funding (D4) likely reflected an idea mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, that funding received by higher education institutions from the U.K. government was tied to the quality of research at each institution. Trade unions use collective voice (Turner, 1986), and it seemed that management's results-driven approach had somehow fomented divisions between trade union members that weakened the trade unions at ABC. By weakening the trade unions at ABC, trade union members' voice mechanism was negatively affected. This dissertation seemed to confirm the work of Leicht (1989: 353), who suggested:

> '...participation in and vitality of the union movement depend on the structure and organization of work. This means that union vitality is vulnerable to manipulation by managers seeking to limit the demands and effectiveness of the labour movement'.

Continuing with the discussion from the previous paragraph, this dissertation also showed support for research that suggested management autonomy negatively affects employee voice (Wood and Fenton-O'Creevy, 2005). In a striking statement, D4 reported that the 'senior management team are the university'. Moreover, the trade unions' powers to influence management's decisions were limited, as they mainly functioned to protect the employment rights of their members. Yet, management's decisions seemed to have negatively impacted on trade union members' perceptions of job dissatisfaction. For example, by competing for grant money, divisions were created that were largely described as dissatisfying by interviewees at ABC. Furthermore, many interviewees perceived that a small group of senior level academics were allowed to have too much power at ABC. Interestingly, Kelly and Kelly (1991) suggested that 'us and them' attitudes are known to continue in environments where trade union members

prioritise their own interests. By creating a fragmented work environment in which trade union members had competing and individual interests, the management at ABC might have contributed to trade union members' adversarial perceptions towards them. By the same token, however, creating a fragmented work environment might have enabled management to protect their positions of power at ABC. Thus, this dissertation also confirms Mustchin (2014: 128), who suggested that 'fragmented forms of employment' were 'major drivers of vulnerability' that weakened employees in relation to management.

Yet, it is also important to reflect on the possibility that decisions made by management at ABC were reflective of wider changes being made in the U.K. higher education system in general. For example, D2's response 'I would a sacked half them buggers' was related to his perceptions that, prior to the management that existed at ABC during the timeframe in which interviews were conducted for the present study, some academics had been able to underperform in their work roles. Thus, there might have been a rationale for the voluntary redundancies and restructurings at ABC that were not fully captured in the present study, at least not from the perspectives of management. Furthermore, it might have been the case that senior management at ABC had to make decisions as a matter of necessity because of changes in the U.K. higher education system. The previous idea highlights that the seemingly adversarial relationships between the trade unions and management might have been more reflective of how the U.K. higher education system was organised, rather than any union-employer conflict between the trade union and management at ABC.

Trade union members at ABC also reported a lack of transparency in the relationships between the trade unions and management. One problem with trade unionism is that power must be delegated to representatives, and representatives can misuse this power (Tart, 1946). The previous idea was perhaps highlighted in D2's suggestion that the 'practice' and 'morality' were 'mixed up' in the trade union's relationship with management at ABC, which he described as 'kind a cozy'. At least one study has shown that trade union representatives protected their own professional interests and co-operated with management during a time of crisis that had a negative impact on their members (Ashwin, 2004). In the present study, D4 expressed concerns with how the trade union 'interacted' with management, whilst M19 questioned why the former

head of the trade union had been hired by management into a personnel position. Thus, trade union members at both case study organisations seemed to have had perceptions that included a lack of clarity surrounding the relationships between their trade unions and managements.

Some trade union members at ABC seemed to perceive the actions of senior management as somewhat unethical. This was highlighted in the responses of Red trade union member D5, who expressed confusion because senior management donated university land whilst at the same time it made staff reductions. Moreover, the responses of Blue trade union member D17 suggested that senior management had created new senior positions that she did not perceive as necessary. Previous research has linked employees' attitudes to their perceptions of fair leadership (Tyler et al, 1996) and to their beliefs surrounding workplace fairness (Pucic, 2015). These results for ABC add to the works of Tyler et al (1996) and Pucic (2015) by suggesting that trade union members' job dissatisfaction might be affected by their perceptions on whether their leadership and/or workplaces are (un)fair.

The results of this exploration indicated that dissatisfaction was related to trade union members' perceptions surrounding the extent to which their interests were represented. Research has indicated that trade unions can positively affect the well-being of their members if they act in the interests of their members during times of change (Bryson et al, 2013). The present exploration enriches the previous findings with data from case study analysis. For example, at XYZ, the trade union worked with management to keep the factory open. The trade union's members at XYZ agreed to changes in shift patterns, and a system of bankable hours was devised so that trade union members would not be laid off. Moreover, the results of the present study suggested that trade union members shared perceptions that the industrial relations climate at XYZ was mostly fair. These results are especially important, as there has been a dearth of research on how partnerships between trade unions and management affect workers that include the perspectives of the workers' themselves (Glover et al, 2014). Yet, it is also important to clarify that the factory staying open was a major benefit that had the same impact across all of the employees at XYZ, as it preserved their jobs.

By contrast, trade union members shared strong perceptions that the industrial relations climate at ABC was largely unfair. D23 indicated that 'something unfair was happening' in meetings between the Green trade union and management during his department's restructuring. Furthermore, responses suggested that the Green trade union was unable to change decisions related to a structuring that affected technical staff (D23 and D20). Yet, as mentioned previously by D21, the Green trade union was limited in its ability to impact on major decisions made by management. The results for ABC seemed to add insights to previous research that suggested trade unions must represent their members' interests to managements as otherwise, managements might fail to consider trade union members' interests in their decisions (Bryson et al, 2006). Yet, unlike the factory staying open at XYZ, the voluntary redundancies and restructurings did not have the same impact across employees at ABC. For example, D21 was effectively demoted during the technical department's restructuring whereas D23 and D20 were actually promoted to higher-level roles. Moreover, it seems that whilst D23 and D20 perceived that the Green trade union had not represented their interests during their department's restructuring, their responses did not suggest that they had issues for the trade union to represent, as they had both received promotions. Furthermore, the fact that D23 and D20 were promoted into higher-level roles and D21 was demoted (i.e., not fired) during the technical department's restructuring suggests that the Green trade union had represented its members' interests to management during their department's restructuring.

Hartley and Kelly (1986) have suggested that industrial relations research has generally focused on relationships that trade unions and their representatives have with management, rather than the relationships that trade union members have with management (Hartley and Kelly, 1986). This dissertation contributes insights on management and trade union members' relations from the perspectives of trade union members themselves. The present study showed that trade union members' perceptions included dissatisfaction with certain managers, but not all managers, as in 'there's one or two that are very, very bad' (M13). It was also reported that some managers had targeted younger trade union members and mistreated them (M12). Thus, trade union members in this dissertation did not always share perceptions of 'us and them' (Kelly and Kelly, 1991) as in some instances, they directed their dissatisfaction towards individual managers rather than management in general. Furthermore, negative social interactions between managers and trade

union members included aspects of occupational class at ABC, as some academics were identified as problematic managers at ABC (D15). This might have had something to do with the idea that a social class system was part of the U.K. academic system.

Works that have been more critical of partnership arrangements are now used to develop a better understanding of the potential reasons for why some tenured trade union members seemed sceptical towards cooperative relations between the trade union and management at XYZ. The discussion thus far in this section has largely highlighted the positive aspects of partnerships in relation to the results for the manufacturing case. Yet, it is important to mention that some trade union members at XYZ seemed to have more negative views towards management that might have been related to the tenure and experiences of these members. The perceptions of these trade union members deserves attention, as some of the more tenured trade union members described having worked at XYZ in earlier times when the industrial relations climate was affected by adversarial industrial relations and/or militant trade unionism.

Kelly (2004) indicated that the partnership debates have largely focused on the manufacturing industry in the U.K. as during the 1970s and 1980s, 'manufacturers cut capacity, shut and relocated plants, and restructured work and employment practices' in response to increasing competition. His study compared non-partnership to partnership firms in the industrial sector and found that partnership firms had worse records of employment: 'we find that 22 of the 32 paired company-by-company comparisons the partnership firm performed worse than its nonpartnership rivals' (ibid: 276). The work of Kelly (2004) helps to illuminate the potentially negative experiences of tenured trade union members who worked at XYZ during the 1980s, as they might have experienced or observed negative outcomes from partnerships between managements and trade unions (i.e., unemployment). It is worth reflection, as most of the manufacturers in the area surrounding XYZ closed during the 1980s and many individuals in the city lost their jobs. Although exact unemployment numbers were not used in the present study for reasons of confidentiality, the loss of manufacturing jobs likely had a devastating impact on the social fabric of the city that might have left a lasting impression on some of the tenured trade union members. Impressions from previous experiences with less cooperative kinds of industrial

relations did seem to underlie responses such as M8's 'it used to be that the trade union, a, fought for the people of (city anonymised).

Lastly, case study insights from Marks et al (1998) suggest that partnerships could also enable managements to extend their influence into collective bargaining and to restrict the range of issues that trade unions are able to negotiate. Furthermore, the authors suggest that 'the danger is that the union becomes tainted in the members' eyes with any failure of the partnership in practice' (ibid: 222). Recall that in chapter 3, M15 suggested that some of the more tenured trade union members did not have 'the same respect for the union as what they used to have' and indicated that the management at XYZ controlled decision-making. The present research seemed, therefore, to show at least some support for the work of Marks et al (1998), as some of the more tenured trade union employees at XYZ might have the perceived trade union's partnership with management as a means for management to extend its control over them. It also seemed that their beliefs were consistent with an underlying assumption of trade union ideology, that managements have inherently more power in employment relationships than employees, as described in Section 1.2 using the work of Colling and Terry (2010).

It is important to highlight how codes that emerged in the present chapter were combined with codes that emerged in previous chapters, or how open codes were condensed in the analyses. In the present chapter for XYZ, beliefs surrounding certain managers and tenured trade union members' seemingly more negative attitudes towards management were combined with codes that emerged in Chapter 4. Specifically, these codes included the trade union's close relationship with management, perceptions that the trade union had lost power in its relationship with management and perceptions that management controlled decision-making at XYZ. The previously described codes were part of selective codes that included beliefs in more adversarial forms of industrial relations, experiences with adversarial forms of trade unionism and beliefs in trade union ideology (i.e., management power). As shown in Table 2.1, these selective codes were included as aggregate dimensions of reactions to (positive) changes in the industrial relations climate.

Codes that emerged in the present chapter for XYZ also included the unequal application of rules, or the idea that some trade union members were able to get away with more than other trade union members. The previous code was combined with ideas that emerged in Chapter 3. Specifically, the ideas that emerged in Chapter 3 included inequality between trade union members from different work groups (i.e., shifts, engineers and production), bias from trade union members towards contractual cleaners and bias from male trade union members towards female trade union members. The previously mentioned open codes from each of the two chapters were part of the selective codes individual biases and attitudes and occupational biases and attitudes. As shown in Table 2.1, these selective codes were included as dimensions of impediments to equality.

In the present chapter for ABC, the idea that management had factionalised the work environment and the trade unions' membership bases was combined with ideas from Chapter 4. These ideas included low expectations of the trade unions, perceptions that the trade unions were weak and lacked resources, the trade unions' lack of support from their members and trade union representatives' autonomy over decisions related to representation. Together, the previous codes from Chapters 4 and 5 were part of the selective codes lack of resources, fragmented membership bases and obstacles to trade union effectiveness. As shown in Table 2.1, the previously mentioned selective codes were included as dimensions of weak trade unionism.

Next, a code from the present chapter for ABC included management's backing of academics when the academics had disagreements with non-academic staff. The previous code was combined with the idea from Chapter 4 that trade union members perceived that academic interests were prioritised over the interests of non-academic staff at ABC. The previous ideas were then combined with codes from Chapter 3 that included job dissatisfaction related to female interviewees and male and female ethnic minority interviewees regarding their not having been promoted; the idea that female lecturers had defended themselves when they were not promoted; senior management roles having been occupied by white males; and the class system in academia. Together, the previously mentioned codes from Chapters 3, 4 and 5 formed part of the selective codes of inequalities related to gender, ethnic minority and occupational characteristics

as well as social class system. These selective codes were included as dimensions of structural elements reinforced inequalities.

Lastly, ideas that emerged in the present chapter were included as dimensions of work atmospheres fostered by poor industrial relations, as shown in Table 2.2. These ideas included the lack of transparency in the relationships between the trade unions and management; the trade unions and management having what seemed like adversarial relationships; and negative perceptions surrounding management's decisions (i.e., hiring at the senior level).

5.6 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the data analysis related to the sensitising concept of industrial relations climate was imparted. The main topics that emerged in interviews with trade union members at each of the two case study organisations were shown within sections for XYZ and ABC. Literature related to the results was then used to aid a discussion of the main topics that trade union members had described as dissatisfying. To begin this exploration, trade union members were asked if they perceived their workplaces as fair or unfair. This was done so as to understand the extent to which the atmospheres at XYZ and ABC included dissatisfaction or satisfaction. The idea that the managements and the trade unions were too close emerged in the results at each of the case study organisations, although the contexts surrounding these relationships were different at XYZ and ABC.

The present exploration highlighted some of the positive and negative aspects of cooperative versus seemingly adversarial trade unionism, and adds to participation debates within the field of industrial relations. Trade union members shared perceptions that their workplace was generally fair and that the trade union and management worked together to keep the factory open at XYZ. Whilst trade union members were dissatisfied with some managers on the shop floor, perceptions in general were that the trade union and management had benefitted trade union members by protecting jobs. Moreover, management at XYZ tried to resolve conflicts with trade union members on the shop floor before they could escalate and likely lessened trade union members' feelings of job dissatisfaction. Perhaps, it seemed, management had contributed to feelings of

goodwill and fairness. Yet, there were also tenured trade union members that might have had experiences with more adversarial forms of industrial relations in earlier times of economic distress in the area surrounding XYZ. The perceptions of tenured trade union members seemed more critical of partnerships between trade unions and managements. Furthermore, the work of Marks et al (1998) offered evidence to suggest that partnerships did not always benefit trade union members, at least with regard to job security.

It seemed that contextual elements at ABC made the general work environment there more dissatisfying for trade union members than was the case at XYZ. There were voluntary redundancies to reduce staff at ABC whilst at the same time, senior-level positions with large salaries had been created. The environment included academic trade union members and departments with fragmented and competing interests, and with the exception of D6, trade union members and trade union representatives generally shared perceptions that included dissatisfaction with senior management. Moreover, there were non-academic trade union members who believed that the interests of academic members were prioritised over the interests of non-academic members at ABC, whilst one interviewee described having received 'special treatment' from senior management (D22). When shown in the light of these results for ABC, it does not seem surprising that trade union members expressed dissatisfaction related to the lack of transparency in the relationship between the trade unions and management. It seemed that within ABC's fragmented and hierarchical organisational structure, trade union members' interests had been divided. Furthermore, the deeply entrenched system of social class within the U.K. higher education in general seemed to reinforce and perpetuate divisions at ABC. This might have enabled the management to be very powerful, as well as some senior level academics, whilst the trade unions were weak by comparison. In general, it seemed there was more dissatisfaction with management for trade union members and their representatives at ABC as compared to XYZ.

--CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS--

This last chapter will discuss the contributions and practical implications of the present study, and its recommendations for future research. It concludes by presenting the central findings of this dissertation as well the avenues it has opened. Section 6.1 includes an overview of the research project and revisits the original aims of this research. The contributions of this dissertation primarily, but not exclusively, to the field of industrial relations are then presented in section 6.2. In section 6.3, the practical implications drawn from the present study are then discussed. Section 6.4 includes the recommendations for future research and acknowledges the limitations of the present project. The author's autobiography and personal reflections on the research process are imparted in section 6.5, followed by the conclusion to this dissertation in section 6.6.

6.1 BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Trade unionism and the idea that trade unions have had to evolve was discussed earlier in Chapter 1. Using the work of Colling and Terry (2010), the present study described a fundamental belief within trade union ideology, that managements have more power in employment relationships than their employees. This fundamental belief underscores what is commonly known about trade unions, that they leverage their collective bargaining power to represent the interests of their members within this unequal employment relationship (ibid). In Chapter 1, trade unions were also described as political organisations that tended to align themselves with the Labour Party and the interests of the working class (Hyman, 1995). Yet, changes have occurred that impact on trade unions, such as a decline in manufacturing in the U.K. and the diversification of the workforce (Simms et al, 2013), as well as the general shift towards a global economy (Nolan and Walsh, 1995). Having clarified the dynamic environment of trade unionism, the present study set out to add deeper insights to an area within the field of industrial relations that was largely concerned with the perceptions of trade union members themselves.

A large body of research within the field of industrial relations showed trade union members expressed more job dissatisfaction than non-union members (Borjas, 1979; Hersch and Stone, 1990; Meng, 1990; Miller, 1990; Clark, 1996; Bender and Sloane, 1998; Heywood et al, 2002; Bryson et al*,* 2004; Guest and Conway, 2004; Green and Heywood, 2015). Industrial relations scholars disagreed on why trade union members expressed greater job dissatisfaction and explanations around the topic were largely inconclusive. Thus, the aim of this dissertation was to better understand the phenomenon of trade union members' job dissatisfaction and asked the research question: *Why are trade union members dissatisfied with their jobs?* Previous research of the phenomenon was largely quantitative and could not account for the different reasons, perceptions and nuanced interpretations that underlie why trade union members express job dissatisfaction. These quantitative studies could not, moreover, capture subtle differences in the perceptions of trade union members that might have had something to do with wider changes in their environments. For example, the idea that management had somehow created a competitive and fragmented work environment was a perception that emerged at ABC. However, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, academic institutions received funding from the government that was based on the quality of their research output. Thus, the present study used a qualitative approach and grounded theoretical techniques that enabled new insights and discoveries to emerge from individual-level data that also integrated aspects of the wider environments in which each of the two case studies operated.

The research design in the present study included three alternative explanations of the phenomenon that were derived from the industrial relations literature, and interviews were conducted with trade union members at two case study organisations to explore whether these explanations held in the data. These case study organisations included a manufacturer (XYZ) and a university (ABC) located within the same city in Scotland. The results of exploring the sensitising concepts of 'unmet expectations', 'awareness of inequality' and 'industrial relations climate' were presented and discussed in Chapters 3 to 5.

The following section discusses the contributions of this dissertation in the light of its results.

6.2 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

As described in Chapter 1, this research project expected to make at least three original contributions. These three expected contributions included: i) a better understanding of trade union members' job dissatisfaction that only a qualitative approach can bring; ii) examining and refining four alternative explanations for the phenomenon; and iii) developing insights on trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

6.2.1 ORIGINAL APPROACH TO EXPLORING THE PROBLEM

The first contribution this dissertation makes is by using a qualitative approach, as it enabled a richer understanding of a phenomenon on which a large body of research already existed. This dissertation used an approach that included interviews and grounded theoretical techniques to explore the sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Previous quantitative works linked trade union members' job dissatisfaction to tenure (Borjas, 1979); being able to safely express discontent (Freeman, 1980; Freeman and Medoff, 1984); their personalities (Odewahn and Petty, 1980; Clark, 1996); job quality (Meng, 1990); co-employees, supervision and lack of resources (Schwochau, 1987); work conditions (Miller, 1990; Renaud, 2002); trade unions (Hersch and Stone, 1990); low non-pecuniary rewards (Lincoln and Booth, 1993); industrial relations climates (Bender and Sloane, 1998); expectations (Bryson et al, 2004; Guest and Conway, 2004); workload (Krieg et al, 2013) and possible non-work related factors (Heywood, 2015). In this dissertation, the data collected allowed trade union members to describe *why* they expressed job dissatisfaction directly, so that a broader range of insights and emergent data was captured than would have been the case in a quantitative study. Thus, the quality of the data in this dissertation sets it apart from previous research of the phenomenon, as does its richness, as it includes a holistic interpretation of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

With the exception of personality, the present study offers confirmation for all of the reasons given by the previous quantitative works mentioned above because similar topics seemed to

emerge during interviews. By allowing interviewees to discuss their perceptions, it became apparent in the present study that no 'one way' to explain trade union members' job dissatisfaction is plausible. Rather, this dissertation suggests that different mechanisms and processes underlie *why* trade union members express job dissatisfaction, and that the phenomenon is experienced within unique organisational settings. Furthermore, this dissertation generally disagrees with Glaser (1978), who suggested that ethnicity, race and gender usually did not factor into the processes that underscore emergent topics within grounded theory studies. Instead, the present study suggests that the processes behind why trade union members' express job dissatisfaction may be heavily affected by their individual social characteristics, as some organisations and their sectors may have structures that reinforce divisions that are related to them.

The qualitative approach used in this dissertation was able to reveal insights on how trade unions affect their members' job dissatisfaction that contribute a better understanding to conflicting findings within the industrial relations literature. Whilst Hersch and Stone (1990) suggested that trade unions had a direct and negative influence on their members' job satisfaction, Renaud (2002) disagreed and suggested that trade unions were not a factor in their members' dissatisfaction. The present study largely agrees with Renaud (2002) as, for example, there were interviewees at ABC who seemed to link their trade union's ineffectiveness during their department's restructurings to their own job dissatisfaction. Yet, it became clear that dire circumstances at ABC, the trade unions' lack of resources and a deeply embedded system of inequalities within the U.K. higher education system were more salient to interviewees' perceptions of job dissatisfaction. As the data revealed, Green and Blue trade union member interviewees perceived that their trade unions represented the interests of academics, despite the fact that academics would have been represented by the Red trade union. Thus, it seemed that Green and Blue trade union members had perhaps experienced a wider system of occupational inequalities in which they perceived themselves as having less occupational status and/or power that the academics and management. As trade union member interviewees largely described the industrial relations climate at ABC as having lacked transparency, this could have been related to confusion surrounding which of the three trade unions represented the interests of the academics. Thus, whilst the present study does not agree with the suggestion that trade unions have a direct

impact on their members' dissatisfaction, it does offer support for Hersch and Stone's (1990) and Bender and Sloane's (1998) idea that industrial relations climates affect trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

Next, the use of grounded theory in this dissertation allowed insights to emerge that include the lived experiences of trade union members. These insights help to better understand the mechanisms that underscore why trade union members experience job dissatisfaction. For example, data was unearthed that suggested the senior management at the higher education case had fostered a competitive environment in which the academic staff were encouraged to compete against each other for grant money. This data contributed to understanding how the membership bases of the trade unions had become fragmented, as some of the academic members were incentivised by the senior management to protect their individual, rather than collective, interests. By enabling data to emerge in iterations and analysing data continuously, this dissertation was able to delve deeper into some of the situational factors that were sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

The qualitative approach used in the present study also highlighted the contexts that surrounded job dissatisfaction at each of the two case study organisations. For example, interviewees were able to clarify that voluntary redundancies were occurring at the higher education case and to describe how the factory had almost closed at the manufacturing case. Furthermore, the present study was able to integrate insights surrounding the particular sectors in which each of the two case studies operated. Insights such as these helped in understanding why, for example, tenured trade union members might have had more adversarial views of management and partnership arrangements than those with less tenure, as tenured trade union members might have experienced high unemployment, factory closures and adversarial industrial relations in the area surrounding XYZ. At ABC, insights such as these suggested that topics related to dissatisfaction at ABC were heavily embedded in, and likely reinforced by, the U.K. higher education system, rather than being attributable to the trade unions. For example, academics across institutions within the U.K. higher education system in general were under pressure to produce higher quality research. Furthermore, as league tables and student satisfaction ratings have become increasingly important with the U.K. higher education system as well, decisions made by the

management at ABC might have reflected a need to improve performance at ABC, rather than adversarial relations with the trade unions. Insights such as these, moreover, provide a richer basis for understanding the roots of the phenomenon of trade union members' job dissatisfaction by viewing it in its wholeness.

6.2.2 TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF TRADE UNION MEMBERS' JOB DISSATISFACTION: THE THREE SENSITISING CONCEPTS

The present study enabled insights that help to expand on three alternative explanations within the field of industrial relations that have tried to explain why trade union members express job dissatisfaction. These three alternative explanations were included in the research design as the sensitising concepts of unmet expectations, awareness of inequality and industrial relations climate. This subsection discusses the contributions of this dissertation in relation to these three explanations, starting with unmet expectations.

6.2.2.1 INSIGHTS ON TRADE UNION MEMBERS' UNMET EXPECTATIONS

This dissertation was unique as compared to previous works that suggested trade union members' job dissatisfaction was related to their expectations of trade unionism. Through its use of a qualitative approach, the present study was able to discover the different kinds of unmet expectations that trade union members had with regard to their trade unions. In previous works, the idea that trade union members' expectations were somehow linked to job dissatisfaction was developed in part because, having tested the variables they had, industrial relations scholars were still not sure why trade union members expressed job dissatisfaction (Guest and Conway, 2004). Moreover, although previous scholars suggested that trade union members' dissatisfaction could be related to their expectations of trade unionism (e.g. Bryson et al, 2004), there was a dearth of research on trade union members' expectations specifically (ibid). Thus, this dissertation makes an especially strong contribution to the field of industrial relations as in it, trade union member interviewees were asked to identify their expectations and/or unmet expectations with their trade unions. The responses from trade union member interviewees in the present study therefore add to an area within the field of industrial relations that lacked data, particularly rich qualitative

data. Furthermore, the unmet expectations shown in this dissertation enabled it to expand on previous works including Bryson et al (2004), as it discovered that unmet expectations included not being able to participate in decision-making, poor trade union representation and not having a strong trade union. Also, this dissertation adds that protection is the strongest shared expectation that trade union members have from trade union membership.

The expectations trade union members had in this study help us to better understand that the phenomenon of trade union members' job dissatisfaction is in some ways affected by whether trade unions perform in accordance with the generally understood purpose(s) of trade unionism. Whilst trade union members' unmet expectations were linked to job dissatisfaction in the present study, some of their unmet expectations should not surprise industrial relations scholars. For example, the idea that trade union members had higher expectations regarding pay is consistent with a generally understood purpose of trade unions to increase their members' pay (Hammer and Avgar, 2005). Furthermore, the idea that trade union members expected their trade union to represent their interests is consistent with a commonly understood purpose of trade unions to represent the interests of trade union members (Simms and Charlwood, 2010). Moreover, the idea that protection was the strongest shared expectation trade union members had from trade unionism is also not surprising. Different works spanning a period of more than a hundred years have suggested that a purpose and function of trade unions is to protect their members in their employment relationships with management (Webb and Webb, 1897 in Clegg, 1976; van den Berg and Groot, 1992; Salamon, 1998; Sverke and Goslinga, 2003; Stinglhamber et al, 2013). This dissertation thus adds to the industrial relations literature by suggesting that trade unions likely have some ability to decide how they will influence their members' perceptions of job satisfaction because they can perform, or not perform, according to the functions that they are known to have established for themselves.

6.2.2.2 INSIGHTS ON TRADE UNIONS AND AWARENESS OF INEQUALITY

The results of this dissertation enable a contribution to the trade union literatures and debates surrounding the impact of trade unions on awareness of inequalities. As mentioned in Chapter 3, previous works highlighted that trade unions have been recruiting members from social groups

(i.e., ethnic minorities and women) that have tended to be underrepresented (Munro, 2001; Lindsay et al, 2007; Gregory and Milner, 2009; Simms et al, 2013). Yet, whilst trade unions may be recruiting from previously underrepresented social groups, this dissertation adds evidence from data to the industrial relations literature that suggests trade unions may have difficulty representing the interests of these members effectively. The present study enabled a powerful contribution to the trade union literatures, as rich examples from case study analyses suggested that the sensitising concept of awareness of inequality had a particularly strong association with trade union members' job dissatisfaction. The critical findings were that although trade unions might be aware and well-informed of social inequalities within their own organisations, their particular organisations and sectors may be organised in ways that reinforce and/or perpetuate inequalities. This discussion is continued below, beginning with the higher education case, followed by the manufacturing case study.

The higher education case enabled a better understanding of how trade union members experience and perceive inequalities at work, and how trade unions fail to address and sometimes create social divisions among their own membership. Moreover, the results enabled a unique contribution to an area within the trade union literatures that is concerned with the intersection of trade union membership and social inequalities (Dickens, 1997; Perrons, 2004) because, regardless of whether they are in trade unions, women and ethnic minorities are still over-represented in lower-paying jobs and/or have less say in decision-making. The present study confirms the work of Dickens (1997), who suggested that trade unions must do more to represent the interests of minorities and women, and to Perrons (2004), who found that women were over-represented in low-paying work. To be clear, however, the present study does not suggest that trade unions are to blame for minorities and women experiencing inequalities. Rather, this dissertation adds to these works the idea that inequalities could be perpetuated in environments in which divisions based on social status are endemic, such as the U.K. higher education system. For example, as the higher education case suggested, there were female academic trade union members who had sought help from their trade union when they were not promoted, and perceived this as unfair. Yet, there were also non-academic female and/or ethnic minority trade union members who did not seek help from their trade unions even though they, too, perceived that their not having been promoted was unfair. Perhaps non-academic female and/or ethnic

minority trade union members perceived that the system of inequalities embedded within their organisation and sector were so strong that their trade unions could do little to help them. This idea seems to be highlighted by D14's suggestion that unfairness was 'standard' in the public sector.

The higher education case also expands on our understanding of how trade unions address inequalities by showing that trade unions may, at times, lack the resources to address all of their members' issues, especially within contexts of change. As the data showed, although trade union representatives were aware of inequalities, their immediate concerns were related to the voluntary redundancies and restructurings at ABC, or protecting their members' jobs. The responses of Green trade union members D20 and D23 seem to highlight the previous idea as even though they perceived that the Green trade union had not helped their department during its restructuring, D20 and D23 had each been promoted during their department's restructuring. Perhaps, it seemed, the lack of transparency described by trade union members with regard to the industrial relations climate at ABC was somehow related to interviewees' having (mis)perceptions surrounding the activities of their trade unions. This also sheds light on the possibility for trade union members to perceive that their trade unions are not acting in their interests, even when these members seem to benefit from effective trade union representation.

The manufacturing organisation contributes a case study example to the trade union literatures that seems to shed a positive light on trade union efforts to address social inequalities. Analyses of the manufacturing case study organisation highlighted trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction and unfairness that seemed low. This seemed due in part to the trade union having addressed gender and occupational class inequalities, and helps to suggest that trade unions could have a positive influence on work atmospheres when they are able to ensure that the interests of members with different social characteristics are treated equally. Whilst an area of trade union research has associated trade unions and their male representatives with insensitivity towards social inequalities (Hyman, 1997; McBride, 2001; Stuart et al, 2013; Wrench, 2015), the results for the manufacturing organisation contradicted the stereotype that trade unions mainly serve the interests of white males, with the caveat that the manufacturing

organisation consisted mostly of male employees. Thus, it could also have been the case that male trade union members and males in management regarded each other as equals.

6.2.2.3 INSIGHTS ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CLIMATES

As mentioned in Chapter 5, works by industrial relations scholars Ackers and Payne (1998), Heery, (2002), Deery and Iverson (2005), McBride and Mustchin (2007), Townsend et al (2014) and Dundon and Dobbins (2015) highlighted a prominent debate within the field of industrial relations that is concerned with whether trade union and management relationships have the potential to improve trade union members' employment experiences. The partnership debate includes the idea that by partnering with managements, trade unions could increase their relevance as political institutions (Ackers and Payne, 1998). However, there has been a dearth of research that includes employees' perspectives (Glover et al, 2014). This dissertation therefore contributes much needed data to the participation debate as it captured rich insights on trade union and management partnerships from trade union members themselves. The interpretations from trade union members were especially useful, as they aided in understanding that partnerships could influence employees' perceptions surrounding a range of topics including, but not limited to, fairness, trade union power, job security and job satisfaction. The contributions to participation debates are discussed in relation to the manufacturing case study first, followed by the public services case study organisation.

The present study contributes practical insights for organisations by adding a unique case study example, that of a manufacturer in Scotland, to inform the partnership debate. Specifically, the trade union and management worked together to keep their factory open and to create a more gender-balanced workplace, which helps in understanding that partnerships could be a useful approach for organisations that need to adapt to survive. The manufacturing case confirms Heery (2002), who suggested that trade unions and managements could form partnerships as a way to ensure that their organisations get through times of crisis. Moreover, unlike Kelly's (2004) suggestion, the manufacturing case indicated that trade unions that partner with managements might not lose power by doing so. Instead, the trade union from the manufacturing case fostered an environment that included more job satisfaction and fairness as compared to the higher

education case. Townsend et al (2014) highlighted that case studies enable unique and valuable insights into specific organisational environments, although they should not be used to make generalisations. Thus, a caveat of the insights drawn from the manufacturing case is that, whilst it is a practical example that industrial relations scholars can use to inform their own arguments and/or research endeavours, its results cannot be easily applied to other contexts.

Next, the higher education case contributes to partnership debates by showing that, in contrast to partnerships, more adversarial kinds of relationships could have a largely negative influence on trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction. However, the public services case study also highlights that how organisations and sectors are organised may be more salient to trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction than what seem like adversarial relations between trade unions and managements. Whilst the present study revealed that trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction and unfairness at the public services case study organisation that they directed towards the trade union and management, it seemed that topics they related to job dissatisfaction were more reflective of the U.K. system of higher education generally, rather than union-versus-employer adversarial industrial relations. For example, D20 and D23's promotions suggest that the Green trade union had represented its members' interests during the technical department's restructuring. Furthermore, it might have been the case that the Green trade union and management had worked together during the technical department's restructuring, as Green trade union representative D6 suggested that the trade unions sometimes partnered with management to resolve issues at ABC. Thus, the idea of adversarial industrial relations at ABC seemed heavily influenced by wider pressure from the U.K. system of higher education, which was increasingly focused on applying performance measures across its institutions. Insights from the second case study organisation therefore adds to an area within industrial relations that is concerned with how relations between managements and trade unions impact on employees within contexts of organisational change (Ichniowski et al, 1996; Ashwin, 2004; and Bryson et al 2013). As the present study highlighted, trade union members may have difficulty interpreting relations between trade unions and managements in environments that include change and also lack transparency. Furthermore, whilst Ashwin (2004) found that trade union representatives protected themselves and not their members during an organisational crisis, the present study suggests that during times of crisis in environments

that lack transparency, trade union members may not recognise when their trade unions have in fact acted in their interests.

The two case study examples also contribute understanding to an area of research in industrial relations concerned with trade union power that includes the scholars Bryson et al (2005), Simms and Charlwood (2010), Pohler and Luchak (2015) and Simms et al (2015). The manufacturing case study example showed that, although the trade union shared power with management, it was not weak. Indeed, by working together, the combined resources of the trade union and management might have enabled them to accomplish more, or to be more powerful together. The manufacturing case study, therefore, is an example that suggests trade unions in partnership arrangements with managements can have power, or may be more powerful. By contrast, the higher education case suggests that the trade unions were weak, perhaps because they lacked the resources to address all of the issues at ABC, which included voluntary redundancies and departmental restructurings. Furthermore, the trade unions' weaknesses might have been due in part to low membership density, as well as fragmented membership. Membership density was unstable in the higher education case and the trade unions could not depend on the support of their members. Some academic interviewees, moreover, perceived that the management had created a competitive environment that encouraged academic trade union members to protect their own self-interests. Yet, it seems more likely that management's decisions at ABC were reflective of the U.K. academic system in general, which tied the grants its academic institutions received to the quality of research each institution produced. Thus, it seems that the trade unions were weak and fragmented at ABC because of divisions that were fomented by the wider U.K. academic system rather than management.

Another contribution from both case study examples in this dissertation is that each highlighted an intersection between the industrial relations and organisational justice literatures. Within the manufacturing case study organisation, trade union member interviewees shared perceptions that included job satisfaction and more fairness in the workplace. By contrast, interviewees shared perceptions in the higher education case that included strong job dissatisfaction and more workplace unfairness. Fairness in the workplace and its impact on workers' job satisfaction is an area within the field of organisational justice that has been studied in the quantitative works of

Nadiri and Tanova (2009), Jepsen and Rodwell (2012) and Lopez-Cabarcos et al (2015). The present study contributes insights to this area by shedding light on links between a partnership, employees' shared perceptions of a fair work environment and job satisfaction. These links from the manufacturing case confirmed Lopez-Cabarcos et al's (2015) findings, which linked transparent decision-making (procedural justice), a fair distribution of resources across employees (distributive justice) and workplace atmospheres high in honesty (interactional justice) to job satisfaction. By contrast, procedural justice, distributive justice and interactional justice were not evident in the higher education case as trade union members there experienced strong perceptions of unfairness and job dissatisfaction. Thus, the insights from this dissertation are useful to partnership debates in industrial relations, and can also be used by scholars in the fields of organisational justice who study workplace fairness and job satisfaction.

6.2.3. INSIGHTS TOWARDS DEVELOPING AN INITIAL MODEL OF TRADE UNION MEMBERS' JOB DISSATISFACTION

The aim of this dissertation was to develop insights to help in understanding trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Thus, the ideas developed in this dissertation are fairly simple and straightforward. This subsection begins by discussing two topics that will help to understand the insights presented here. The first topic clarifies that the insights developed in this dissertation are presented by using a filtered down approach that starts with the sources of job dissatisfaction that influenced trade union members' shared perceptions. For the second topic, the present study acknowledges the permanence of job dissatisfaction as a phenomenon.

First, the wider structural elements that emerged in relation to trade union members' job dissatisfaction at each of the two case study organisations are used as a focal point for discussing the insights that were developed in this dissertation. This is because these structural elements influenced every interviewee in the present study and impacted on trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction. These wider structural elements include the relationships between the trade unions and managements, how the trade unions were generally perceived by interviewees and the two case studies' organisational structures. The insights from the present study suggest that wider structural elements largely influenced whether trade union members

shared perceptions of weaker or stronger job dissatisfaction at each of the two case study organisations.

The second acknowledgment is that job dissatisfaction will always exist. As the results of this dissertation suggested, the trade unions at each of the two case study organisations could not address all of their members' interests in totality. This is because trade union members have different individual interests, so that some trade union members may perceive something as satisfying that other trade union members perceive as dissatisfying. For example, some male trade union members at the manufacturing case study organisation expressed dissatisfaction related to the trade union's attempts to address social inequalities. Lastly, it is important to mention that the discussion that follows includes more generalised statements about the data than was the case in the previous results chapters.

The insights developed in this dissertation include an approach towards understanding trade union members' job dissatisfaction that is largely composed of two sides of the same coin. One side refers to the manufacturing case and is loosely described as the partnership/inclusive approach. The other side refers to the higher education case and is loosely described as the adversarial/exclusive approach. These two approaches are central to understanding the research question *why do trade union members express job dissatisfaction?,* and are based on the idea that the present study sheds light on two different kinds of work atmospheres that influence how trade union members experience job dissatisfaction. The partnership/inclusive approach is largely based on data from the manufacturing case study organisation and suggests that partnerships between trade unions and managements, as well as more inclusive trade union agendas, could be associated with trade union members experiencing more job satisfaction than dissatisfaction. As for the second approach, it is based on data from the public services case study organisation. This second approach suggests that when trade union members perceive that their trade unions and managements have adversarial relationships, and/or perceive that their concerns have been treated as less important than the concerns of other trade union members (excluded), they could have more job dissatisfaction than satisfaction. After presenting the two approaches described above, the possibility for a third approach - adversarial/inclusive – is discussed.

The partnership/inclusive approach includes the general idea that partnerships between trade unions and managements, and inclusive trade union agendas that promote equality across social groups, could help to reduce trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Trade unions that work with managements to achieve goals that have visible and equal benefits to trade union members may help to create more positive work atmospheres. It could be that partnerships between trade unions and managements have more trust and are more transparent, include more goodwill and may help trade union members to feel more secure about their jobs, or protected. The present study therefore confirms what is known of partnerships from Hipp and Givan (2015), who linked them to trade union members experiencing more job satisfaction, whilst adding that partnerships may lower discontent by enabling trade union members to feel a more heightened sense of security and certainty about their jobs.

Furthermore, the *inclusive* aspect of the partnership/inclusive approach suggests that when trade unions clearly communicate to their members that they have treated their members' interests equally, this could help trade union members to perceive their work environments in a more positive light. Trade unions that are able to show that they practice equal treatment and representation across trade union members in different social groups could help to increase trade union members' shared perceptions of fairness in the workplace, as well as to lower their perceptions of job dissatisfaction. Moreover, trade unions that enable their members across different social groups, such as males and females, to have access to the same jobs and the same rates of pay, may have a more direct and positive impact on equality. This is because addressing occupational inequalities could address inequalities across other social characteristics. Thus, although job dissatisfaction is highly individualised and can never be resolved in its entirety, trade unions that follow a partnership/inclusive approach could benefit more or most of their members by helping them to perceive their workplace and/or employer as fair.

Trade unions that follow an adversarial/exclusive approach could increase their members' shared perceptions and experiences of job dissatisfaction. Adversarial relationships between trade unions and managements, especially in hierarchical organisations, may lack transparency or be difficult for trade union members to interpret. Moreover, trade union members may question

whether their interests are being represented, or if they are being protected, by their trade unions within these adversarial kinds of relationships. Negative work atmospheres could also lead to trade union members sharing perceptions of unfairness in the workplace, as well as job dissatisfaction. Trade union members' perceptions of unfairness may be intensified when they do not understand the processes that underscore decision-making in their organisations. Moreover, adversarial relations between trade unions and managements could include a general lack of communication or unwillingness to share information, perhaps because the two parties do not trust each other. However, by concealing information, trade unions and managements may raise trade union members' shared perceptions of unfairness and job dissatisfaction, as well as their doubts. This could be due to trade union members sharing beliefs that they have the right to be kept informed by their trade unions. These ideas from the present study echo Kelly (1989), who suggested that trade unions deliberately try to foment a sense of injustice among their members towards management, and Kelly and Kelly (1991), who indicated that 'us' and 'them' attitudes are perpetuated in these kinds of unfair environments. Yet, the present study also adds that adversarial relationships are related to trade union members sharing perceptions of unfairness that are directed towards their trade unions as well as managements, although there was no evidence in the present research to suggest that trade union members had applied pressure to any of the trade unions as a result of their dissatisfaction.

The *exclusive* aspect of the adversarial/exclusive approach includes the idea that trade unions could be perceived as representing the interests of a select social group, or minority, of their members' interests. Trade unions that do not make it obvious to their members that they are representing their members' interests may be at risk of their members forming (mis)perceptions about their trade unions. As the present study highlighted, some trade union members (i.e, D20 and D23) formed perceptions that their trade union had not represented their interests during a departmental restructuring, even though they seemed to have benefitted from trade union representation. This sheds light on the idea that when trade unions do not communicate strong messages to their members that they are being represented, these members may develop feelings of exclusion. The present study differs from Dickens (1997), who suggested that trade unions do not represent the interests of trade union members equally, and suggests that in instances where trade unions have not kept their members informed, trade union members may develop

perceptions that their unions have not treated them equally. Thus, the present study highlights the importance of regular communications by trade unions to their members.

When shown in light of the previous paragraph, it is also important to reflect on the possibility for trade unions to be both adversarial *and* inclusive. As the examples of D20 and D23 suggest, trade unions may act in their members' interests, yet fail to communicate that they have done so to their members. This highlights that at ABC, the trade unions were addressing immediate concerns related to voluntary redundancies and departmental restructurings so that the need to communicate with their members might have seemed less urgent. Perhaps, moreover, the trade unions at ABC lacked the resources to communicate regularly with their members. Furthermore, it also seems possible that trade unions defended their members' interests and within the process of defending their members' interests, they had adversarial relationships with management at ABC. This suggests the potential for trade unions to be inclusive of all of their members' interests, yet at the same time, to have adversarial relationships with management. What is more, it is important to reflect on the possibility that the results for ABC supported Kelly (2004), who found that partnerships – and not adversarial relationships - between managements and trade unions were less effective at preserving the jobs of trade union members. This is because the data showed that during the technical department's restructuring, D20 and D23 had been promoted and D21 had been demoted, yet none of the three had lost their jobs. The present study therefore suggests a more nuanced appreciation of the partnership/adversarial relations debate and shows that when developing an initial model of trade union members' job dissatisfaction, there may be various combinations of the aforementioned partnership and adversarial approaches that reflect a union's role as both adversarial and inclusive.

Insights related to the organisational structures at each of the two case study organisations contribute to an area of research that seeks to understand more about the intersection of diversity, power and social groups (Collinson et al, 1990, Perrons, 2004; Lott, 2012; Lott, 2014). This area of research has suggested that racial and gender inequalities are perpetuated by hierarchical 'structures of organisational power' (Collinson et al, 1990: 11); women occupy the lowest paying jobs (Perrons, 2004; Lott, 2012); and power is linked to satisfaction (Lott, 2014). Insights drawn from the manufacturing case study suggest that flat organisational structures could enable an

equal distribution of power across trade union members in different social groups. Moreover, in organisations with flat organisational structures, trade union representatives and their members could have access to the same jobs, irrespective of their social characteristics. Flat organisational structures could also allow trade union members to share power equally and to experience job satisfaction. Furthermore, flat organisational structures may strengthen the membership bases of trade unions by empowering their members. By contrast, insights drawn from the higher education case suggest that hierarchical organisational structures could allow for an unequal distribution of power across trade union members in different social groups. In hierarchical organisations, power may be unequally distributed across trade union members and their representatives, as each may have different locations in the hierarchy. The unequal distribution of power in hierarchical organisations could be related to job dissatisfaction, especially for trade union members who have lower positions in the hierarchy and less power. Hierarchical organisational structures could also weaken trade unions, as some trade union members in these structures could be less empowered than others. Yet, it must be clarified that the hierarchical structure at ABC was likely reflective of how academic institutions within the U.K. higher education system were generally organised.

The insights developed in this dissertation contribute a more novel understanding of trade union members' job dissatisfaction to the industrial relations literatures than previous studies of the phenomenon (i.e., Borjas, 1979; Freeman, 1980; Odewahn and Petty, 1980; Hersch and Stone, 1990; Meng, 1990; Miller, 1990; Lincoln and Booth, 1993; Clark, 1996; Bender and Sloane, 1998; Renaud, 2002; Bryson et al, 2004; Guest and Conway, 2004; Krieg et al, 2013; Heywood, 2015), by offering a more integrated understanding of its sources. It is also important to clarify why each of the two approaches includes two components. This is because the data in the present study suggested that the relationships between the trade unions and managements at each of the two case studies, and how the trade unions treated their members' interests, had an influence on the work atmospheres and trade union members' shared perceptions at each organisation. Thus, the phenomenon of trade union members' job dissatisfaction was viewed holistically and in its context.

6.3 RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

This section discusses the findings that emerged in relation to trade union members' job dissatisfaction that have important conceptual and practical implications. Three main reasons for why this dissertation is important were described in Chapter 1. These reasons included a moral argument for why research should try to resolve employees' job dissatisfaction. The second reason was that, by highlighting positive aspects of trade union membership, the present study would bear valuable insights for trade union revitalisation efforts. As for the third reason, this dissertation expected to identify factors related to job dissatisfaction that would be useful to organisations.

6.3.1 IMPLICATIONS FOR JOB SATISFACTION

Earlier in this dissertation, job dissatisfaction was linked to life satisfaction and individual well-being using quantitative studies (Rice et al, 1992; Diener, 2000; Kivimaki et al, 2002; Easterlin, 2006; Kopp et al, 2008; Wolfram and Gratton, 2014). From an ethical perspective, employees as well as trade union members should not be made to endure work environments that cause them psychological harm. In this dissertation, the idea that some interviewees had used sick leave to address their mental health issues suggested that they could not perform their jobs. Thus, a practical implication of the present study is that some employers could be placing individuals who have mental health issues at risk of developing disabilities. This dissertation highlighted an urgent need to understand more about employees who have and/or could develop disabilities, as well as how they experience job dissatisfaction. It seems that employees with mental health conditions could be especially vulnerable to experiencing severe adverse effects to their health in stressful atmospheres like the higher education case. The implications of these results are that employees with mental health conditions may require more protection, especially in organisational environments where major changes are occurring, and that action is perhaps needed to ensure that employers acknowledge and listen to these employees. Furthermore, employees with mental health conditions must be made aware of, and have quick access to, channels so they can voice their issues or address any distress they may feel within these kinds of environments. Policy makers should inform employees of their rights directly, as individuals

with mental health issues may perceive that they have less protection than if they were considered legally disabled.

In the present study, social inequalities were a prominent topic related to trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Topics from the higher education case included organisational changes (Cunningham, 2000), trade union representatives' attitudes (Heery, 2006) and managerial attitudes (Fredman 2001), which have all been shown to impact on whether inequalities are addressed in organisations. The higher education case highlighted that trade union members could, as a result of their social attributes, potentially experience discrimination (i.e., not being promoted) within organisational environments, yet not try to defend themselves. Yet, by not trying to defend themselves, examples such as trade union members D14 and D17 seem to suggest that social inequalities are so deeply embedded within the U.K. higher education system that some individuals who experience them may feel helpless to defend themselves. The implications are that governmental policy makers should take action, as female and ethnic minority employees, as well as employees in lower-level occupational groups, need to be informed of, and have quick access to, employee voice channels that can enable them to improve their work situations without fear of retaliation from employers. Generating awareness across employees who are vulnerable to discrimination and empowering them to defend their employment rights could help to address inequalities in participation.

This subsection has highlighted that understanding job dissatisfaction is in the best interests of trade unionism. It highlighted that in organisational environments in which major changes are occurring, some trade union members may experience severe distress. The present study also suggested an urgent need for researchers to understand more about employees with disabilities and how they experience job dissatisfaction in the workplace. Furthermore, there is a need for more research that seeks to understand trade union members' and their experiences of social inequalities in organisations. This dissertation has shed light, moreover, on the general need to empower trade union members and employees alike so that they use employee voice.

6.3.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR TRADE UNION REVITALISATION EFFORTS

The next implications of this research are that it enabled rich insights into trade union members' experiences with, and perceptions of, representative participation. As stated in Chapter 1, this dissertation expected to shed light on trade union members' job dissatisfaction linked to their trade unions and in doing so, help to inform trade unions in their revitalisation efforts, or their attempts to gain greater membership. At each of the two case study organisations, a deeper understanding of trade union members' perceptions highlighted potential problems related to trade union agendas and the delegation of power to trade union representatives.

This research indicated that trade union agendas are likely a critical factor that influences their members' job dissatisfaction, as they may affect their members' perceptions surrounding whether their interests are being represented. At the manufacturing organisation, the trade union focused on treating its members equally and partnered with management to create an inclusive, gender-balanced workplace. Whilst some male trade union members were dissatisfied with this seemingly inclusive approach, job dissatisfaction was generally less severe at the manufacturing case study organisation than at the public services case study organisation. The trade union also addressed social inequalities, such as ensuring that women had access to the same occupations and rates of pay as males, which likely influenced trade union members shared perceptions of the manufacturing organisation as a mostly fair workplace. Trade unions that use a more inclusive approach towards their members' interests, then, could foster work atmospheres where trade union members' job dissatisfaction is generally less severe, as representing the interests of different social groups on an equal basis could help to lower job dissatisfaction. Thus, the manufacturing case study example generally had positive implications for trade union revitalisation efforts, by highlighting their potential to reduce trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Trade unions that foster fair workplace atmospheres could lower their members' perceptions of job dissatisfaction and perhaps retain their current membership, whilst potentially attracting new members who would like to share the experience of job satisfaction as well.

The present study also offers other constructive insights to trade unions and trade union revitalisation efforts. As the public services case study example suggested, trade unions may, at

times, be perceived as representing the interests of some of their members over the interests of others. The implications of the public services organisation for trade union revitalisation efforts are that, regardless of any immediate concerns (i.e., voluntary redundancies) that trade unions have to address, they must take care to ensure that they are regularly communicating with their members, or keeping them informed. Furthermore, the implications are that trade unions must be aware of how much power they give to their representatives to decide which of their members' interests to represent. Trade unions need to be aware that their representatives could have personal biases towards particular trade union members that may negatively influence how these trade union members experience job satisfaction. Trade unions and/or representatives that are associated with bias, moreover, could risk losing current members. Furthermore, it seems less likely that employees would want to join a trade union that has been linked to having biased trade union representatives.

The implications of the results to trade union revitalisation efforts have been discussed in this subsection. With the information gained from the present study, trade unions should take care to consider how they prioritise their members' interests on their agendas, as well as the extent to which they allow their representatives decision-making power that may not be consistent with trade union ideals surrounding equal treatment.

6.3.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANISATIONAL/WORK ATMOSPHERES

This dissertation identified factors that influence trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction that have implications for organisations. The present study helped in understanding the structural aspects of work environments that have a shared effect across trade union members in relation to job dissatisfaction. These elements included the relationships between trade unions and managements, as well as how transparent these relationships seem to trade union members. Job insecurity was also a prominent element, as the present study suggested that uncertain work atmospheres could have more severe and negative effects on how trade union members experience job satisfaction.

The implications of the present study are that organisational atmospheres are a critical factor in trade union members' shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction. Where the relationship between the trade union and management was a partnership, trade union members expressed less job dissatisfaction and generally shared perceptions that their work environment was fair. In the environment where the trade unions and management seemed to have adversarial relationships, trade union members expressed strong job dissatisfaction and shared perceptions that their work environment was largely unfair. A critical implication of the results for organisations as well as trade unions, then, is that cooperative relations may be better for job satisfaction. Furthermore, the trade unions' relationships with management in the higher education case may have seemed adversarial as a result of trade union members' job dissatisfaction as well, given the prevalence of job insecurity and uncertainty within the work environment. Thus, the trade union and management's adversarial relationship was likely nuanced, as it could have been affected by, and affected, trade union members' perceptions of job dissatisfaction.

The implications of the results to organisations also include that uncertain work atmospheres could influence whether trade union members experience mental and emotional distress as well as job dissatisfaction. These results seem especially relevant to organisational environments that are experiencing changes or restructurings, as they could include strong elements of job insecurity. Moreover, uncertain work atmospheres, adversarial relations between trade unions and managements and hierarchical organisational structures could be conducive to atmospheres that lack transparency, as they could obscure trade union members' abilities to interpret what is happening in their work surroundings. Atmospheres that lack transparency may also heighten trade union members' perceptions of uncertainty and feelings of insecurity.

Thus, the present study suggests that organisations with more transparency in their decision-making processes, especially during times of change, could help to lessen their trade union members', and perhaps employees', perceptions of uncertainty and job dissatisfaction. This dissertation also shed light on trade union members' perceptions of occupational inequalities that help to emphasise the need for organisations, particularly with regard to senior managements, to explain their decisions to trade union members in lower-level positions. Moreover, organisations

should endeavour to listen to the concerns of their trade union members, as perceptions surrounding access to voice seemed to be related to job dissatisfaction in this dissertation.

6.4 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH/LIMITATIONS

In this section, potential topics and areas for future research are recommended to other scholars, particularly those in the field of industrial relations, for consideration in their own future research endeavours. These recommendations include potential research areas developed from the insights gathered in the present study that, if explored, could also enable a better understanding of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Moreover, this section includes suggestions for research on topics that emerged in this dissertation which are in dire need of understanding and awareness, as they highlighted that certain groups of employees, or individuals in society, are more vulnerable to experiencing job dissatisfaction due to their social characteristics.

To begin, this dissertation suggests that one area of exploration that industrial relations scholars should consider in their research is the potential role that managements could have in influencing trade union members' job dissatisfaction. As this dissertation suggested, management at the manufacturing organisation could have been proactive in trying to address trade union members' job dissatisfaction on the shop floor. It could have been the case that management perceived that it was in their best interests to improve trade union members' perceptions of job dissatisfaction. Furthermore, in an increasingly global business environment, it would be beneficial to assess whether managements' perspectives towards trade unionism are beginning to change. Future studies might collect data that includes the perspectives of managers to better understand their potential role in addressing trade union members' job dissatisfaction. By doing so, future explorations could contribute to understanding trade union members' job dissatisfaction and to employee participation debates in the industrial relations literature. It would be interesting to know more about how and why managements seek adversarial or partnership relationships with trade unions.

The present study also recommends that future researchers try to further understand the alternative explanations that were explored in this dissertation as well, by using other case study

organisations. More data is needed to better understand some of the issues that emerged in this dissertation. To begin with inequalities, scholars might consider conducting explorations to understand more about why trade union members in vulnerable groups, such as female and/or ethnic minorities, may not seek help from their trade unions in situations where these members believe they have been discriminated against, or treated unfairly. Furthermore, it would be interesting to understand more about how particular organisations and their sectors impact on the extent to which these vulnerable members choose to use or not use trade union representation, or employee voice. This dissertation could not, however, generalise the topics that emerged in the data to other contexts, so it is not clear if these topics are prevalent across organisations beyond the U.K. higher education system. Exploring this area would enable valuable information to be collected and disseminated to makers of policy, so that perhaps more can be done to address inequalities that are embedded in, and likely reinforced by, wider environmental structures.

Another potential research area would offer scholars the opportunity to conduct research on the intersection of gender, power and trade union representation. An intriguing topic that emerged in this dissertation was that female trade union members expressed more job dissatisfaction related to gender inequalities at the second case study organisation. This was compelling, especially in the light of the tendency for women at the higher education case to be aware of, and to have experienced, gender inequalities. Investigation into the experiences of female trade union representatives and female trade union members may add further insights to participation and gender debates in the field of industrial relations. Furthermore, research of this kind could add a gendered perspective to an area that studies trade union organisation and servicing, and includes scholars such as Heery et al (2000) and Fiorito (2004).

This dissertation also recommends that researchers consider exploring the different kinds of expectations that trade union members have in relation to trade unionism. This is an area, as suggested earlier in this dissertation, which has generally been lacking in data and insights. Moreover, trade union members with higher expectations is an area that requires further probing. An especially intriguing topic emerged at the manufacturing case study organisation that suggests a potential research area, as some tenured trade union members expressed dissatisfaction related to the trade union's loss of power, despite the trade union having protected

their jobs at the manufacturing case study organisation. It would be useful for industrial relations scholars who study trade union members' job dissatisfaction to understand more about why trade union members such as these, who were aware of their trade union's efforts to secure their jobs, could not be satisfied. The data seemed to suggest that length of trade union membership might have been a factor in why these trade union members had high expectations and more adversarial attitudes towards management. It seemed possible that tenured trade union members had experienced adversarial industrial relations alongside factory closures and high unemployment. This topic was particularly compelling because the data clearly suggested that job insecurity had devastating effects on trade union members' well-being at the public services case study organisation. It is therefore recommended that future researchers consider collecting data on the kinds of expectations that trade union members have, and to perhaps endeavour to understand if there are generational factors that influence trade union members' perceptions.

The present study also recommends that future researchers consider exploring job dissatisfaction with trade union members as well as non-union members in relation to some of the more urgent topics that emerged here. It would be useful to understand, for example, how negative work atmospheres like that of the public services case study organisation impact on the mental health of non-union members and trade union members within the same organisational environments. Research into this area is strongly urged, as it could be possible that non-union employees with mental health issues feel reluctant to use employee voice channels, as they may perceive that they have less protection than employees who are legally disabled. If such kinds of non-union employees do not perceive that they can access to employee voice without fear of managerial retaliation, it may be that they suffer more severe and negative effects to their well-being than trade union members within the same organisations. Thus, it is important that researchers explore these topics so that the scope of the issues described in this paragraph is better understood.

The limitations of this dissertation are acknowledged in this subsection next. To ensure the integrity of this dissertation, this section openly acknowledges and tries to answer any potential questions or criticisms towards it. No study can claim to be perfect and as such, the author reveals the weaknesses of the present study and shows how these were overcome. The author

will discuss how these weaknesses were combated to ensure the quality of the data, as well as avenues that were opened up as a result of this dissertation.

One of the limitations is that this study did not seek to compare job dissatisfaction with non-union member interviewees as well as trade union members. However, as described in Chapter 1, a large body of (quantitative) evidence existed a priori that showed trade union members expressed more job dissatisfaction than non-union member employees, so this question has already been addressed. This dissertation focused solely on trade union members' job dissatisfaction to enable a deep exploration of the phenomenon. The present study collected rich data on largely unexplored topics, such as trade union members' expectations and their personalities. Thus, by focusing solely on trade union members' job dissatisfaction, this dissertation captured insights on a phenomenon that, despite an abundance of studies on job dissatisfaction, was underdeveloped and not understood. To clarify, whilst comparative studies of union vs. non-union members would be valuable, it was first necessary to gain empirical evidence on the poorly understood phenomenon of the sources of trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

The present study also acknowledges that it included three alternative explanations of trade union members' job dissatisfaction, although other potential explanations could have been explored. For example, this dissertation could have explored some of the topics shown in Table 1.1 that have been linked to trade union members' job dissatisfaction, such as tenure (Borjas, 1979), non-pecuniary awards (Lincoln and Booth, 1993), relationships with co-workers (Schwochau, 1987) or workloads (Krieg et al, 2013). The alternative explanations included in the present study, whilst not exhaustive, were the main ones derived from a comprehensive review of the literature. Furthermore, this dissertation required thick and high-quality data, as conceptual insights could not have been developed otherwise. Limiting the number of explanations in the research design was necessary, as it ensured that the data collected in each one hour interview were not thin and lacking in rich insights. Even more, the explanations that were used in this dissertation enabled it to make unique and original contributions to the industrial relations literatures, as well as to shed light on trade union members' expectations in relation to job dissatisfaction. Whilst this dissertation was limited to three alternative explanations for trade

union members' job dissatisfaction, it captured much needed data and enabled practical insights into current topics and debates within the field of industrial relations.

Another weakness of the present study is that the data collected did not include the perspectives of management. Whilst this dissertation acknowledges that including the perspectives of management would have added rich insights, especially with regard to industrial relations climates, the aim of this research was to understand trade union members' job dissatisfaction using the perspectives of trade union members themselves. Also, most studies of trade union members' job dissatisfaction have included quantitative perspectives and qualitative data on their experiences has been sorely lacking. Furthermore, although deeper insights into trade union and management relationships could have enriched this dissertation, gaining access to management would have been problematic, especially at the public services organisation. Moreover, including the perspectives of management would likely have been beyond the scope of the present study, which already had a significant volume of interview data that would have otherwise become unmanageable unless limited to fewer participants or case studies.

This dissertation also acknowledges that trade union member interviewees could have given information or responses they perceived as socially acceptable to the researcher. Moreover, trade union member interviewees could have given responses that included hidden agendas, especially at the public services organisation. Yet, data from human subjects are always subjective. Thus, the data collected in this dissertation was accepted as the interpretations of interviewees. Furthermore, the idea that certain topics emerged across interviewees, and that trade union members shared perceptions, helps to shed light on the integrity of the data captured in this dissertation. Thus, if some interviewees did give false information to the researcher or did have ulterior motives, it is unlikely that this would have had much impact on the overall analysis as it generally focused on the salient themes related to trade union members' job dissatisfaction.

To continue with the limitations, whilst this dissertation shed light on trade union members' job dissatisfaction at two case study organisations in Scotland, the insights from this research are not generalizable to other contexts. Although this may seem like a weakness, qualitative research enables deep explorations into specific contexts so that new insights and discoveries can emerge.

Thus, the insights gathered in this dissertation, whilst they may not be generalizable, allowed more of the processes that underscore the research phenomenon to emerge. This also highlights a potential weakness of the ideas developed in this dissertation as well, as it was derived from two specific case study organisations, or contexts. However, the insights developed in this dissertation do not claim to be a general theory. The value of the case studies used in this dissertation and the ideas that have been developed are that new insights from real-life contexts are now available to other researchers, who can transfer them to other research settings.

Another potential weakness of this dissertation that is common to qualitative projects in general is that of subjective interpretation. The present study is the interpretation of one researcher and it is likely that other researchers would have interpreted the data collected in this dissertation differently. Furthermore, as this dissertation is the subjective work and perspective of one researcher, it is likely that other researchers would have composed an entirely different work. For example, the researcher selected the references included in the present study and it is likely that other researchers would have selected different works to use as references. The author tried to account for this by providing a clear chain of evidence from the research questions to the research design, and to the conclusions drawn from the data. This should help other researchers to follow the evidence behind the claims made in the present study.

Moreover, as this dissertation is an interpretation, the researcher had to think reflexively to try to ensure that her personal opinions and biases would not impact on the integrity of the interpretations included in this project. To reduce bias, the researcher deliberately endeavoured to not favour the responses of certain interviewees over the responses of other interviewees. The researcher tried to not allow her personal thoughts and feelings about individual interviewees to impact on the analysis of the data. Furthermore, the researcher consciously sought to present a well-founded and justifiable depiction of the data, and endeavoured to not allow any personal interests or partiality towards certain topics to impact on this depiction. Although reflexivity was used, like all qualitative research, this dissertation cannot claim to be free of all of its author's personal biases. Rather, the data is presented here for other researchers to view, so that the integrity and transparency of the present project is maintained.

6.5 AUTHOR'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

It is important within qualitative research to reflect on the researcher's role during the period of study and how this might have affected the research. Therefore, this section includes autobiographical information from the dissertation's author, as well as reflections from the author on her perceptions of trade unions and how these might have changed throughout the research process. As qualitative research is known to be interpretive and subjective, including the previously mentioned information helps to account for the role of the researcher in the project and ensure transparency surrounding any potential biases that the author of this dissertation might have had when composing the present work. Unlike the rest of this dissertation, this section is written using a first person point of view, or the voice of the researcher herself.

First, in order to portray my journey through the process of research, it is important to clarify that I am from the United States. My original research proposal – the one that enabled me to get accepted into the University of St. Andrews - was related to job satisfaction, but was not related to trade unionism. Shortly after arriving at the university, however, I realised that I needed to find a more viable research phenomenon for my doctoral studies than the topic I had originally proposed. Thus, I set out to find a different research topic to use in my thesis and in reading about job satisfaction, I found the phenomenon of trade union members' job dissatisfaction. I admit, I did not have any particularly strong feelings about my new research topic – trade union members' job dissatisfaction – largely because I had little experience of trade unionism and had never been in a trade union. My perceptions about trade union members at the start of my research were vague at best, although I did consider that they could be tough, working class people who worked in manufacturing. To clarify my perceptions of trade unions at the start of this research project, I discuss my experiences as an assembly line worker in this section. Furthermore, I describe the region that I came from and highlight unique aspects of the region's culture as this is a large part of my identity and underscores my perceptions. Thereafter, I will discuss my perceptions regarding trade unions in relation to the research process and reflect upon aspects of the process that, in hindsight, I might have done differently.

During the early 2000s, I worked at a Black & Decker plant on the Eastern Shore of Maryland - a Southern state in the U.S. - to pay my tuition for college. I was a single mother at the time and the plant was the only major employer in the area for unskilled workers. My job was to assemble power drills and the work was monotonous. I remember standing on my feet for hours on end and none of us on the assembly line were able to use the restrooms until the supervisor allowed us to take our lunch break together. The pay was good for the Eastern Shore, but it was not a living wage. That is, a person could not support themselves on it, even if they worked all of the overtime hours that the company allowed them to work per week. Fights between individuals and fights between groups of people occurred regularly on the shop floor and in the parking lot surrounding the plant. Like a few other college students that worked with me on the assembly line, I tended to stay quiet and generally avoided interacting with other people as a way to ensure my personal safety. The only trade union members that I recall at the factory worked as forklift drivers who moved crates and I did not interact with them. However, I recall quite clearly being told by an older woman who worked next to me on the assembly line that the fork lift drivers were in a trade union and that they got paid a lot more than we did. Thus, I understood that trade unions enabled their members to receive higher pay at the start of the present study. I also knew there was a stereotype that trade union members were disruptive to organisations, but I was not sure why the stereotype existed.

The Eastern Shore itself is a rural region in which poverty is highly visible, as are its vast chicken farms, corn fields and white-coloured farmhouses. It's known for its fishermen – or 'watermen', as we call them - who get their catch from the Chesapeake Bay. In contrast to the inhabitants of the Western Shore, the Eastern Shore's inhabitants tend to have strong ancestral bonds to the land that date back to the 1600s and many are the descendants of indentured servants or African slaves. Thus, it is common for natives of the Eastern Shore to ask a person for their last name upon meeting them for the first time because the same family names are prevalent across the region. What is more, family names help natives of the Eastern Shore to identify who is and who is not from the Eastern Shore. A common bumper sticker on cars on the Eastern Shore actually states: 'Welcome to the Eastern Shore - Now Please Go Home!'. Maryland itself was a slave state and the Eastern Shore is renowned for being the birthplace of abolitionist Harriet Tubman, who led the Underground Railroad to free slaves during the Civil

War. I have visited her house on many occasions, largely for inspiration, despite its unfortunate state of decay. The Eastern Shore was also the birthplace of brilliant orator Frederick Douglass, who escaped slavery. His former plantation was a few miles from my home in Denton, Maryland, and I drove passed it almost every day. These two figures were – and still are - two of my personal heroes.

As I reflect upon the information that I have included in the previous paragraph, I am struck by my feelings of pride for the region from which I came. It is a region in which blacks and whites have shared a history together that includes degradation, powerlessness, economic deprivation and an ability to overcome hardship. My personal heroes did not have white skin like myself, but I felt like they embodied the strength that I would need to persevere alone and without support, so as to overcome the socioeconomic barriers that kept me living on the Eastern Shore with a largely uncompelling future before me. Thus, I overcame some adversity in my journey to get to the University of St. Andrews and although I did not know much about trade unions, I have an interest in inequality, injustice and unfairness. Having thus far clarified my personal background, I will now discuss the perceptions I developed throughout the research process in relations to trade unionism.

The perceptions I had regarding trade unionism were, as I stated earlier, vague when I began the present study. Furthermore, the interviewees I engaged with at the manufacturing organisation were very professional and polite, so that any stereotype that I might have had about trade union members prior to starting the present study was not supported. What is more, it was not until I started interviews at the higher education case study organisation that I detected anger and, surprisingly, emotional distress. As I became more aware of inequalities from interviewees at ABC and drew on literature from other scholars to understand the results related to these in my thesis, I reflected on the wider structural inequalities embedded within the U.K. higher education system. Yet, throughout the research process, I also started to notice systemic inequalities related to other areas that were not related to higher education. That is, I became more aware of inequalities in my surroundings. The Grenfell Tower fire in London, for example, occurred three days ago as I write this passage and for me, the tragedy is proof that there are major divisions between social classes in U.K. society in general. Yet, throughout the research process, I

suspected that inequalities were a major issue in wider U.K. society in general. It has gradually become clear to me that trade unionism has its place and is a necessity in environments where inequalities exist, not only to protect individuals in the workplace, but to act in their capacity as political organisations so as to protect individuals in society.

The last of my reflections included in this section relate to what, using hindsight as my guide, I might have done differently in this dissertation. My response is simple, as I wish I could have collected data from the managements at each of the two case study organisations, XYZ and ABC. I would have liked, for example, the perceptions of management at XYZ in relation to the potential closure of the factory. It seemed possible to me that they might have had their own feelings of job insecurity. As I reflect on the management at the higher education case study, it seemed possible to me throughout the research process that they might have been under some kind of pressure to make changes. In fairness to the management at ABC, it could have been the case that they had to make changes at the university out of necessity, perhaps for financial reasons. Even more, perhaps the management at ABC had concerns about their personal job security that were not captured in the present study. Lastly, had I been able to collect data from management at ABC, I would have liked to capture whether their decision-making was related to poor performance issues at the university. Clarity surrounding these issues would have added an exciting point of contrast to interviewees' responses at ABC.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This dissertation set out to explore trade union members' job dissatisfaction, as it was a research phenomenon within the field of industrial relations that was in need of more understanding. The need for further understanding was largely due to previous studies of the phenomenon having used primarily quantitative analyses. Thus, this dissertation used a qualitative approach and grounded theoretical techniques to enable new insights and discoveries into the topic. The present study collected data in interviews with trade union members at two different case study organisations that enabled rich insights into the causal processes and mechanisms that influence trade union members' job dissatisfaction. Moreover, the strongest and most prominent explanations for trade union members' job dissatisfaction were related to the sensitising concepts

of industrial relations climate and awareness of inequalities, followed by unmet expectations. The results of this dissertation were also integrative, and included aspects from each particular organisation and their respective sectors.

Thus, exploring the phenomenon of job dissatisfaction with trade union member interviewees also revealed the structural elements that influence their shared perceptions of job dissatisfaction. These wider structural elements shed light on the importance of trade union and management relationships and how trade unions are able to promote their members' interests to organisational atmospheres. The analyses in this dissertation largely suggested that partnerships between trade unions and managements, as well as trade union agendas that address social inequalities, are more compatible with trade union members sharing perceptions of fairness and job satisfaction. Moreover, the present study suggested that adversarial relationships between trade unions and managements, as well as trade unions that inadequately communicate with their members, are likely to be more conducive to trade union members sharing perceptions that include unfairness and stronger job dissatisfaction. Yet, it also acknowledged that trade unions could have adversarial relations with managements whilst representing – or being inclusive of - their members' interests. The present study therefore shed light on the idea that relationships between trade unions and managements are nuanced, perhaps more so within contexts of organisational change. Furthermore, this dissertation contributed conceptual insights that included a better understanding of how particular organisations and their sectors may promote divisions within trade union's membership bases.

Lastly, a central contribution of this dissertation to the industrial relations literature was that it revealed strong social inequalities among trade union member interviewees who perceived themselves as being somehow less important than members in other occupational groups (i.e., academics). Furthermore, despite having personally experienced unfair and/or potentially discriminatory treatment, some female and/or ethnic minority trade union members did not seek help from their trade unions. This dissertation therefore concludes that to get behind the problem of trade union members' job dissatisfaction, future research will have to seek out and include the perspectives and experiences of trade union members from diverse social groups, and at different levels of power within organisational structures. Lastly, the perspectives and experiences of these

individuals, once gathered, will need to be considered within the light of the particular organisations and sectors that affect them.

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Appendix 1(a): Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Project Title
Unpacking the Effects of Trade Union Membership on Job Satisfaction

What is the study about?

We invite you to participate in a research project that explores trade union member job satisfaction and seeks to explain job dissatisfaction as it is perceived and expressed by trade union member employees themselves.

This study is being conducted as part of my, Theresa Majeed, PhD Thesis in the School of Management.

Do I have to take Part?

This information sheet has been written to help you decide if you would like to take part. It is up to you and you alone whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be free to withdraw at any time without providing a reason.

What would I be required to do?

You will participate in an interview with the researcher, where you will be asked open-ended questions about your experiences with job satisfaction, job dissatisfaction, and related themes. You can refuse to respond to any questions and in the event that you do refuse, you are under no obligation to provide an explanation for your refusal. The interview is anticipated to take 1 hour or less.

Will my participation be Confidential?

Only the researcher and supervisors will have access to the data, which will be kept strictly confidential. Your permission is sought in the Participant Consent form for the data you provide.

Storage and Destruction of Data Collected

The data the researcher will collect from you will be accessible by the researcher and the supervisors involved in this study only. Your data will be stored for 5 years after the start of data collection, and will then be destroyed. Data will be stored in two locations (1) in a coded format on a computer system to protect your identity and (2) in a hard copy format locked storage cupboard at the University of St. Andrews.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results will be finalised by 2018 and written up as part of my PhD Thesis.

Are there any potential risks to taking part?

The gathering of data is non-invasive and **participation is strictly voluntary**. There are no personal risks or harm related to this research topic.

Questions

You will have the opportunity to ask any questions in relation to this project before completing a Consent Form.

Consent and Approval

This research proposal has been scrutinised and been granted Ethical Approval through the University ethical approval process.

What should I do if I have concerns about this study?

A full outline of the procedures governed by the University Teaching and Research Ethical Committee is available at http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/Guidelines/complaints/

Contact Details

Researcher: *Theresa Majeed*
Contact Details:

Supervisor: *Andrew Timming*
Contact Details:

Supervisor: *Alina Baluch*
Contact Details:

Appendix 1(b): Participant Consent Form Coded Data

University of St Andrews

Participant Consent Form Coded Data

Project Title
Unpacking the Effects of Trade Union Membership on Job Satisfaction

Researcher:
Theresa Majeed

University of St. Andrews School of Management

Supervisors Names:
Andrew Timming

Alina Baluch

The University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before signing this form. Your signature confirms that you are happy to participate in the study.

What is Coded Data?
The term 'Coded Data' refers to when data collected by the researcher is identifiable as belonging to a particular participant but is kept with personal identifiers removed. The researcher(s) retain a 'key' to the coded data, which allows individual participants to be re-connected with their data at a later date. The un-coded data is kept confidential to the researcher(s) (and Supervisors). If consent it given to archive data (see consent section of form) the participant may be contacted in the future by the original researcher(s) or other researcher(s).

Consent
The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do and you are free to withdraw at any stage.

Material gathered during this research will be coded and kept confidentially by the researcher with only the researcher and supervisors having access. It will be securely stored (1) in a coded format on computer systems to protect your identity and (2) in a hard copy format locked storage cupboard at the University of St. Andrews.

Please answer each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

I have read and understood the information sheet.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give an explanation.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I understand that my data will be confidential and that it will contain identifiable personal data but that will be stored with personal identifiers removed by the researcher and that only the researcher/supervisor will be able to decode this information as and when necessary.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I understand that my data will be stored for 5 years after the researcher, Theresa Majeed's, award of the PhD for which this study is used, before being destroyed.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I have been made fully aware of the potential risks associated with this research and am satisfied with the information provided.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I agree to take part in the study	☐ Yes	☐ No

Part of my research involves taking tape recordings. These recordings will be kept secure and stored with no identifying factors i.e. consent forms and questionnaires.

Photographs and recorded data can be valuable resources for future studies therefore we ask for your additional consent to maintain data and images for this purpose.

I agree to being tape recorded.	☐ Yes	☐ No
I agree for tape recorded material to be published as part of this research	☐ Yes	☐ No
I agree for my tape recorded material to be used in future studies	☐ Yes	☐ No

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and your consent is required before you can participate in this research. If you decide at a later date that data should be destroyed we will honour your request in writing.

Name in Block Capitals _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule

Sample Interview Questions for M_1

Awareness of Inequality

1. Do you think all people should be treated as equals?
2. What does equal treatment mean to you?
3. How does being a union member make you feel like you're treated equally?
4. How does equality affect your job satisfaction?

Unmet Expectations

1. Why did you join a union?
2. Did you expect monetary or non-monetary benefits?
3. Has the union performed according to your expectations?

Industrial Relations

1. Would you describe your workplace as fair or unfair?
2. How would you feel about filing a grievance procedure?
3. Can you describe the relationship between the trade union and management?

Appendix 3: E-mail

Mr. McManus,

Hello, I am a PhD student at the University of St. Andrews researching union members and their job satisfaction for a dissertation. I found your contact details in the STUC Annual Congress catalogue. This message is to ask you for any assistance you might be able to provide towards finding an organisation willing to participate in research.

Yours truly,

Theresa Majeed
University of St. Andrews School of Management

Appendix 4 Ethical Approval Letter

University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

23 January 2015
Theresa Majeed
School of Management

Ethics Reference No: *Please quote this ref on all correspondence*	**MN11329**
Project Title:	Unpacking the Effects of Trade Union Membership on Job Satisfaction
Researchers Name(s):	**Theresa Majeed**
Supervisor(s):	**Andrew Timming**

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered by the School of Management's Ethics Committee on Date. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form, Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form (Coded Data) – 8 January 2015

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Dr Samuel Mansell
Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

cc Shona Deigman

UTREC Convenor, Mansefield, 3 St Mary's Place, St Andrews, KY16 9UY
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