(Still) writing a history of now: #NoCapitulation Phil Hedges

Abstract

This note is a post-script to my Interface paper Writing a History of Now: The Campbell House Rent Strike (WHN), adapting the theoretical framework presented to a different social media platform in order to write a different type of radical history. Whilst the history in WHN can be understood as longitudinal, the narrative depicted in this note is latitudinal; shallow in terms of the length of engagement, it is broad in terms of the number of actors whose voices are included. To write from this position, I switch focus from Facebook to Twitter and from a single account to a single hashtag - #NoCapitulation, created during the 2018 UCU strike over cuts to the USS pension. The introduction outlines the context of the research before a methodology section revisits theories discussed in WHN. Here I address the ethics of using Tweets in research; nominally public information, there are nonetheless ethical concerns related to using this data without consent. Drawing on Benjamin, I suggest changes to the model of the Repairer that illuminate the epistemological position of the researcher using Twitter data. The note concludes with a history of 13th March 2018 written using #NoCapitulation and reflection on the robustness of this narrative.

Keywords: Benjamin, Historiography, Industrial Action, Labour History, Social Media, Strikes, Twitter, UCU.

Introduction

This research note is a post-script to my paper *Writing a History of Now: The Campbell House Rent Strike* (Hedges, 2017) (*WHN*). It adapts the theoretical framework to different social media platform in order to write a different type of radical history.

The history presented in *WHN* can be understood as longitudinal, exploring the rent strike through a relationship with a single actor that spanned months of material (ibid, p.73). The narrative depicted in this note is better described as latitudinal; it is shallow in terms of the temporal length of engagement, but conversely much broader in terms of the number of actors whose voices are included.

In order to write from this position, I switched focus from Facebook to Twitter and from a single account to a single hashtag. Hashtags "...index keywords or topics on Twitter. This function... allows people to easily follow topics they are interested in (Twitter, 2018a)." In effect, hashtags group together related content, enabling a themed conversation across accounts. This note focuses on

#NoCapitulation hashtag, created by the University College London (UCL) - University and Colleges Union (UCU) branch during the 2018 strike over pension cuts (Kobie, 2018).

On 12th March 2018, after six days of talks with ACAS, UCU and Universities UK emerged to put a compromise proposal to members regarding the Universities Superannuation Scheme (Weale, 2018a). A day later, it was clear that UCU members were still engaged in their fourth week of industrial action and had rejected that compromise. #NoCapitulation was an online rallying point for angry UCU strikers across the UK who saw the offer as unacceptable:

Many branches and members had earlier expressed their hostility to the deal, which was described as derisory. People used the hashtag <u>#NoCapitulation</u> on Twitter to call for the deal to be rejected (Weale, 2018b).

No Capitulation existed offline too. When I walked through Bloomsbury on 14th March, it was displayed both as a hashtag on a poster outside UCL Torrington Place and as a slogan on a placard attached to the railings outside UCL CenTraS. It was also visible in both forms at the 'Break UUK: Win the Strike! National Demo' (Climate Action Movement et al, 2018) rally on 15th March. This visibility underscored the resonance and relevance of the hashtag and helped formulate the question that this note seeks to answer:

What would a history of the rejection of USS proposals look like if it was written solely using Tweets with the #NoCapitulation hashtag that were Tweeted on 13th March?

<u>Methodology</u> discusses the process undertaken to assemble this narrative and some relevant historiographical concerns. Returning to discussions presented in *WHN* (Hedges 2017, pp.82-89), there is a more detailed account of the 'filters' applied to the sources used to construct the narrative (ibid, p.81). This is followed by a refinement of the epistemological position of Jackson's Repairer (ibid, p.84-85) and a discussion grounded in Hobsbawm's concerns around the difficulties of writing modern history (ibid, p.89). <u>#NoCapitulation</u> answers the research question through presenting a history based on the identified Twitter content. The note's <u>Conclusion</u> questions the nature of the narrative constructed and critiques its robustness.

Methodology

Focus

In the spirit of *WHN* (Hedges, 2017, p.83), the following criteria were used to filter the data used to construct the narrative:

- Top 100 Tweets from 13th March with the hashtag #NoCapitulation including photos, film, links and replies.
- The front page of any websites linked via Tweeting and any files embedded in this page.
- The profile description of the accounts Tweeting this material.

The Tweets were identified using the Twitter search functionality; mirroring *WHN* by starting the process as a user before adjusting this position inline with the literature, I captured the first 100 results from a "top" Tweets search in a single PDF before archiving each Tweet. I had hoped that this would provide the most relevant content shared on 13th March, the day that UCU's Higher Education Committee formally rejected deal (UCU, 2018). However, when I attempted to rerun the search to produce additional results several hours later, I realised that the results were produced by an algorithm that continually generating amended outcomes:

Top Tweets are the most relevant Tweets for your search. We determine relevance based on the popularity of a Tweet (e.g., when a lot of people are interacting with or sharing via Retweets and replies), the keywords it contains, and many other factors (Twitter, 2018b).

This became clear when accounts relating to a third student occupation suddenly appeared in the second set of search results. This algorithmic function means that the exact set of Tweets used to create the narrative will be unlikely to appear again and that therefore the data set could not be easily expanded.

Epistemology

Moving away from the position of the user, as with *WHN*, Jackson's concept of the Repairer provides an appropriate starting point for understanding the process of assembling a narrative using social media. However, the metaphor of assembling from the debris (Hedges, 2017, p.84) requires nuance to distinguish between longitudinal and latitudinal processes.

In the former, the Repairer is following behind the Angel of History, gathering wreckage along a trail of sorts. There is a different 'physicality' to a latitudinal process, where the Repairer remains relatively static, focused on a particular area of debris. Moreover, because Twitter's "Top" search is algorithmically amended, the debris available to the Repairer is unstable. Rather than imaging the Repairer picking through ruins, it is more appropriate to imagine her at sea, where debris floats and sinks periodically. The Repairer hauls wreckage that looks interesting on to the boat, assembling a history from this flotsam. The point here is that the raw materials are fleeting and in motion.

The Repairer concept draws upon thesis IX from Benjamin's *Theses on the Concept of History*; I additionally want to ground this expanded model in thesis

V (Löwy, 2005 p.40-42). Twitter's algorithm provides a different example of the present impacting upon the past; if the "Top" searches are continually affected by user interactions after the Tweets are posted, then the interests of the present retrospectively shape the electronic flotsam that this history is built upon. The difficulties in achieving the same "Top" search results twice mean that future historical narratives using this methodology will be constructed from a shifting set of sources. I am particularly drawn to the sense of movement in the thesis, where ... "the past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the moment of its recognisability and is never seen again (Löwy 2005, p.40)". I have sought to demonstrate this motion and transience through rhetorical techniques, such as suggesting that the voices "interrupt", images "flash" and the reader is "wrenched" from location to location. The "...past flits by (ibid, p.40)".

Writing the history of now

Inspired by the observations of Hobsbawm (Hedges, 2017, pp.87-89), a final iteratively-identified filter was applied. Understanding that the long-term fallout from rejecting the offer will impact upon how the narrative is presented, my draft was completed before 19th March 2018 in order to present a history written without this influence. Whilst I continued to revise other sections, #NoCapitulation was completed by this strict deadline using only the sources identified. The value of this exercise will be uncertain until the dispute is resolved, when it may be insightful to contrast this history with other narratives. Once the outcome is certain, will the enthusiasm I have tried to depict seem ill-fated?

Ethics

Much Twitter content is considered public (Twitter, 2017); however, researchers have a responsibility to prevent harm to those that they study (BSA, 2017, p.4). Discussions undertaken at the *Archives*, *Activism and Social Media* workshop (Allman, Jules, Mitchell & Pell, 2017) in particular highlighted the right to be forgotten – the right to delete your content from social media later if it proves potentially harmful.

Given that the USS dispute is unresolved at the time of writing, I decided not to include Tweets from personal accounts that did not contain a reference to a political or (student /trade) union role in their profile description. This distinction was based upon personal experience suggesting that long-term activists indicate this on their accounts. This filter remains an imperfect method as replies to any included Tweets still potentially highlight non-activist/organisational accounts and strikers may be identified in photos, but it remains preferable to deliberately raising the profile of strikers who might later regret their public comments should there be any recriminations. Arguably overly cautious, this filter reduced the number of Tweets to around a third;

inspired by the Social Data Science Lab (unknown)¹, I sought to further mitigate harm by directly contacting the remaining accounts to offer the right to veto the use of their data. Of the 19 accounts contacted, 18 replied, confirming that they were happy for their Tweet to be used. I have not included data from the 19th account².

I have also reproduced the full Tweets in an appendix so as to comply with the spirit of Twitter's (2018c) display requirements whilst being able to use the content more flexibly elsewhere.

#NoCapitulation

We wake up to digital noise, to spam, to click-bait and personalised advertising. The first clear voice that we hear from 13th March is that of the philosopher and would-be politician. At almost ten part 8, Catherine Rowett reminds the BBC in clear terms that the compromise offer is not *acceptable* and hasn't been *accepted* by UCU members. Formerly a Green Party candidate for South Norfolk, Rowett also points out that it's not just lecturers on strike but "...all the staff your sons and daughters rely on in the library and other services too". 40 minutes later, students in Edinburgh cut through our timelines to announce that the University is occupied. Some of their demands: that Principal Peter Mathieson hold joint meetings with staff and students to end the pensions crisis, publically support the defined benefits scheme and refuse to levy salary deductions from strikers.⁴

The first picket lines can be heard from Exeter at a little past nine. Declaring #NoCapitulation, one striker reminds the VC that she's struggling not only with pension cuts but also the gender pay gap, holding a hand written placard that doubles as a personal letter.⁵ A while later, University of Stirling UCU deliver the same message via a stern-looking baby, presumably from a family-friendly picket line.⁶

Edinburgh makes itself heard again after ten, with a red "students in solidarity" banner and rows of raised fists; the George Aikman Lecture Theatre is now occupied, as is the pavement outside the UCU head office, where a "huge" crowd gathers to protest the pensions offer. In the West Midlands, members at the University of Warwick gather at a hastily planned emergency general

¹ Resource signposted in

https://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24309/bsa_statement_of_ethical_practice_annexe.pdf as authored by COSMOS, Accessed: 17th March.

² The 19th account eventually replied long after this paper was drafted. Given the time frame imposed on assembling the narrative, I have decided not to include this content since it subjectively feels 'outside' of the piece.

³ https://twitter.com/catherinerowett/status/973470822731042816

⁴ https://twitter.com/EdiSolidarity/status/973480957679423488

⁵ https://twitter.com/ExeterUCU/status/973485186452213760

⁶ https://twitter.com/UCU Stirling/status/973495453051510785

⁷ https://twitter.com/EdiSolidarity/status/973500349381267456

⁸ https://twitter.com/joanofsnark/status/973501796298739712

meeting. Attending at 12 hours notice, the UCU branch decisively votes down the proposed compromise, 115 to reject with just 5 abstentions⁹ as red and orange smoke drifts down from equally fired up pickets at the Williamson Building, University of Manchester.¹⁰

At eight minutes past eleven, Warwick flashes us an image of the UCU head quarters, and we see an ocean of protesters filling out the road as far as the camera can show¹¹. It's just gone ten past eleven and there's a sense that Rowett was right to warn the BBC, that the done deal could be more an undone deal. As if to prove the point, UCU at Cardiff University suddenly cut through the noise to proclaim that they "...pretty as dammit [sic] unanimously" voted at a "packed open meeting" to reject the offer.¹² Off to lobby the Welsh government, we don't hear from them again until after one o'clock, when Cardiff UCU reappear outside parliament with Darth Vader, complete with a placard proclaiming in his best James Earle Jones voice that "I find your lack of pensions disturbing." ¹³

Meanwhile, Labour MP Chris Williamson damns the offer as "...woefully inadequate" before being interrupted by Oxford Brookes UCU, who are proclaiming a list of branches that have rejected the proposals. Ulster, Cambridge, Sussex, SOAS, Goldsmiths, Bath, Manchester, Reading, Sheffield, Nottingham, Leicester and Warwick... Strathclyde, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Keele, Liverpool, Hull, York, LSHTM and Exeter... Stirling, UEA, QMUL, Bristol and Cardiff. We could have checked one of the Google docs of course to find this out that somehow seems to detract from the drama of Twitter accounts proudly listing where the offer is getting kicked back.

In this spirit, UCU at University Of Warwick share their own list¹⁷ after reminding us they aren't playing ball¹⁸. Sheffield UCU declare at almost ten minutes to midday: "Motion rejecting the deal passed by our EGM." ¹⁹ St Andrews make a similar statement close to half past. ²⁰ Nottingham UCU take until five to one to chip in but when they do, it's via a carefully worded letter damns the deal as a "...betrayal not only of our own members but also of our

⁹ https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973505926153101312

¹⁰ https://twitter.com/WilliamsonBldg/status/973507061752455168

¹¹ https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973516140570963968

¹² https://twitter.com/CardiffUCU/status/973519112109477888

¹³ https://twitter.com/UCU Vader/status/973545085953552384

¹⁴ https://twitter.com/DerbyChrisW/status/973520570821246977

¹⁵ https://twitter.com/BrookesUCU/status/973524585361616896

https://docs.google.com/document/d/10n4YwP VyUyr4qxaQDuRiaEUxJtwlSsKpXE7oeqb4I/preview

¹⁷ https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973529540424339457

¹⁸ https://twitter.com/WarwickUCU/status/973525282983464963

¹⁹ https://twitter.com/sheffielducu/status/973526255269236737

²⁰ https://twitter.com/ucustandrews/status/973535803229032448

allies in the labour movement.²¹"After all this, it's Birkbeck UCU who answer what we're all wondering: "All reject it; none accepting so far. ²²"

These voices coming in from branches around the UK mingle with voices on the street outside and roar into the UCU headquarters. "...[N]ot a single delegate has supported [the] rotten deal... - all reports from membership are unanimous or near unanimous rejections..." The union "...cannot squander what has been achieved..." These voices make us wonder who thought this offer was acceptable in the first place.

It's in that spirit that, while still digesting Nottingham's letter, we are pulled down into a Cambridge street. The protest is outside Old Schools, where a hand painted banner proclaims "Cambridge Betrayal – Staff Are Not For Sale!" as dozens gather. A couple of minutes later, UCU at Oxford Brookes inject - at 12.58pm, they proclaim the tally stands at 45 reject, none accept before we are wrenched back to the rival city to be reminded that the dozens protesting in front of the great wooden doors of the college are "...what democracy looks like". 26

It seems like everyone has spoken. The chatter becomes click-bait again. At almost two thirty, Exeter UCU inform us that the "...Higher Education Committee now going into closed meeting to decide what to do with that information."²⁷ We check again in the evening to find Old Schools occupied and a subvertised out of order sign that reads:

"Corporation Cambridge is out of order. Apologies for the inconvenience. We are working to get democracy back in use as soon as possible." ²⁸

Conclusion

Rereading my answer to the research question (#NoCapitulation), it is worth asking what I have written. A partial narrative that requires triangulation in order to be robust, it captures only part of a conversation. It is closer to a mapping of a particular data set, generated in a manner that is arguably unrepeatable and rendered into a stylised narrative that attempts to represent a particular theoretical framework. Insomuch as it is ever possible to present a definitive account, it is inappropriate to present this as a picture of a key point in a strike. It is the beginnings of a fuller exploration, one that uses its deliberate limitations to stimulate discussions around historiography and methods.

²¹ https://twitter.com/UoNUCU/status/973543106313445376

²² https://twitter.com/BirkbeckUCU/status/973532628531007489

²³ https://twitter.com/UCL_UCU/status/973539278419619846

²⁴ https://twitter.com/CambridgeUCU/status/973543443275419648

²⁵ https://twitter.com/BrookesUCU/status/973543774184976385

²⁶ https://twitter.com/CambridgeUCU/status/973545228945719297

²⁷ https://twitter.com/ExeterUCU/status/973566656734785537

²⁸ https://twitter.com/CamDefendEd/status/973647481727868928

This research question excludes many voices. For example, of the 100 Tweets, not one came from an account identifying as a UCU activist. Pending confirmation through further research, these findings hint that those who were vocal about rejecting the offer from their personal accounts did not prominently identify as active trade unionists or conversely, maintain Twitter profiles where declaring this would be a disadvantage. And reflecting again on Thompson, a latitudinal approach starkly foregrounds the lack of context and the nature of pre-existing activist cultures (Hedges, 2017, p.83).

Conversely, focusing upon a hashtag seems to me to be an example of how the researcher's "...values should determine the questions we ask..." (Zinn, 1997, p.504; Hedges, 2017, pp.85-86). Hashtags relating to a certain conversation will inevitably shape the topics covered. For the historian, this could be one way to write radical history. Coupled with other methods that the increase empirical robustness of the study undertaken, writing a history of these conversations could be useful for generating questions that allow the researcher to look at an event from a critical perspective.

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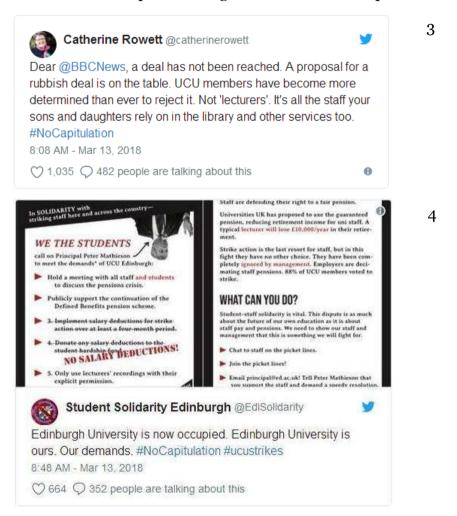
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About the author

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Appendix

Tweets captured using Twitter Publish and paired with footnotes.





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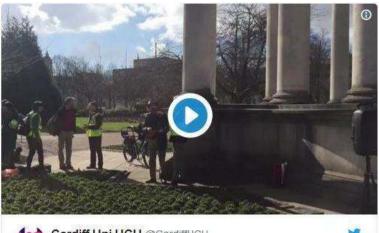


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Cardiff Uni UCU @CardiffUCU

Proud to say that a packed open meeting of @cardiffUCU just voted (pretty as dammit unamimously) to REJECT deal offered by @UniversitiesUK.

This afternoon we go to lobby the @WelshGovernment to support us in our call for REAL, decent, & just pensions. #NoCapitulation #USSstrike

11:20 AM - Mar 13, 2018

♥ 309 ♥ 193 people are talking about this





UCU Vader @UCU_Vader



The @CardiffUCU Rebel alliance is more powerful than ever #USSstrikes #NoCapitulation

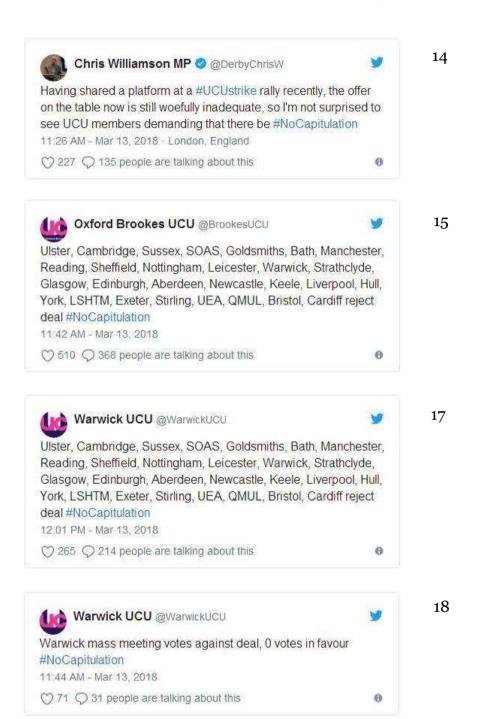
1:03 PM - Mar 13, 2018 · Welsh National Assembly- The Senedd

20 See UCU Vader's other Tweets

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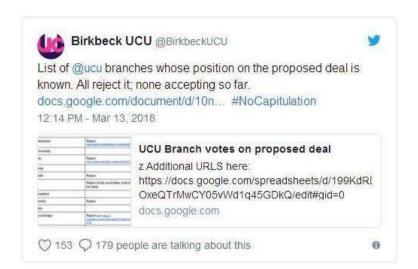


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