

Perspectives and Expectations of Union Member and Non-Union Member Teachers on Teacher Unions¹

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ABSTRACT

Unions, which can be regarded as one of the constitutive elements of democracy, are the pressure groups in political and social fields. Unions were born out of industrial confrontations and expanded into the field of public services over time, and thus teachers – who are also public employees-, also obtained the right to establish and affiliate to unions. In this research the views of union member and non-union member teachers on the most important functions and operational effectiveness of unions, teachers' expectations from unions and teachers' evaluation of the solidarity, competition and cooperation between unions were determined and the perspectives of teachers on unionization were revealed. qualitative research design was used. The data needed were collected through semi-structured interviews from volunteering union member and non-union member teachers who were working in the primary and secondary schools in Ankara province and who were selected through "maximum variation sampling approach". The data were then analyzed by using the content analysis technique. In conclusion, it was found that political ideology was the most important reason for membership of teachers' unions. Protection and development of personal rights was found to be the most important function of teacher unions and unions were thought to be insufficient in performing those functions.

Key Words: Teacher unions, Union effectiveness, Multi-unionism

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INTRODUCTION

Unions, which emerged in the early phase of modern industries, are organization forms aiming to correct the imbalance of power between employees and employers. Initially, unions gave prominence to defense functions, offering tools to eliminate the overwhelming effects of employers on the life of employees (Giddens, 2009, 899). Those functions are also remarkable in the early period definitions of union made by Webb and Webb (1920, 1): A union is a continuous association set up to protect or develop workers' working conditions. Although relations between employees and employers have differed considerably so far, it may be said that the developments have not brought about important changes in the purpose of union organizations. For instance, according to the definition offered by Dwivedi (2009, 297), a union is described as a voluntary employee organization which is established to protect and develop employees' collective benefits and which is in relations with such social actors as employers, the government and with other employee organizations.

While classical definitions stress the instrumental properties of union organizations, the Marxist definition emphasizes the class property of such organizations. According to Marxist theoreticians, unions were established in order to struggle with non-equalitarian exploitation structure. Employees are oppressed by the existing inegalitarian system, and therefore, they are organized with the political will of abolishing the system of exploitation (Gani, 1996).

Although historical studies indicate that unionism emerged in different countries in the similar stages of industrialization, great differences are observed in the structure and shape of the labor movements. Such variability stems from the diverse cultural, social and political contexts in which unions emerge (Smith, 2005, p.1). When teacher unions are in question, it may be said that the determining factor for organizational structure is the centralization degree of governments. For example, while there may be differences in union organizing according to states and/or school regions in federal states such as the USA and Canada, there are different union organizations for each level of education in Sweden. On the other hand, in a country like New Zealand, where legislation and policy making processes are highly centralized, nationwide teacher unions are available (Cooper, 2000, 260-262).

In the case of Turkey, however, teachers are represented by national teacher unions across all levels of education. According to data from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security for July 2014, there are 1,068,772 public employees working in the field of education, teaching and science services. Of those public employees, there are 721,690 affiliated to unions. The union with the highest number of members is Eğitim-Bir-Sen with the percentage of 26.7% syndication. In terms of highest number of members, it is followed by Türk-Eğitim-Sen (21.61% syndication), Eğitim-Sen (12.09%), and Eğitim-İş (3.84%) respectively (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2014).

Union Membership

The availability of more than one union in the same sector provides employees with the freedom of choice about membership (Redman & Snape, 2006). The earlier studies concerning union membership were dominated by instrumental approach – that is to say, the assumption that employees obtain financial gains through unions (Cregan, 1991). Yet, unions' increasing the number of their members cannot be explained by instrumental

approach alone. Because smaller social groups can provide their members more collective benefits than larger groups can do (Olson, 2002, 67). In this point, Cooper and Sureau (2008) state that in the earlier periods of their unionization struggles, teachers' reasons for membership mostly consisted of instrumental factors such as regulating work conditions, protecting and developing their personal rights, and right to strike. In a similar vein, Bamberry (2008) also found that the most important reasons of teachers for membership are the protection of personal rights and having job security. Despite agreeing with such findings, Taşdan (2013) points out that political ideology may also be influential in teachers' decision to affiliate to unions.

Although research findings in the literature demonstrate that instrumental approach is still influential (Cooper & Sureau, 2008), the fact that teachers have a strong professional identity has led to professional socialization seen as an important reason for membership. Teachers can communicate with their colleagues and act with solidarity by means of union membership (Bamberry, 2008). On the other hand, according to Cooper and Sureau (2008), teachers' professional identity can occasionally conflict with the instrumental approach. Therefore, while such reasons as protecting personal rights and the right to strike were in prominence previously, such issues as having a voice in making educational policies and having an influence in decisions about the workplace -which are related to general professional identity- have also become causes for union membership (Cooper & Sureau, 2008). Moreover, teacher unions now have to emphasize professional development services to be able to preserve member numbers (Bascia, 2000). In addition to these reasons for union membership, situational factors such as residential area, gender, educational status, etc. are also potentially influential to union membership (Cregan, 1991; Gani, 1996).

The diversity of factors influential in union membership has called for the necessity of classification. Griffin and Svensen (1999) state that employees affiliate to unions for mainly three reasons: (1) instrumental (or egocentric) perceptions expressing the goal of financial gains; (2) ideological (socio-centric) perceptions expressing the representation of political views; and (3) normative influences (social control) expressing the effects of social environment. Employees affiliate to unions mostly due to instrumental, normative, and ideological reasons respectively (Griffin & Svensen, 1999; Taşdan, 2013). However, the fact that such factors as the sympathy of public opinion for unions (Peetz, 2002), organizational image (Redman & Snape, 2006) and job satisfaction (Renaud, 2002), and modellings in the literature do not have a place in this classification, thereby requiring a wider classification. Riley (1997) analyses the factors influential in choosing a union from three main perspectives. Namely;

Structural determinist perspective. This perspective is based on the assumption that the levels of union membership are basically determined by the environmental factors. Accordingly, there are four environmental factors influencing the choice of membership to a union: (1) that the changes in the formation of workforce determines the member potentials of unions; (2) work cycle (for example, the changes observed in prices, income levels, and in the rate of unemployment); (3) employers' policies and government interventions; and (4) the industrial structure of the economy (Mason & Bain, 1993).

Individual perspective. This perspective is based on the assumption that union membership is a matter of individual choice. According to the research results obtained in this approach, individual choices differ from country to country. There are five variables

affecting the choice of union membership: (1) demographic variables and variables specific to individuals (e.g. age, gender, level of education, tenure, marital status, blue collar/ white collar distinction, administrative duty, permanent staff/ temporary staff distinction, level of wages, etc.); (2) variables specific to sectors (e.g. rate of sectoral unemployment, workforce and capital density, the rates of occupational accidents, etc.); (3) variables specific to organizations (e.g. the size of the organization, bureaucratization levels, geographical location, etc.); (4) attitudinal variables (e.g. job satisfaction, participation, political views, ideology, sensitivity to employees' rights, etc.); and (5) social variables (e.g. family, colleagues and friend groups, etc.) (Deery & De Cieri 1990; Riley, 1997; Beaumont & Elliot, 2001; Bamberry, 2008).

Conceptual models perspective. It is based on describing individual unionization process with conceptual models. Summers, Betton, and DeCotiis (1986), who adopt this perspective, developed a complex model of decision-making under the influence of the literature on management. Youngblood, De Nisi, Molleston, and Mobley (1984), on the other hand, developed an empirical model of unionization to test individuals' positive and negative attitudes towards unions (Riley, 1997).

The Functions of Unions

Kerchner and Kopich (2007) mention two models of teacher unions: Industrial unionism and professional unionism. Industrial unionism is a form of unionization which emerged under the conditions of hierarchical work life, and developed in line with the needs of employees working in jobs divided into small tasks. The main purpose is to protect teachers and other employees through gains such as job security and representation (Kerchner & Kaufman, 1995; Castro, 2000). Godard (1997) points out that the industrial union model has five functions:

Economic function. According to this function, which is often stressed by traditional economists, the basic role of unions is to maximize individual and collective benefits. Additionally, such issues as sustaining the current levels of wages, job security, and fair wages can also be considered within this function (Polachek & Siebert, 1993, 3; Kingdon & Teal, 2008).

Workplace democratizing function. Unions enable teachers to acquire several rights in employment relationships and also enable schools to democratize (Urbanski, 1998). The process of collective bargaining negotiations, for instance, forms the system of industrial law similar to the system of civil law in which employees obtain rights and assurance. Unions assure that employees they represent have a voice in managerial decisions that would influence them. In this way, unions perform functions similar to those performed by political parties by melting and centralizing diverse employee demands. Besides, unions restrict the authority of administration through collective bargaining negotiations and thus open up a field of freedom for employees. Finally, unions are formal democratic organizations and their existence ensures the participation of employees in democratic processes, at least theoretically (Godard, 1997; Chisholm, 1999).

Integrative function. One of the traditional reasons for the existence of the unions is that they function as the means for the solution of conflicts or disputes. Unions can contribute to the solution of conflicts and thus to the increase at productivity by voicing their members' demands. When approached from the perspective of human relations, this

function can eliminate individuals' feeling of isolation and feebleness, and thus can enable individuals to gain an identity and to develop a sense of belonging (Freeman, 1976; Godard, 1997; Eraslan, 2012).

Social democratic function. Unions can intervene in larger social issues beyond their members' workplace relations. These can be the issues related to whole society such as direct participation in the political process, as well as issues related only to the teachers and other employees such as regulations in labor law and social organizations (Robinson, 1993, 21; Godard, 1997; Eraslan, 2012).

Conflict function. Unions have historically been an instrument of expressing class conflicts. Unions maintain this struggle at the macro and micro levels. The function at the macro level is in the form of holding protest demonstrations, struggling with companies' or governments' agenda, and fighting for the rights of working class in general. The manifestation at the micro level occurs in the form of assuring the participation of employees in strikes. Activities at both levels also affect other industrial functions of unions (Ball, 1988; Godard, 1997).

Unlike industrial unionism, professional unionism mainly aims to protect professional values in general; that is to say, academic values in the case of teachers (Castro, 2000), since the unions functioning on the basis of the industrial model do not guarantee that teachers are influential in the organizing of schools, the development and implementation of professional standards, or in increasing students' achievement (Kerchner & Kaufman, 1995). According to the model of professional unionism, unions should be more effective in the development of educational policies (Stevenson, 2014). Therefore, issues such as teachers' qualities, shared decision-making processes, colleague guidance and supervision, professional development, parents' participation, change of reward and promotion system, semi-autonomous schools, strategies for intervening in low performance schools, and educational standards were included in collective bargaining negotiations (Kopich, 2005; Kerchner & Kopich, 2007).

Boyd, Plank, and Sykes (1998) contend that the professional model does not receive sufficient support from political circles, despite the excitement it has aroused. Because politics is usually the winning side in conflicts between unions and politics, and politicians are usually unwilling to share their power and to include unions in policy making processes. Unions, however, adopt a defensive position mostly, and concentrate on their industrial functions (Boyd et al., 1998).

Operational Effectiveness of Unions

There are currently not enough empirical studies regarding the operational effectiveness of unions in the literature of industrial relations. For this reason, the starting point in the studies concerning the operational effectiveness of unions is built on the discussions of organizational effectiveness (Hammer & Wazeter, 1993). Two general approaches draw the attention in the discussions of organizational effectiveness: The goals approach, and the systems approach. According to the goals approach, effectiveness can be measured with the extent to which an organization attains its goals. According to the systems approach, on the other hand, effectiveness is an organization's ability to maintain its functional integrity in intra-organizational and inter-organizational contexts (Goodman & Pennings, 1979; Connoly, Conlon, & Deutsch, 1980). Steers (1975), however, claims that

effectiveness is a complex issue due to the functional and environmental differences of organizations, and that it is impossible to develop a universal model of effectiveness applicable to all organizations. Setting out from this point of view, Hammer and Wazeter (1993) suggest that not only the perspectives of members, but also the perspectives of people or groups in relation with unions, should be taken into consideration while measuring the effectiveness of teacher unions.

Fiorito, Jarley, and Delaney (1993), who adopted an organization-centered perspective, determined six indicators of effectiveness in their study which they conducted with top managers and officials of unions. The indicators they distinguished were organizing (enrolling new members), collective bargaining negotiations, national political activities, local political activities, community service activities (an organization's ability of solving its members' problems with its internal resources), and strike decisions. Factors such as organizational structure, innovation, and internal democracy were considered as the determiners of effectiveness rather than as the indicators of effectiveness (Burchielli, 2004). While innovation increases the organizational effectiveness of a union, the centralization of control reduces the effectiveness. Additionally, internal democracy increases the success level of a union (Fiorito et al., 1993).

Gahan and Bell (1999), who adopt Fiorito et al.'s (1993) perspective, approach unions as organizations of membership which are established on the basis of service model. In their study which they conducted with union officials, Gahan and Bell (1999) investigated the correlations between various strategies of unions and their capacity to enroll new members and to maintain the number of their members, and consequently, the researchers concluded that the member based approach was more effective than the classical union approach, which developed around the concepts of strike and political activity. When unions have obtained their members' support and have been legitimized through internal democratic processes, the chance of success of the strategies they employ increases (Gahan & Bell, 1999).

Adopting a member-centered perspective, Hammer and Wazeter (1993) determined conceptually and empirically different five dimensions of union effectiveness. Namely; (1) members' participation in union activities, (2) preparation for collective bargaining negotiations, (3) a union's participation in political and social activities, (4) a union's mentality (union members' considering a union as an interest group representing them rather than just as a formation having meetings with management), and (5) leadership. As a consequence, it was found that all of the dimensions except for participation in collective bargaining negotiations had significant effects on the general effectiveness of unions. The dimensions of a union's mentality and leadership were considered as the most important components of union effectiveness (Hammer & Wazeter, 1993).

In his qualitative study, in which the perspectives of non-union member teachers as well as those of union member teachers were included, Taşdan (2013) analyzed the operational effectiveness of unions under such headings as the efficacies of union officials, internal democracy, and the sufficiency of the number of unions. The majority of teachers participated in the study found union officials inefficient. In a similar vein, the majority of the teachers stated that the internal democracy levels of unions were insufficient. While the great majority of union member teachers emphasized the excessive number of unions, those who were non-union members drew attention to the level of unions' performing their functions instead of the number of unions (Taşdan, 2013).

Similar to Taşdan (2013), Yasan (2012) in his study, conducted with elementary school teachers and school principals who were and were not union members, concluded that unions could not yield effective results since they were organized in line with political ideologies although they were regarded as necessary institutions in the field of education. Besides, teachers and administrators also stated that unions did not have great effects on their professional lives, they could not produce adequate solutions to teachers' and school principals' problems, and that the reactions given to those problems were insufficient. Lack of right to strike and right of collective bargaining was referred to as the most important reason for the ineffectiveness (Yasan, 2012).

In the light of the related discussions in the literature, Sweeney and Voorendt (1999) point out that a general framework is needed to describe and evaluate the effectiveness of unions in terms of organizing, internal democracy, effectiveness at organizational and member levels, the level of organizational influence on external environment, and contributions to social change. At this point, Burchielli (2004) developed the model of union effectiveness based on the discussions and research results available in the literature. The fact that the model has a broad conceptual framework enables the use of a number of different effectiveness criteria. According to Burchielli's (2004) model, union effectiveness can be analyzed on three dimensions:

Representation. It involves meeting members' needs, enrolling new members, and attaining the main goals.

Administration. It involves structure and strategies, innovation applications, having open goals, leadership, and accountability criteria.

Ideology. It involves criteria such as social values, compliance, members being active, commitment to a union, and politicized union environment.

This model was implemented in Burchielli's (2004) study conducted with union officials. The research findings are supportive of three dimensional effectiveness classification.

Teachers' Expectations of Teacher Unions

Nowadays, only very few employee organizations can establish open, sustainable and positive relations with their members. There are big gaps between what members expect of unions and what they obtain. Unions are seen as organizations which focus on only narrow issues, which are mentioned in mass-media along with negative news items, and which serve only to some distinguished members. Such perception problems usually influence employees' expectations of their unions in a negative way (Fiorito, Gallagher, & Fukami, 1988; McDonnell & Pascal, 1988; Bascia, 2008, 95).

There are a great number of factors complicating employees' expectations of unions. Employees work in diverse environments and in different types of organizations. In addition to this, demographic factors such as gender, socio-economic groups, ethnicity, age, professional tenure, etc. make expectations more complicated (Bascia, 2008, 96-98). Bascia (2008, 99) states that teachers' expectations can be analyzed in a fivefold classification, despite the complexities discussed. The classification is as follows:

Representation. The most fundamental work conditions such as teaching tasks, classroom size, daily work routines, health and security conditions and assessment are

dependent on the administration's or government's appreciation. What is more, the bureaucratic structure of educational organizations move teachers away from decision-making and policy-making processes. The fact that teachers have little voice in work conditions, due to the above mentioned reasons, exhibits the need for an institution representing teachers against administration and policy-makers (Fiorito, 1987; Bascia, 2008, 99-100; Strunk & Grissom, 2010).

Economic self-sufficiency. Wages and benefits are the most deterministic factors in employee-employer relations. Economic factors bear symbolic as well as real value. While teachers with economic self-sufficiency in a real sense can better focus on their job, economic status in symbolic meaning is regarded as the criterion for professional prestige (Fiorito et al., 1988; Bascia, 2008, 100).

Participation in decision-making processes. Teachers demand that their views be taken into consideration while decisions are made in relation to their job. Yet, their workloads and overwhelming number of employees hinder teachers' direct participation in such decisions. At this point, unions ensure their members representational participation through involvement in decision-making processes (Fiorito et al, 1988; Bascia, 2008, 100; Kayıkçı, 2013).

Professional development. There is an increase in the number and variety of opportunities offered by unions in parallel to teachers' expectations. This partly stems from the fact that unions take on the responsibility of improving their members' competencies due to the insufficiency of professional development programs implemented by governments (Bascia, 2001; Bascia, 2008, 101; Kayıkçı, 2013).

Promoting the positive professional identity. Teachers wish to be proud of their collective identity. Unions are expected to defend their members and to struggle with the negative discourse by developing alternative positive images, when there is an attack on their profession by politicians, administrators, or mass-media (Bascia, 2008, 102).

Fiorito et al. (1988) conclude that employees prioritize expectations for union-member relations and economic self-sufficiency more than expectations for representation and participation. In addition, as different to the findings obtained by Bascia (2008, 96-98), Fiorito et al. (1988) state that members' expectations are usually similar, and the differences regarding the levels of met and unmet expectations stem from the differences in perceptions of unions' effectiveness (Fiorito et al., 1988).

In his study, concerning teachers and administrators working in secondary schools, Kayıkçı (2013) found that participants had high expectations in terms of unions defending members' rights and solving their problems, understanding of effective and democratic union management, developing the members' and education practices, and representation of teachers with a single union instead of more than one. Teachers and administrators, on the other hand, had lower expectations regarding unions' politicization tendencies (Kayıkçı, 2013). It is clear that these findings overlap substantially with those stated by Bascia (2008, 96-98).

Relations Between Unions

Teachers are represented by more than one union in many countries. Those unions are generally organized on the basis of geographical regions (in Australia, Canada, and the USA), education level (in New Zealand, Sweden, and Germany), or political views (in Hungary, France, and Italy). At the same time, these unions are usually the members of upper level confederations of public servant unions. Additionally, teacher unions, in some cases, are the components of, or closely related with political parties determining their positions in front of other unions. For instance, in Mexico, SNTE, a teacher union, is part of the political party PRI, and the education union in China has direct relations with the government and with the Communist Party (Cooper, 2000, 265; Taşdan, 2012).

In a similar vein, teacher unions in Turkey are generally distinguished by their ideological proximity to political parties. This ideological situation occasionally causes conflicts and ultimately hinders any strong cooperation between unions. Thus, instead of a structure of a single robust educational unionization, a structure of multiple fragmented unionization generating ideological and attitudinal hostility among different unions emerges. While this situation leads to members' unwilling support of their union, it also restricts unions' efforts to enroll new members (Lordoğlu, 2004; Eraslan, 2012).

Representation of teachers by more than one organization leads to competition-based relations rather than cooperative relations between those organizations. Thus, Hannan and Freeman (1988) point out that it is inevitable for the unions depending on the same scarce resources to compete for members. The competition also consumes the supply of members, and slows down the expansion of organizations. It would be misleading to say that unions compete only to increase the number of their members; because factors such as talented union managers and officials, political support and influence, appearing on mass-media, etc. can also be among the other reasons for competition (Hannan & Freeman, 1988).

The fact that unions depend on the same scarce resources restricts the limits of cooperation between them. Solidarity between unions is established through bargaining and negotiation, rather than through employees' similarities or class consciousness. Solidarity is a collective action emerging from the political arguments between unions or employee groups. Therefore, it is in the form of cooperation within pre-decided limits, rather than a comprehensive action (Hanagan, 2003). Dobson (1997) discusses the relations between unions operating in the same sector under the following headings:

Union actions (strikes). When a union decides to act yet other unions oppose the decision, conflicts become inevitable. Besides, similar conflicts can also be observed when a union claims to represent all teachers during its actions. Such that, some unions can raise the level of their militancy and can aim to catch the attention of other unions' members in order to attract their transfer to them. This matter also restricts unions' control over their members (Metcalf, 1990; Dobson, 1997; Stevenson & Bascia, 2013).

Workplace applications. The most important justification for the claim that multi-unionism reduces organizational effectiveness is that each union resists innovations and defends inefficient work routines in order to protect their members. A union having a positive attitude on innovations, despite others' opposition causes confusion in application, and makes it difficult to achieve the targeted level of effectiveness (Dobson, 1997; Heaton, Mason, & Morgan, 2000).

Collective bargaining negotiations. Multi-unionism transforms collective bargaining negotiations into more complicated and time consuming processes for both employers and unions. Each union's effort to gain more as a way to demonstrate their superiority can lead to conflicts and therefore makes it more difficult to reach a consensus. Beside competition to increase membership numbers, disagreement between union policies can also result in blockages to collective bargaining negotiations (Dobson, 1997; Govender, 2004; Akkerman, 2008).

Studies available in the literature demonstrate that relations between unions are mostly shaped around the concept of competition. Hualde and Ramirez (2014) point out that although such factors as dismissals, erosions in members' personal rights, and the weakening effects of the unions on governmental policies force unions to cooperate; the same factors also cause unions to make their policies stricter in order to maintain membership numbers.

Nolan and Marginson (1990) state that the claim that multi-unionism reduces the level of organizational effectiveness is just a prejudice and is not supported by serious academic study. Although Dobson's (1997) findings confirm that multi-unionism is influential in collective agreement negotiations, those findings in general support the ones obtained by Nolan and Marginson (1990) with regard to organizational effectiveness. On the other hand, findings in relation to the positive effects of multi-unionism were also obtained. Swabe (1983) state that although multi-unionism complicates collective bargaining negotiations, it is a more democratic application since it allows the representation of different thoughts. In a similar way, Gregg and Yates (1991) state that different unions function as communication channels, enabling different groups attaching importance to different matters to have their voices heard.

Purpose of the Research

This study aims to determine the views and expectations of union member and non-union member teachers regarding teacher unions. Therefore, the sub-purposes of the study are as follows:

1. Why do teachers choose union membership? If they do not, why?
2. What are the most important functions of educational unions, according to teachers?
3. How do they evaluate the operational effectiveness of unions?
4. What do they expect of educational unions (such as representation, working conditions, improving personal rights, protecting their rights, improving their professional knowledge and gaining experience, etc)?
5. How do they evaluate the cooperation, competition and relations between teacher unions?

METHOD

Research design, study group, data collection tool, and data analysis are included under this heading.

Research Design

This research employs a qualitative survey design/model in order to exhibit the views of union member and non-union member teachers in terms of why they chose to be/not to be union members, the most important functions of educational unions, operational effectiveness of teacher unions, teachers' expectations of those unions, and their evaluation of the competition and cooperation between educational unions.

In qualitative research, it is essential to study the phenomena in its natural environment and to uncover, interpret and give sense to the underlying facts (Creswell, 2007, 36-37). The purpose in a phenomenological research is to describe the meaning attributed by individuals to the experiences regarding a phenomenon or a concept. In other words, individual experiences are reduced to phenomena to describe their universal essence. Therefore, researchers adopting phenomenological method focus on shared aspects of participants' experiences related to the phenomenon being researched, and try to describe what the participants experience and how they experience it (Creswell, 2007, 57-58). According to this approach, a behavior is not a reality described as external, objective or physical; but is determined by the phenomenon of experience (Balci, 2011, 30).

Study Group

The study group was composed of eight union member teachers and six non-union member teachers working in the Çankaya, Gölbaşı, Mamak, and Yenimahalle districts of Ankara province, Turkey. This situation enables obtaining an optimal data size, minimizing data loss and saturating the categories in the most effective way. According to Morse (1991), saturation and replication are the evidences for the sufficiency of the size of the study group. This means obtaining data sufficient to account for all aspects of the phenomenon. That is to say, data saturation leads to data replication in categories, and data replication in turn confirms the comprehensiveness and completeness of the research (Cited in: Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002, 12). In this research, teachers who were union members of Eğitim-Bir-Sen, Eğitim-Sen, Türk Eğitim-Sen and Eğitim-İş (listed by membership size, respectively), as well as teachers who were non-union members, were included in the study group in order to reflect different perspectives and backgrounds. This approach meets the condition of data triangulation, one of the pre-conditions of credibility of qualitative research (Shenton, 2004; Denzin, 1978, 295 Cited in: Berg, 2001, 6). In other words, the resource (persons) required by the research were chosen randomly on a voluntary basis according to the maximum variation sampling approach to determine the important common patterns (Patton, 2002, 243). Personal information of the teachers interviewed is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Personal information of the teachers interviewed*

Union membership	Type of school	Branch of teaching	Teaching experience
1. Member	Secondary school	Science and technology	18 years
2. Member	Secondary school	English	17 years
3. Member	Primary school	Elementary teaching	23 years
4. Member	Secondary school	Social studies	8 years
5. Member	Secondary school	Information Technologies	11 years
6. Member	Primary school	Elementary teaching	18 years
7. Member	Secondary school	Visual arts	21 years
8. Member	Primary school	Elementary teaching	23 years
9. Non-member	Primary school	Guidance counsellor	12 years
10. Non-member	Primary school	Elementary teaching	13 years
11. Non-member	Primary school	Elementary teaching	18 years
12. Non-member	Secondary school	Turkish	5 years
13. Non-member	Secondary school	Social studies	26 years
14. Non-member	Secondary school	Mathematics	37 years

As seen in Table 1, six primary school teachers and eight secondary school teachers were interviewed for the research. The participant teachers' work experience varied between 5 and 37 years. Teachers from seven different branches of teaching were interviewed in this research.

Data Collection Tool

A semi-structured interview form was developed as a tool of data collection after reviewing research studies concerning teacher unions. Face to face interviews conducted with participating teachers were voice recorded and/ or taken in writing with the permission of the participants. Repeated questioning was applied to ensure adequate data was obtained. In other words, questions were asked in different forms at times they were not understood by the participants (Shenton, 2004). One union member teacher who did not wish his/her sentences to be recorded either in writing or by voice recording was excused from the interview, and another teacher volunteered to in their place in the research. Besides, in order to meet the condition of participants' confirmation -one of the pre-conditions of the credibility of qualitative analysis- participants were asked to read and check transcripts of their interview. This checked whether or not the transcripts and the participants' implications were a match (Shenton, 2004). It was found that some of the teachers stated more than one view in relation to one question.

Data Analysis

Content analysis was conducted of the qualitative data obtained from the interviews. Content analysis is a technique used to systematically and objectively identify the properties of social communication and to make inferences accordingly. When approached from this perspective, codes are developed through induction by transforming the data into texts in content analysis. The codes are then transformed into themes. The common aspects of the content of the texts are revealed and are distributed among the themes (Berg, 2001, 240). The data collected in the form of voice recordings by the researchers were first transcribed into texts by one of the researchers, and then content analysis was performed. Then, both researchers came together in order to code the data, formed the themes, categories and sub-categories, and finally, interpreted the findings. Shenton (2004) states that such cooperative sessions can be used by researchers to discuss the alternative approaches and the problems likely to arise in the recommended flow of the research. While, on the one hand, such

sessions provide researchers with opportunities to test their thoughts and interpretations, they also enable them to notice their biases and choices (Shenton, 2004). According to coding control which provides internal consistency, consensus between coders should be at least 80% (Miles & Huberman, 1994, 64). In this research, the consensus between coders was found to be 81%.

FINDINGS

The research findings are reported under themes derived from the research questions.

1. Teachers' reasons for being/not being a union member

Teachers' views on the reasons for being a union member or not being a union member are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Teachers' reasons for being/not being a union member

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories	f
Reasons for current membership condition	A. Union member	1. Overlap between individuals' political ideology and unions' ideology	4
		2. Professional organization	3
		3. Colleague pressure	3
		4. Protecting and developing personal rights	2
		5. Being influential in developing the educational- instructional process	2
	B. Non-union member	1. Individuals considering unions as ideological organizations	5
		2. Not valuing individuals	2
		3. Social pressure	1

According to Table 2, overlapping between individuals' political ideology and unions' ideology is the most important reason for teachers' union membership (n=4). Conversely, individuals' considering unions as ideological organizations is also the most important reason for not being a union member for non-union member teachers (n=5). Some of the views stated by teachers on the reasons for being or not being a union member are quoted below:

While the aims related only with economic and social rights were outstanding in the past, now I am a union member with the purpose of being a member of a union which defends these rights in accordance with my values. Our territorial integrity and republican values were not in danger in the past. There was no likelihood of division of my country, or even if there had been such a probability, it had not been so high. I chose to be affiliated to the current union in order to react to the dangers I mentioned (union member 1, male, teacher with 23-years teaching experience).

I am not affiliated to a union because I believe that the unions in Turkey have a rather political structure. Personally, I am not very interested in politics. I have chosen not to be affiliated to a union because I think that unions are branches or extensions of political parties or political views (non-union member 1, female, 12-years teaching experience).

2. The most important functions of teacher unions according to teachers

Teachers' views regarding the most important functions of teacher unions are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Teachers' views regarding the most important functions of educational unions

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories	f
The most important functions of teacher unions	A. Union member	1. Protecting and developing personal rights	5
		2. Supporting a political ideology	4
		3. Developing the educational-instructional process	3
		4. Providing legal support	2
		5. Providing everybody with democratic and equal education	1
		6. Socialization	1
		7. Increasing the number of members and sustaining their existence.	1
		8. Providing status and benefits	1
		9. Arranging working environments	1
	B. Non-union member	1. Protecting and developing personal rights	5
		2. Developing the educational-instructional process	3
		3. Supporting a political ideology	1
		4. Sustaining their existence	1
		5. Representation	1
		6. Applying pressure on the political power for the benefits of their members	1

As is clear from Table 3, union member teachers (n=5) and non-union member teachers (n=5) consider protecting and developing personal rights as the most important function of unions. Some of the statements on the functions which teachers consider the most important are quoted below:

At present, the most important function of unions is to protect and develop teachers' social and economic rights. The current legal situation is not suitable for teachers' union struggles. Regulations were made in the constitution in this issue, but they have not enacted it yet. Or the ruling party does not want to do it. There is a considerable inadequacy in our society in terms of exercising legal rights. For example, we face legal regulations when we want to go on a strike. Our rights are very limited (union member 7, male, 18-years teaching experience).

In my opinion, the most important function should be what I am going to say: Unions should be able to obtain personal rights for their members in the best way possible. They should be able to represent that group. Of course economic matters are included in this. For instance, I have a lot of complaints as a teacher. I think we have the lowest salary in the world as teachers according to the world standards. In our society there is such a belief: You gain a social status according to your salary. People evaluate you accordingly. Unfortunately, teachers have seen great losses for the last 50 or 60 years (non-union member 5, male, 26-years teaching experience).

3a. Operational effectiveness of unions according to union member teachers

The views of union member teachers regarding the operational effectiveness of teacher unions are shown in Table 4a below.

Table 4a. *The views of union member teachers regarding operational effectiveness of teacher unions*

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories	f
Operational Effectiveness of Unions	Effective	Union protests	3
		Protecting and developing personal rights	1
		Providing legal support to members	1
		Developing the educational-instructional process	1
		Raising educational employees' status	1
	Ineffective	Protecting and developing personal rights	4
		Developing the educational-instructional process	2
		Cooperation between unions	2
		Independence	1
		Union protests	1
		Political ideology	1
		Internal democracy	1

According to Table 4a, union member teachers most frequently state that teacher unions have operational effectiveness in terms of union protests (n=3), but that those unions do not have effectiveness in terms of protecting and developing personal rights (n=4). Some views stated by union member teachers in relation to the operational effectiveness of teacher unions are as follows:

First we make decisions in our branch office. The decisions to protest are then analyzed in the head office. After that comes the protest, the impacts of the protest. When there is tremendous impact, political parties sensitive to this can sometimes take legal action against wrong applications of the Ministry of Education or of the present government (union member 2, male, 21-years teaching experience).

Yet, we know that the basic aim of all of them is to improve and develop personal rights of all educators, but when there is a problem, it is very difficult to see them work in collaboration. It is almost impossible. Because some of the unions do not want to worry or get into trouble with the government, which they think or feel are close to them, even when there is an apparent injustice. Of course this is a wrongful action. It is something self-contradictory (union member 6, male, 8-years teaching experience).

3b. Operational effectiveness of unions according to non-union member teachers

The views of non-union member teachers regarding the operational effectiveness of teacher unions are shown in Table 4b below.

Table 4b. *The views of non-union member teachers regarding the operational effectiveness of teacher unions*

Themes	Categories	Sub- categories	f
Operational Effectiveness of Unions	A. Effective	1. Supporting political parties	1
		1. Protecting and developing personal rights	4
	B. Ineffective	2. Union protests	3
		3. Developing the educational-instructional process	1
		4. Independence	1
		5. Political ideology	1
		6. Ineffective in every area	1

According to Table 4b, non-union member teachers also state that teacher unions do not have operational effectiveness in terms of protecting and developing personal rights (n=4). Some other views stated by non-union member teachers in relation to the operational effectiveness of teacher unions are as follows:

If effectiveness means representing a political view, yes they do this very well (non-union member 2, male, 13-years teaching experience).

Indeed, every union has a lot of members. If they apply more pressure, they all work for the same purpose... If they are teacher unions, I mean, if all unions work for teachers, they can reach a joint result and achieve obtaining our rights. But because all of them work to sustain their own existence and to impose their views on others, I don't think they have much success (non-union member 4, female, 5-years teaching experience).

4. Teachers' expectations of teacher unions

Teachers' views regarding their expectations of teacher unions are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Teachers' expectations of teacher unions

Themes	Categories	Sub- categories	f
Teachers' expectations of teacher unions	A. Union member	1. Protecting and developing personal rights	9
		2. Representation	7
		3. Professional development	6
		4. Independence	3
		5. Developing the educational-instructional process	2
		6. Attaching more importance to political ideology	2
		7. Not being ideological	1
		8. Internal democracy	1
		9. Cooperation between unions	1
	B. Non-union member	1. Representation	10
		2. Protecting and developing personal rights	6
		3. Professional development	5
		4. Independence	3
		5. Promoting positive professional identity	3
		6. Representation of teachers by one single union	2
		7. Developing the educational-instructional process	2
		8. Internal Democracy	1
		9. Attaching more importance to ethical values	1
		10. Giving more emphasis to political ideology	1

As is clear from Table 5, union member teachers mostly expect teacher unions to protect and develop their personal rights (n=9) while non-union members mostly expect to be represented against administration and politicians (n=10). Some other expectations of the teacher unions stated by union member and non-union member teachers are as follows:

Yes, it is necessary to protect specific rights in the teaching profession. There are a lot of rights such as regulating the working hours in terms of work conditions, right of leave, and maternity rights. Of course teachers' rights and students' rights are included in these rights. At first, all these rights should be determined. That is to say, limits are not clear as to where teaching starts and where it ends, and where being a student starts and where it ends. For example there is the Public Helpline (telephone number 147). It

offends most of the teachers and violates their rights (union member 8, male, 11-years teaching experience).

In the past people used to say ‘he/she should be a teacher if he/she cannot get a job’. Now it seems as if we are trying to show teaching as one of the most passive jobs. We are trying to show it as a job with the best working conditions. Yet, this is not the case. When people look from outside, they think that we have months of holiday and earn a lot of money. We know as insiders that it is not so. But outsiders do not know the reality. They should know that we deal with humans, not machines; and that these two are different things. I wish they would represent us in this way and introduce us to others in this way... I wish they would describe to others what we experience in schools while trying to deal with humans and shape the learners. At least they would permit us to express ourselves as teachers. Then they would be more beneficial to us in terms of representing us (non-union member 4, female, 5-years teaching experience).

5a. Relations between teacher unions according to union member teachers

The views of union member teachers regarding the relations between teacher unions are shown in Table 6a below.

Table 6a. *The views of union member teachers regarding the relations between teacher unions*

Themes	Categories	Sub- categories	f
Relations between teacher unions	A. Competition	1. Ideological differences	4
		2. Unions’ not being independent	3
		3. Increasing the number of members	2
		4. Conflict of interests	2
	B. Cooperation	1. Protecting and developing personal rights	4
		2. Overlapping benefits	2
		3. Values	2

According to Table 6a, union member teachers describe the relations between unions on the basis of the concepts of competition (n=11) and cooperation (n=8). According to the participants, while the most important reason for the competition between unions is ideological differences (n=4), the most important reason for cooperation between them is the protection and development of personal rights (n=4). Some of the views stated by union member teachers in relation to the relations between unions are as follows:

I don’t think there are relations between them because they cannot find any common point about teachers’ status and meet there. As far as I observed in recent years, there was insufficient cooperation between unions (union member 4, female, 17-years teaching experience).

We observed instances of cooperation between unions in the past. Joint actions have been taken in protests of work stoppage (for personal rights, economic and social rights, and so on) (union member 1, male, 23-years teaching experience).

5b. Relations between teacher unions according to non-union member teachers

The views of non-union member teachers regarding the relations between teacher unions are shown in Table 6b below.

Table 6b. *The views of non-union member teachers regarding the relations between teacher unions*

Themes	Categories	Sub- categories	f
Relations between educational unions	A. Competition	1. Ideological differences	4
		2. Increasing the number of members	2
	B. Cooperation	1. Protecting and developing personal rights	1

According to Table 6b, non-union member teachers describe the relations between unions on the basis of the concepts of competition (n=4) and cooperation (n=1). According to the participants, while the most important reason for the competition between unions is ideological differences (n=4), the most important reason for cooperation between them is the protection and development of personal rights (n=1). Some of the views stated by non-union member teachers in relation to the relations between unions are as follows:

I attribute the competition between unions to politics. I think that every union has ties with political parties. For this reason, there is little cooperation between unions. When it comes to politics, people see each other as opponents, not colleagues. They can come together only when the political view they stick to permits them to do so (non-union member 3, female, 18-years teaching experience).

There were a lot of protests last year. Protests were held after the prime minister's speech. There was no cooperation there, but another protest was held for wages, and all unions were in cooperation then. Perhaps the actions in those contexts may be providing support to each other in the sense of economy (non-union member 4, female, 5-years teaching experience).

CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Research results demonstrate that while political ideology was the most important reason for membership according to union member teachers, it is the most important reason for not being a union member according to non-union members. However, on examining the literature concerning union membership, it is clearly seen that the political approach is outweighed by the instrumental approach. For example, in his research in which the instrumental approach is prominent, Gani (1996) points out that unions are primarily seen as instruments to protect and develop personal rights. Factors such as solidarity between employees, job security, improvement in work conditions, increase in wages, colleague pressure are influential in membership to a union (Gani, 1996). Peetz (1998 Cited in: Bamberry, 2008) supports the findings obtained by Gani (1996) by stating that employees affiliate to unions due to reasons such as job security (protection of employees' rights), representation, assuring fair treatment to union members and colleagues' pressure, but also adds that factors such as ideology and the effectiveness of unions should also be considered as reasons for union membership. Bamberry (2008), on the other hand, concludes that such factors as representation and job security are the most important reasons for union membership. The results obtained in this research are very similar to the ones obtained by Gani (1996), Peetz (1998), and Bamberry (2008); yet, the finding that political ideology is the most important reason for union membership is remarkable as a different result. In the same way, Murillo (1999) points out that unions may be in very close relations with political parties in environments where more than one union operates, and draws attention to the relationship between union choice and political choice. It was also found in this study that beside factors related with instrumental and political approaches, teachers also chose to be

union members to be effective in developing the educational-instructional process. Kopich (2007) states that this stems from the fact that teachers and unions are in search of having more voice in the restructuring process of the educational system and teaching profession.

Differences are remarkable between the results obtained in this study for the reasons for non-union membership according to non-union member teachers and the reasons cited in the literature. The reasons found in this research for not being a union member overlap only in terms of ideology with those listed by Peetz (1998 Cited in: Bamberry, 2008) as ineffectiveness of unions, unions' failure to reach employees, ideology, and employees' negative attitudes towards unions. On the other hand, no findings were obtained supporting the results obtained by Gani (1996), who described the reasons for not affiliating to unions in an instrumental approach. To sum up, union member teachers affiliated to unions due to their ideological approach. Likewise, non-union member teachers did not affiliate to unions due to their ideological approach. Teacher unions should approach non-union member teachers by leaving their ideological perspectives aside, and should bring what they have done to protect and develop personal rights and to raise the prestige of teaching profession into prominence.

On analyzing the results concerning the most important functions of unions, it was found that protecting and developing personal rights was considered as the most important function of teacher unions by both union member and non-union member teachers. Teachers participating in the research consider such industrial unionism activities as protection and development of personal rights, supporting political views and representation more important than such professional unionism activities as developing the educational-instructional process and professional socialization. According to Kerchner and Kopich (2007), industrial unionism perspective implies the presence of a clear distinction between teachers and administration, since it relies on permanent contrasts. When approached from this perspective, it is seen that the findings obtained in this study regarding the functions of unions are supportive of those obtained by Ewing (2005), who lists the functions as representation of union members' benefits, regulation of working conditions, representation of members in the policy-making processes, applying public policy, and enrolling new members and serving to members.

While union member teachers stated that teacher unions had operational effectiveness in terms of union protests, a non-union member teacher stated that teacher unions had operational effectiveness in terms of supporting political parties. On the other hand, both union member and non-union member teachers purported that unions were ineffective in terms of protecting and developing personal rights. The fact that union member teachers found unions more effective in more areas in comparison to non-union member teachers supports Godard (1997), who conveys that union member teachers generally have more positive approaches to unions than those without membership. In addition to this, the results obtained from union member teachers indicate that teachers find unions more effective in terms of industrial unionism. In this respect, Godard (1997) points out that unions are generally considered to be effective in traditional industrial unionism activities such as strikes, protests, job security and representation, whereas they are generally considered to be ineffective in professional unionism activities such as raising performance, establishing balanced relations between members and administration and creating a sense of belonging. In consequence, why teachers do not find their unions effective should be

investigated in detail in future studies. Apart from that, officials of teacher unions should revise their institutional actions, programs and plans devoted to the development of personal rights and should do more works in this area by taking the needs and expectations of union member and non-union member teachers into consideration.

While union member teachers have such expectations as the protection and development of their personal rights, representation and professional development; teachers with no membership have expectations such as representation, protection and development of their personal rights, and professional development, respectively. It is clear that both group's industrial unionism expectations are more prominent than professional unionism expectations. In a similar vein, Bascia (2008, 99) concluded that unions, for teachers, were instruments formed on the basis of pragmatic reasons rather than ideals, and that unions existed because of the difficulties teachers encountered in their work life, not because of abstract conceptions such as professional control or class conflicts. Therefore, teachers have more expectations for industrial unionism activities such as job security, personal rights and representation; and those expectations have restricting effects on unions (Poole, 2000). Findings demonstrate that teacher unions should focus more on professional unionism activities, although expectations of teacher unions are more related with industrial unionism activities. Accordingly, it may be suggested that educational unions should make more efforts to be influential in educational policy making, to hold academic/professional activities for teachers, to perform activities to raise prestige of the teaching profession, and to raise students' academic achievement, which may in turn facilitate reaching organizational goals related to industrial unionism.

Competition is seen as the dominant relation type between teacher unions by union member and non-union member teachers. That ideological differences caused competition was pointed out by both groups of teachers. Similarly, Blind (2007) also states that unions' close relations with political parties may result in competition based on ideological differences. Thus, teacher unions have always had very close ties with political parties on the basis of shared ideologies, and in some cases they have even been able to take on roles to justify governments' decisions (Govender, 2004). On the other hand, union member teachers as well as non-union member teachers stated that protection and development of personal rights led to cooperation between unions. The findings obtained are parallel to those obtained by Hanagan (2003), who concludes that cooperation between unions is a narrow-scoped action fulfilled within pre-decided limits rather than a comprehensive action. In this context, it may be recommended that union officials take action to avoid unions' being perceived as integrated parts of political parties by teachers. Additionally, teacher unions should go beyond the heavily competition-based relations in which limited cooperation is available, and they should make and implement joint policies to protect and develop the personal rights of all union member and non-union member teachers and to raise the prestige of teaching profession.

To conclude, this is a qualitative study conducted with a small group of participants. The study could be performed with a larger group of participants so that the research findings could be generalized. For this purpose, a new research could employ a quantitative approach or a mixed approach, in which the qualitative and quantitative paradigms are used at different stages of the research. Besides, such issues as the effects of teacher unions on the

teaching process, developing teachers' and administrators' performance, and their contributions to effective school studies can be important discussion topics for future studies.

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Sendika Üyesi Olan ve Sendika Üyesi Olmayan Öğretmenlerin Eğitim Sendikalarına Bakışı ve Beklentileri⁴

Tuncer FİDAN⁵ & İnci ÖZTÜRK⁶

Giriş

Modern endüstrilerin ilk evresinde ortaya çıkan sendikalar, işgörenler ve işverenler arasındaki güç dengesizliğini düzeltme amacındaki toplumsal örgütlenme biçimleridir. Sendikalar ilk çıktıkları dönemde işgörenlerin yaşamı üzerindeki ezici işveren etkisini kırmaya yönelik araçlar sunarak savunma işlevlerini öne çıkarmışlardır (Giddens, 2009, 899). İşgören ve işveren arasındaki ilişkilerin geçmişten günümüze önemli oranda farklılaşmasına rağmen bu gelişmenin sendikal örgütlenmelerin amacında önemli değişmelere yol açmadığı ifade edilebilir. Örneğin Dwivedi'nin (2009, 297) tanımında sendika; işgörenlerin kolektif çıkarlarını korumak ve geliştirmek için kurulmuş, işveren, devlet ve diğer işgören örgütleri gibi toplumsal aktörlerle ilişki içindeki gönüllü işgören örgütlenmesi olarak betimlenmektedir.

Sendika üyeliği aracılığıyla öğretmenler diğer meslektaşlarıyla dayanışma ve iletişim içine girebilmektedir (Bamberry, 2008). Geçmişte özlük haklarının korunması ve grev hakkı gibi üyelik gerekçeleri ön plandayken eğitim politikalarının belirlenmesi sürecinde söz sahibi olmak ve çalıştıkları kurumla ilgili kararları etkilemek gibi genel meslekî kimliği ilgilendiren konular da üyelik gerekçesine dönüşmüştür (Cooper & Sureau, 2008). Öğretmen sendikacılığının endüstriyel sendikacılık ve profesyonel sendikacılık olmak üzere iki modeli söz konusudur (Kerchner & Kopich, 2007). Endüstriyel sendikacılık hiyerarşik çalışma yaşamının koşullarında ortaya çıkmış ve küçük parçalara ayrılmış işlerde çalışan işgörenlerin gereksinimleri doğrultusunda gelişmiş bir sendikal örgütlenme şeklidir. Asıl amaç iş güvencesi, temsil gibi kazanımlar yoluyla öğretmenlerin ve diğer işgörenlerin korunmasıdır (Kerchner & Kaufman, 1995; Castro, 2000). Godard (1997) endüstriyel sendika modelinin ekonomik, demokratikleştirici, bütünleştirici, sosyal demokratik ve çatışmacı olmak üzere beş işlevi bulunduğunu belirtmektedir:

Profesyonel sendikacılık modelinde ise asıl amaç genel olarak meslekî değerlerin korunmasıdır (Castro, 2000). Öğretmen nitelikleri, paylaşılmış karar verme süreçleri, meslektaş rehberliği ve denetimi, meslekî gelişim, veli katılımı, ödül ve teşvik sisteminin değiştirilmesi, yarı özerk okullar, düşük performanslı okullara müdahale stratejileri ve eğitimsel standartlar gibi meslekî konular toplu sözleşme konusuna dönüştürülmüştür (Kopich, 2005; Kerchner & Kopich, 2007). Endüstriyel ilişkiler alanyazınında sendikaların çalışma yeterliliklerine ilişkin çok az kavramsal çalışma mevcuttur. Bu nedenle sendikaların çalışma yeterliliklerine ilişkin çalışmaların çıkış noktasını kuramsal örgütsel etkililik tartışmaları oluşturmaktadır (Hammer & Wazeter, 1993).

Örgüt merkezli bir perspektif benimseyen Fiorito, Jarley ve Delaney (1993) üst düzey sendika yönetici ve personeliyle yürüttükleri çalışmalarında, örgütlenme, toplu sözleşme müzakereleri, ulusal siyasî etkinlikler, yerel siyasî etkinlikler, toplum hizmeti etkinlikleri ve

⁴ "21. Yüzyılda Eğitim" adıyla Balıkesir'de düzenlenen IV. Eğitim Yönetimi Forumu'nda (3-5 Ekim 2013) sunulmuştur.

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grev kararları olmak üzere altı etkililik göstergesi sıralamışlardır. Üye merkezli bir perspektif benimseyen Hammer ve Wazeter (1993) ise sendika etkinliklerine üye katılımı, toplu sözleşme görüşmelerine hazırlık, sendikanın siyasi ve toplumsal etkinliklere katılımı, sendika mantalitesi ve liderlik olmak üzere beş etkililik boyutu belirlemişlerdir. Burchielli'nin (2004) modeline göre sendika etkililiği temsil, yönetim ve ideoloji olmak üzere üç boyut altında incelenebilir:

Öğretmenlerin sendikalardan beklentileri, temsil, ekonomik yeterlilik, karar sürecine katılım, meslekî gelişim ve olumlu meslekî kimliğin teşvik edilmesi olmak üzere beşli bir sınıflandırma içinde çözümlenebilir (Bascia, 2008, 99). Öğretmenlerin birden fazla örgüt tarafından temsil edilmesi, bu örgütler arasındaki ilişkinin dayanışmadan çok rekabete dayalı olarak yürütülmesine yol açmaktadır. Bu noktada Hannan ve Freeman (1988) aynı kıt kaynaklara bağımlı olan örgütlerin üye sayılarını arttırmak için rekabete girmelerinin kaçınılmaz olduğunu belirtmektedir. Sendikaların aynı kıt kaynaklara bağımlı olmaları aralarındaki dayanışmanın sınırlarını daraltmaktadır. Dayanışma, sendikalar veya işgören grupları arasındaki siyasî tartışmalardan doğan kolektif bir eylemdir. Bu nedenle tamamen kapsayıcı genel bir eylemden ziyade önceden kararlaştırılmış sınırlar içinde bir işbirliği niteliğindedir (Hanagan, 2003). Dobson (1997) aynı işkolunda faaliyet gösteren sendikalar arası ilişkileri sendikal eylemler, iş uygulamaları ve toplu sözleşme görüşmeleri altında tartışmaktadır.

Bu araştırmanın amacı sendika üyesi olan ve sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenlerin eğitim sendikalarına ilişkin görüşleri ve beklentilerini saptamaktır. Bu doğrultuda araştırmanın alt amaçları aşağıda verilmiştir: Öğretmenler, (1) Sendika üyesi ise neden sendika üyesi olmuştur? Sendika üyesi değilse neden üye olmamıştır? (2) Eğitim sendikalarının en önemli işlevleri olarak neyi görmektedirler? (3) Sendika çalışma yeterliliklerini nasıl değerlendirmektedirler? (4) Eğitim sendikalarından beklentileri nelerdir? (temsiliyet, çalışma koşulları, özlük haklarını iyileştirme, hakları koruma, meslekî bilgi ve deneyimi geliştirme vb.) (5) Eğitim sendikaları arasındaki dayanışmayı, rekabeti ve ilişkiyi nasıl değerlendirmektedirler?

Yöntem

Bu araştırma, nitel araştırma desenlerinden görüngübilim kullanılarak yapılandırılmıştır. Çalışma grubunu, Ankara ili merkez ilçelerinde görev yapan sendika üyesi olan sekiz öğretmen ve sendika üyesi olmayan altı öğretmen oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmada, farklı bakış açılarına ve deneyimlere sahip sırasıyla en fazla üyeye sahip Eğitim-Bir-Sen, Eğitim-Sen, Türk Eğitim-Sen ve Eğitim-İş sendikası üyesi olan ve sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler seçilerek nitel analizin inanılabilirlik (credibility) koşullarından olan veri çeşitlemesi koşulu (Shenton, 2004; Denzin, 1978, 295 Akt: Berg, 2001, 6) yerine getirilmiştir. Veriler 2013-2014 eğitim- öğretim yılının Eylül ayında, Ankara ili Çankaya, Gölbaşı, Mamak, Yenimahalle ilçelerinde ilkökul ve ortaokullarda görev yapan sendika üyesi olan ve sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenlerden toplanmıştır. Araştırmada veri toplama aracı olarak, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu geliştirilmiştir. Form, eğitim sendikaları ile ilgili araştırmaların taranması sonucunda hazırlanmıştır. Katılımcı öğretmenlerle yüz yüze bireysel görüşme yapılmıştır. Katılımcı öğretmenden izin alınarak görüşme ses kaydı ve/veya not alma işlemi yapılarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşme verileri içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur.

Sonuç, Tartışma ve Öneriler

Araştırma sonuçları siyasî ideolojinin, sendika üyesi olan öğretmenler için en önemli üyelik gerekçesi iken sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler için en önemli üye olmama gerekçesi olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte sendika üyeliğine ilişkin alanyazın incelendiğinde siyasal yaklaşımdan ziyade araçsal yaklaşımın ağırlıklı olduğu görülmektedir. Araçsal yaklaşımın öne çıktığı araştırmasında Gani (1996) sendikaların öncelikle özlük hakkı koruma ve geliştirme aracı olarak görüldüğünü ifade etmektedir. İşgörenler arası dayanışma, iş güvencesi, çalışma koşullarının iyileştirilmesi, ücret artışı, meslektaş baskısı vb. etkenler sendika üyeliği üzerinde etkili olmaktadır (Gani, 1996). Peetz (1998 Akt: Bamberry, 2008) işgörenlerin genellikle iş güvencesi, başka bir ifadeyle işgören haklarının korunması, temsil, üyelerine adil muamele edilmesini sağlanması, meslektaş baskısı, ideoloji ve sendikanın etkililiği gibi nedenlerle sendikalara üye olduklarını belirterek Gani'nin ulaştığı sonuçları desteklemekte birlikte ideoloji ve sendikanın etkililiği gibi etkenlerin de üyelik gerekçesi olabileceğini ifade etmektedir. Bamberry (2008) ise temsil ve iş güvencesi gibi etkenlerin öğretmenler için en önemli üyelik nedenleri olduğu sonucuna ulaşmıştır. Araştırmada elde edilen sonuçlar Gani (1996), Peetz (1998) ve Bamberry'nin (2008) ulaştığı sonuçlarla büyük ölçüde benzerlik taşımaktadır; ancak Murillo (1999) birden fazla sendikanın işlev gösterdiği çevrelerde sendikaların siyasî partilerle çok yakın ilişki içinde bulunabileceğini belirterek sendikal seçimin siyasal seçimle olan ilişkisine dikkat çekmektedir. Araçsal ve siyasal yaklaşımı yansıtan etkenlerin yanı sıra öğretmenlerin eğitim öğretim sürecinin geliştirilmesinde etkili olmak amacıyla da sendika üyesi oldukları sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Kopich (2007) bu durumun eğitim sisteminin ve öğretmenlik mesleğinin yeniden yapılanma sürecinde sendikaların ve öğretmenlerin daha çok söz sahibi olma arayışlarından kaynaklandığını belirtmektedir.

Sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenlerin üye olmama gerekçelerine ilişkin sonuçlarla alanyazındaki sonuçlar arasındaki farklılıklar göze çarpmaktadır. Ulaşılan sonuçlar işgörenlerin sendikalara üye olmama gerekçelerini sendikaların etkisizliği, sendikaların işgörelere ulaşamaması, ideoloji ve işverenlerin olumsuz tutumu şeklinde sıralayan Peetz'in (1998 Akt: Bamberry, 2008) bulgularıyla sadece ideoloji etkeninde örtüşmektedir. Sendika üyesi öğretmenler, ideolojik yaklaşımları nedeniyle eğitim sendikalarına üye olmuşlardır. Sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler de ideolojik yaklaşımları nedeniyle eğitim sendikalarına üye olmamışlardır. Eğitim sendikaları, sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenlere ideolojik perspektifin dışına çıkarak yaklaşmalı, özlük haklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesi ve öğretmenlik mesleğinin saygınlığının artırılması için yapılanları öne çıkarmalıdır.

Sendikaların en önemli işlevlerine ilişkin ulaşılan sonuçlar değerlendirildiğinde özlük haklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesi, hem sendika üyesi öğretmenler hem de sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler için eğitim sendikalarının en önemli işlevi olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Araştırmaya katılan öğretmenler, özlük haklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesi, siyasî görüşün desteklenmesi ve temsil gibi endüstriyel sendikacılık faaliyetlerini eğitim öğretim sürecinin geliştirilmesi ve meslekî sosyalleşme gibi profesyonel sendikacılık faaliyetlerine göre eğitim sendikalarının daha önemli işlevleri olarak görmektedir. Elde edilen sonuçların; sendikaların işlevlerini üyelerin çıkarlarının temsil edilmesi, çalışma koşullarının düzenlenmesi, üyelerin politika geliştirme süreçlerinde temsil edilmesi, kamu politikalarının uygulanması ile üye kazanma ve üyelerine hizmet etme şeklinde sıralayan Ewing'in (2005) sonuçlarını desteklediği görülmektedir.

Hem sendika üyesi öğretmenler hem de sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler, özlük haklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesi açısından eğitim sendikalarının yetersiz olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenlerle karşılaştırıldığında sendika üyesi öğretmenlerin sendikaların yeterli olduğu daha çok alan bulunduğunu belirtmeleri, sendika üyelerinin üye olmayanlara göre sendikalara daha olumlu yaklaştıklarını belirten Godard'ı (1997) desteklemektedir. Buna ek olarak sendika üyesi öğretmenlerden elde edilen sonuçlar, öğretmenlerin daha çok endüstriyel sendikacılık faaliyeti kapsamındaki konularda sendikalarını yeterli bulduklarını göstermektedir. Bu noktada Godard (1997) sendikaların; büyük ölçüde geleneksel endüstriyel sendikacılık faaliyetleri kapsamında değerlendirilen grev, eylem, iş güvencesi, temsil vb. konularda yeterli görülürken, endüstriyel sendikacılık faaliyetleri dışında kalan performansın artırılması, üye ve yönetim arasında dengeli ilişkiler kurma, aidiyet duygusu yaratma vb. profesyonel sendikacılıkla ilgili konularda çalışma yeterliliklerinin genellikle düşük bulunduğunu belirtmektedir. Eğitim sendikası yetkilileri, hem sendika üyesi öğretmenlerin hem de sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenlerin ihtiyaç ve beklentilerini göz önünde bulundurarak özlük haklarının geliştirilmesine yönelik kurumsal eylem, program ve planlarını gözden geçirmelidir.

Sendika üyesi öğretmenler, sırasıyla, en çok, özlük haklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesi, temsil ile meslekî gelişim beklentisi taşırken; sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler, sırasıyla, en çok, temsil, özlük haklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesi ile meslekî gelişim beklentisini taşımaktadır. Her iki grubun endüstriyel sendikacılık faaliyetleri beklentisinin profesyonel sendikacılık beklentilerine göre daha ön planda olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Benzer şekilde Bascia (2008, 99) çalışmasında öğretmenler için sendikanın, ideallerden çok pragmatik gerekçelerle oluşturulan bir araç olduğunu ve profesyonel kontrol veya sınıf çatışması gibi soyut kavramlardan ziyade iş yaşamlarında karşılaştıkları güçlükler nedeniyle varlık bulduğu sonucuna ulaşmıştır. Eğitim sendikaları, öğretmenlere yönelik akademik/ meslekî gelişim faaliyetleri düzenlemeli, öğretmenlik mesleğinin saygınlığını arttıracak faaliyetlerde bulunmalı, öğrencilerin akademik başarılarının artırılmasını sağlamalıdır.

Rekabet, hem sendika üyesi öğretmenler hem de sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler tarafından eğitim sendikaları arasındaki baskın ilişki olarak görülmektedir. İdeolojik farklılık etkeninin, hem sendika üyesi öğretmenler hem de sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler için rekabete yol açtığı belirtilmiştir. Benzer şekilde Blind (2007) sendikaların siyasî partilerle yakın ilişkilerinin ideolojik farklılığa dayalı bir rekabete yol açabileceğini belirtmektedir. Bu bağlamda öğretmen sendikaları paylaşılmış ideolojiler etrafında siyasî partilerle çok sıkı bağlara sahip olmuş, hatta bazı durumlarda hükümet kararlarını meşrulaştırıcı roller üstlenebilmiştir (Govender, 2004). Öte yandan hem sendika üyesi öğretmenler hem de sendika üyesi olmayan öğretmenler özlük haklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesi etkeninin işbirliğine yol açtığı belirtmiştir. Ulaşılan sonuçlar sendikalar arası işbirliğinin kapsayıcı bir eylemden ziyade önceden kararlaştırılan sınırlar içinde gerçekleşen dar kapsamlı bir eylem olduğu yönündeki Hanagan'ın (2003) sonuçlarıyla örtüşmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Eğitim sendikaları, Sendikadan beklentiler, Sendika işlevleri, Sendika çalışma yeterlikleri, Sendikalar arası ilişkiler

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