

A Study on the Evaluation of Education Unions in Terms of Purposes and Activities Stated in their Constitutions

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To cite this article:

Dilbaz, E., & Erkilic, T. A. (2021). A study on the evaluation of education unions in terms of purposes and activities stated in their constitutions. *Journal of Qualitative Research in Education*, 28, 241-261. doi: 10.14689/enad.10

Abstract: This study aims to determine how education unions that have the most members in Turkey include the aims and activities in their statutes in terms of the functions of the unions. Furthermore, it aims to identify how the determined purposes and activities are distributed according to unions and the functions of the unions. The study is a qualitative research in the type of document analysis. Purpose and functions of the unions; their perspectives on politics and democracy, labour relations, education and development have been studied on the dimensions of socio-economic and socio-psychological functions. In the study, 27 evaluators selected from four groups as academicians, union managers, education administrators, and teachers were asked to classify items related to goals and activities in five categories. Based on the evaluators' classification, the Fleiss Kappa coefficient was found. At this stage, it was observed that the Fleiss Kappa value indicated a significant agreement. In the study, the constitutions of the four education unions with the highest number of members were examined in five dimensions. The data were analysed using the five-stage content analysis method. As a result, it is possible to suggest that education unionism in Turkey has an organisational mentality that emphasises social and political issues. It is concluded that it is necessary to conduct qualitative studies which aim to determine the purposes of unions, their determined goals, and which mission they have undertaken.

Keywords: Education unions, Functions of unions, Union purposes and activities, Business relations.

Article Info

Received: 13 Aug. 2021

Revised: 06 Oct. 2021

Accepted: 20 Oct. 2021

Article Type

Research

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Declaration of Conflicts of Interests: None

Introduction

Trade unions are professional organisations that aim to defend and develop employees' economic and social rights and interests. It can be suggested that such organisations as foundations, funds and associations are more specific to the country or the institution for which they work. On the other hand, the main difference between trade unions and classical organisations such as chambers and general unions is that they focus on developing personal rights and interests in economic and social contexts rather than professional development and gains.

Trade unions have undertaken certain multi-faceted functions to create, protect, and develop economic, political, social, and organisational demands on a national and international scale. It is observed that they focus on certain common points considering the functions and purposes of unions in general. Referring to Allen and Keaveeny (1988) and Salamon (2005), the common points about the functions of the unions can be summarised as economic gains, improvement of working conditions, social solidarity, personal satisfaction, and creating social-political power. Unions primarily strive for the economic gains of their members through collective bargaining. Regulation of work and working conditions is another dimension of collective bargaining. They work to help and support their members for health, social justice and welfare improvements. Members meet their needs for self-disclosure and self-actualisation by obtaining personal satisfaction through participation in the decisions and actions of unions. They seek to build power while performing all functions, purposes, and actions. Unions work to change the social and political functioning of the country in favour of their members with their own reference (Isikli, 2005).

Unions can be examined in three different groups in terms of their perspectives on trade unionism and the social functions of unions. These are pragmatic unionism, reformist unionism and Marxist unionism (Uckan Hekimler, 2015). Pragmatic unionism is also known as American-style unionism. Trade unions that perform this type of union organisation only carry out activities to improve their members' living and working conditions. Instead of class consciousness or mass unionism, they only focus on the problems of the employees and do not have close relations with political parties and other non-governmental organisations. In a way, they are the representatives of the 'yellow unionism' approach in the literature.

The second type, reformist unionism, advocates the preservation and development of capitalism and democracy, social welfare and equitable distribution, and income distribution. Such unions have struggled for universal suffrage and political democracy, social welfare and fair income distribution, especially in the Western world. For this purpose, they are in close contact with political parties and democratic mass organisations. This type of unionism has been in organic relations with social democratic and democratic socialist parties, mostly in the middle left of the political spectrum. It has gained strength in Western and Central Europe (Sulker, 2004).

The third group, Marxist syndicalism, draws strength from Marx's scientific socialist ideology. Such unions argue that a class struggle exists between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in industrial societies, and capitalism exploits surplus value. Socialism for the abolition of exploitation and an egalitarian life is their long-term goal (Aren, 2014). At this point, they function as organisations that influence the parliament and political powers to obtain short-term gains for long-term purposes (Koray, 2018).

Unionist perspective also transforms as everything changes. It is clear that social structures in the capitalist and socialist world exhibited partial transformation, especially in the 1990s, following "Perestroika" and "Glasnost". This affected the trade union movements, as well. After the Second World War, the trade unionism of the bipolar world gradually weakened. Models and practices such as neo-liberal policies, privatisation, subcontracting, service procurement, piece-rate pay, rising unemployment, technological development, and professionalisation have negatively affected unionism (Mahirogullari, 2012).

Despite all the negative developments for unionisation, especially starting from the 1990s, unionisation of public employees in Turkey was frequently on the agenda. In the new trade unionism, which gained strength in quantitative and qualitative terms since the nineties, the following characteristics have become dominant over time: Trade unions distinguish themselves by their ideological aspects. Unionism with a purely political background is dominant. In public unionism, especially education unions and teachers lead the organisation (Cerev, 2013).

The tradition of the professional organisation of teachers, which dates back to the pre-Republican period, shows different characteristics in terms of leadership. Those who have gained quantitative and qualitative strength by leading the teacher organisation for many years are nationalist, republican, left, social democrat, and the socialist bloc. Apart from this bloc, before the 12 March 1971 Memorandum, nationalist teacher organisations drew attention (Acuner, 1994). It is observed that, before the 12 September Military Coup, teacher organisations were shaped in the shadow of the active politics of the right and left at the extremes of the political spectrum (Akyuz, 1980). It is also observed that, in this period, for the first time, the Islamist National Vision movement took the stage with the "Idealist Teachers' Association". It is seen that four wings in the teacher's organisation manifested themselves in the union struggle starting from the 1990s. These are the leftist and social-democratic Kemalist line, a revolutionary socialist group; nationalist line, a conservative democratic line, the new version of idealistic teacher groups (Eraslan, 2012). These groups are in the first four in terms of the number of members.

All trade union movements have a social, economic, and political background. This is a phenomenon considering the relationship between union and politics. In the literature, union-politics relations are described on three models as independent, interdependent and dependent (Mahirogullari, 2013).

The following points stand out regarding the definitions of different models. In the independent model, any parties are not directly supported by the unions. The basic principle is that the union should not fall under the control and supervision of a political party. However, the union indirectly influences the party and political lines for their basic demands and gains. Instead of extensive sociological and political arguments, they are generally oriented towards acquiring and developing wages and social rights (Akgeyik, 1994). It is necessary to state that the independent model is very difficult to implement in political practice, and the unions experience ideological deviations. It can naturally be stated that unions are leftist and inclined to socialism as the left and social democratic unionism are at the root of unionism (Heywood, 2019). In the interdependent model, unions and political parties mutually support each other; They aim to serve a common purpose in such issues as democracy, social welfare and justice. In this context, reformist unionism is dominant in general (Uckan, Kagnicioglu, & Celik, 2013). In the dependent model, unions cannot maintain their independence against political parties. In this context, it is possible to mention two different examples. First, they are party-affiliated unions in the old real socialist model called an obligatory dependent relationship. The second is; the dependency between the union and the political institution can be voluntaristic. The basis of this model in Western democracies is the relationship of voluntary dependence (Tokol, 2017).

The functioning of the trade unions in social practice is constantly on the public agenda, both in theory and in practice. The determinants of this theory and practice are undoubtedly multidimensional. One of the most concrete indicators of the unions' reference frames and ideological views is their constitutions; they are, in a sense, the constitutions of trade unions. Through their constitutions, unions form a decision framework on the relations between members, employers, public administration, and unions. Constitutions are the official manifestos of trade unions. The constitutions also specify the union membership conditions, the election of the authorised boards and working conditions, duties, powers, and rules in its different sections, and how the legal entity operates.

By examining organisations' structures, it can be suggested that these structures are a guideline for human behaviour in organisations. Organisations as a management function in which the efforts of individuals are coordinated towards specific goals; as a structure which determines their personality and has a unique culture; shows their jobs, positions, employees, and the authority and communication relations between them (Guclu, 2003, p.147), structures that direct, use, and coordinate the material and human resources of the organisation to achieve their goals (Gursel, 2012, p. 18). The organisational structure consists of two dimensions: the structural dimension, which characterises the organisation's internal dynamics, and the contextual dimension, which shapes this structural dimension and includes concepts such as the environment, culture, and technology in which the organisation lives (Daft, 2008). Trade union organisations in Turkey have a structurally dynamic character that allows them to function as representatives of the systems and institutions of public life, starting with creating the rhetoric of protest and seeking rights.

Various reactions have been given to trade unions in Turkey. According to some, unionisation is extremely positive, and it is interpreted as an important function in the protection and development of fundamental rights and freedoms. Some union struggle functions, such as strikes, constitute an important aspect for the union members in protecting their interests (Gulmez, 2010, p.38). According to others, however, they are extremely negative organisations that disrupt the working peace and are against the country's integrity. Undoubtedly, these examples can be multiplied with positive and negative perception dimensions depending on different political tendencies. In this context, criticisms or rhetoric based on exaggerated verbal communication are constantly used. Thus, how the unions manifest their purposes in their written official manifestos, whether or not any differences exist among them, what issues they highlight, and whether the purposes set in the constitutions differ are important problems areas.

Purpose

The main purpose of this study is to determine what purposes and activities are included in the constitutions of education unions (which have the highest number of members in Turkey regarding the unions' functions). In line with this purpose, answers to the following question have been sought: How are purposes and activities included in constitutions of education unions in the dimensions of

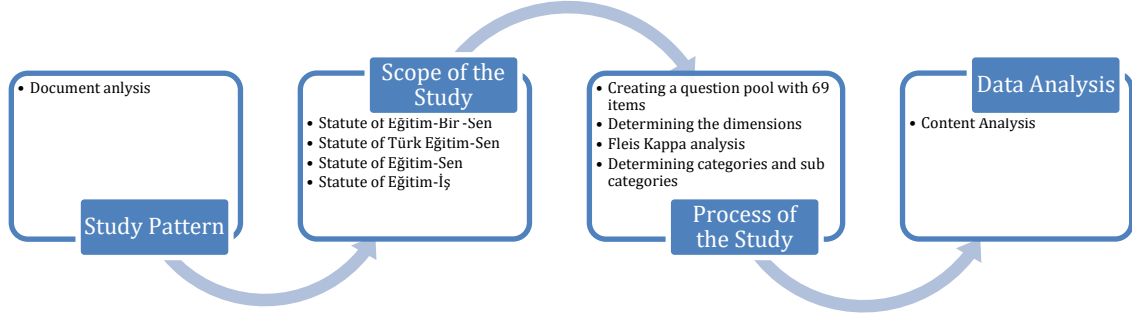
- a) politics and democracy
- b) labour relations
- c) education and development
- d) socio-psychological
- e) socio-economical functions

Methodology

The study is a qualitative research in the type of document analysis. In the literature, documents are also called "physical data" and are accepted as an important part of material culture (Akturan, 2008, p. 117). Documents are resources which must be taken into consideration in qualitative research as a great convenience which enables to access information without the need for observation or interview (Yildirim & Simsek, 2011, p.187). Document analysis is a method widely used in educational sciences (Karasar, 2013, p.183). In the case of educational scientific studies, such conditions as the fact that the research subject is based on an institution or policy analysis and that it considers the status and results of the programs lead the educational scientist to use the document analysis method predominantly (Ulutas, 2015, p.288). The process of the study is shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1:

Study Process



In the study process, the study's design has been determined based on the purpose. Then, the purposes stated in the constitutions of the four unions with the highest number of members who are active in the education line of work were included. A pool of questions was created in this framework, and five dimensions related to union purposes were suggested. Fleiss Kappa analysis was performed to group the 68 items in the question pool into five dimensions, and categories and subcategories were determined. In the final stage, the data were analysed using content analysis.

Scope of the Study

This study aimed to examine and compare the constitutions in various dimensions of the education unions with the highest number of members which are Eğitimciler Birliği Sendikası (Educators' Trade Union, Eğitim-Bir-Sen), Türkiye Eğitim, Öğretim ve Bilim Hizmetleri Kolu Kamu Çalışanları Sendikası (Turkey Education and Science Services Branch Public Employees Trade Union, Türk Eğitim-Sen), Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası (Education and Science Labourers' Trade Union, Eğitim-Sen), (Eğitim ve Bilim İşgörenleri Sendikası (Education and Science Employees' Union, Eğitim-İş). In this context, the union constitutions of Eğitim-Bir-Sen (EBS), Türk Eğitim-Sen (TES), Eğitim-Sen (ES), and Eğitim-İş (Eİ), which have the highest number of members, are examined in the dimensions of a) *the unions' understanding of politics and democracy*, b) *the aims of the unions in terms of their union and labour relations functions*, c) *the aims of the unions in terms of their education and development functions*, d) *aims of the unions in terms of their socio-psychological functions*, and e) *the aims of the unions in terms of their socio-economic functions*.

In selecting the constitutions, which are the documents subject to the study, it has been taken as a criterion that they are the latest and up-to-date. The document analysis process is a process that should be conducted systematically. It consists of five stages: accessing documents, checking the originality of documents, obtaining utilisation permits, understanding documents, and using data (Forster, 1994). In this context, the documents were reached, and a preliminary examination of the documents was performed. Since the documents subject to the study are publicly disclosed, a utilisation

permit was not obtained. Afterwards, the documents were read and finally, the data obtained as a result of detailed examination were used.

Research Process of the Study

A pool of 69 questions regarding the purposes of the trade unions, which was formed based on the unions' constitutions and was finalised based on the opinions of three field experts, was formed. Then, researchers and three field experts coded the possible themes based on descriptive indexes. After marking the appropriate theme in the coding key, the coding comparison and reliability study phase started. In the comparison and reliability phase of coding, the numbers related to the "agreement" and "disagreement" from the researchers' and experts' markings were revealed. Intercoder coding reliability was calculated using the following formula: $\text{reliability} = \frac{\text{consensus}}{\text{consensus} + \text{disagreement}}$ (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.64). According to this calculation, the reliability was found to be 0.86. Accordingly, researchers and three field experts have revealed that 68 items containing the aims of the unions can be considered in the context of any of the dimensions, including 1) unions' understanding of politics and democracy, 2) unions' purposes in terms of union and labour relations, 3) unions' views on education, 4) unions' goals in socio-psychological dimension, and 5) unions' goals in socio-economic dimension.

The study aimed to examine the comparative agreement between the evaluators regarding the aims of the unions. At this stage, Fleiss Kappa statistics, which is a non-parametric statistical type, was used. Non-parametric tests are used when any information on the universe does not exist, and these tests do not make predictions about the universe (Karagoz, 2010, p.19). Kappa statistics were developed to determine the degree of agreement between two raters who score at the classification level (Cohen, 1960). However, the κ statistic, which was limited to two raters, was generalised by Fleiss (1971) to determine the agreement between more than two raters (Fleiss, 1971). The biggest advantage of Kappa statistics is the easy calculation and practical interpretation. Another important advantage is that it corrects the expected harmony by chance (Bilgen & Dogan, 2017, p.66). Since there were 27 evaluators in the study, the Fleiss kappa coefficient was used (Fleiss, 1971, p. 378).

In the study, the evaluators who are to be consulted as experts for the Fleiss Kappa statistic were selected through stratified sampling, one of the non-random purposeful sampling methods. Among the purposeful sampling techniques, the stratified purposeful sampling method was preferred for its suitability to the study. The advantage of purposeful sampling is that it gives the researcher a chance to return to people and events that are critical to the study (Denscombe, 2007). Accordingly, the evaluator group was divided into four groups (academician, union manager, education manager, and teacher). While grouping, those who were in both the union manager and one of the other three categories were considered as union managers; those who were both education managers and academicians or teachers were considered as education managers. At this point, approximately equal numbers of

participants were selected from four strata, taking into account time and cost factors and easy accessibility. Thus, it is aimed to provide equal representation of different sides of the subject in the classification process. In this context, the evaluator group includes seven academicians, five professors, and two associate professors who worked at the universities, schools, and education unions in the central districts of Eskişehir in the 2020-2021 academic year; seven trade union representatives consisting of the workplace, district, and province representatives; seven education managers consisting of school principals, assistant principals, and branch managers; and six teachers who work at primary and secondary schools.

The evaluators categorised the articles related to the purposes of the unions. At this stage, the evaluator group, which consisted of 27 people, was asked to classify 68 items in the pool of questions that were addressed to them based on five dimensions.

The study aims to examine the comparative agreement between the evaluators regarding the purposes of the trade unions. As a result of the analysis, it was observed that the agreement values were between .334 and 1.00; $\bar{p} = .723$ and $\bar{p}_e = .216$. The analysis performed to reach the Fleiss Kappa value over these data was calculated as $K = .646$.

Kappa statistic takes a reading between -1 and +1, but negative values are not considered as they indicate the level of the agreement below the expected by chance (Fleiss, 1971; Goodwin, 2001). Examining the values considered in the interpretation of Fleiss Kappa reliability values in the literature, it is observed that values between .61 and .80 are interpreted as significant agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977). Considering the Fleiss Kappa reliability value obtained as .646 as a result of the study, it can be claimed that it shows a significant agreement in terms of evaluator reliability.

In the distribution of the purposes and activities of the trade unions based on the dimensions, the data of the level of agreement of the evaluators for the five dimensions are given in Table 1 below:

Table 1.

Level of Evaluator Reliability of the Purposes and Activities of the Trade Unions Based on the Dimensions

Dimensions	P_i
Politics and democracy	.762
Labour relations	.671
Education	.645
Sociopsychology	.679
Socioeconomy	.856
\bar{p}	.723

Considering the evaluator reliability, which indicates a significant agreement according to the table, it is observed that a total of 27 evaluators classified the 21 items in the general pool under the title of unions' perspective of politics and democracy. In this context, evaluators consider the following sub-dimensions under the politics and

democracy dimension of the trade unions' purposes and activities: defending national sovereignty; freedom of religion and conscience; secularism (separation of religion and state); Atatürk and his reforms; defending peace - opposition to war, exploitation; respect and development of national and moral values; opposition to tutelage and oligarchy; positive discrimination for women and youth; respect for the roots of civilisation; advocating justice and the rule of law; demand to participate in the country and city governance; advocating democracy and democratisation; protecting the environment, culture and historical values; opposition to racism, reactionism, and separatism; demand to participate in active politics; consumer protection; demand for gender equality; defending the territorial integrity of the country; demand for the modern civilisation; opposition to race, language, religion, gender discrimination; struggle for a humane and fair life.

Evaluators have classified the 14 items in the general pool under the title of purposes of unions in the dimension of union and labour relations. Accordingly, the following items were considered within this scope: struggle for universal trade union rights; merit-based appointment, relocation, and career advancement; developing good working conditions and labour relations; legal support for members; collective bargaining union struggle; trade union struggle with the right to strike; openness to participation in union-management; democratic centralism; union unity and solidarity; class and mass unionism; democracy in union-management; independent unionism; improvement of the social security system and working conditions.

It is observed that the evaluators classified 18 items under the unions' views on education. The following items were considered within the scope of purposes and activities related to education: free education for everyone; equality of opportunity; in-service training within trade union; panel-conference-open session organisation; including research and development activities; developing vocational and technical education; modern, democratic, secular education; public and competence-based education; development of fine arts and sports education; education in the mother tongue; education based on gender equality; participation of students and parents in educational management; developing alternative education systems; creating education funds; correcting the faults of the education system; attaching importance to religious and moral education; raising generations in physically and mentally healthy and national education.

It is observed that the evaluators classified seven items under the socio-psychological function of the unions. In this context, the following sub-dimensions were considered in the socio-psychological dimension: ensuring unity and solidarity among the members; positive discrimination for women; supporting the disabled and positive discrimination; protecting family; social services; protecting and improving mental and physical health and providing some membership services.

Eight of the items in the general pool were classified by the evaluators under the heading of purposes in the socio-economic function dimension of trade unions. The following items were considered within this scope: establishing consumer cooperatives;

good economic return; salary and wage struggle; obtaining more bonuses; obtaining more retirement benefits; establishing building societies; creating relief funds; making economic agreements with companies and providing economic aids to members.

Analysis of the Data

Content analysis, one of the qualitative data analysis methods, has been used in the study. Content analysis reveals the implicit content rather than the immediate explicit content. It is a second reading to determine the elements in the message that affect the individual without being noticed (Bilgin, 2006). Content analysis aims to reach concepts and relationships which can explain the collected data instead of their direct presentation (Yildirim & Simsek, 2011, p.223).

In analysing the documents subject to the study, Kuckartz's (2014) five-stage content analysis method was used. In this framework, the texts were read in the first stage, and general evaluations were made. In the second stage, the categories were created to compare the purposes and functions of the trade unions with the deduction method used in the classification of the existing data in the document analysis. In the third stage, subcategories were determined by performing in-category coding. The data categorised in the fourth stage were analysed, and the results were presented in the last stage.

Findings

Findings and interpretations regarding the sub-purposes of the study have been considered under the headings of the perspective of politics and democracy, labour relations functions, education and development functions, socio-psychological functions, and socio-economic functions.

Perspectives of the Trade Unions on Democracy and Politics

Table 2 below presents how trade unions are included in their constitution's purpose and activities section regarding their perspectives on politics and democracy. In the context of defending, establishing and developing democracy, all of the four trade unions find common ground. Undoubtedly, it can be stated that this common denominator is an important gain in terms of what is understood by the demand for democracy. The themes of defending the nation's sovereignty, opposition to tutelage and oligarchy are included only in the constitution of Eğitim-Bir-Sen. This can also be interpreted as maintaining an organically dependent relationship with the political circles that continuously use these themes. The trade unions which include the subject of Atatürk and his reforms in their constitutions are Eğitim-İş and Türk-Eğitim-Sen. It is also observed in their constitution that this theme is an important issue for the unions. It is seen that Eğitim-Sen is the only union that includes the opposition to war,

exploitation, and demand for peace in its constitution. This can be interpreted as a reflection of the common language used in national and international platforms, especially in socialist rhetoric. It can be stated that Egitim-Sen, a member of Education International, has a similar argument with this international organisation. The subject of secularism is included by the unions other than Eđitim-Bir-Sen. The absence of secularism in the constitution of Eđitim-Bir-Sen may be because it plays the part of the present representative of the classical idealistic tradition. It is observed that Eđitim-Bir-Sen and Türk-Eđitim-Sen give place to the theme of national and spiritual values in their constitutions. This common denominator can be interpreted as a reflection of the conservative identities of both unions. Eđitim-Bir-Sen is the only trade union that gives place to the theme of freedom of religion and conscience. This may be related to the union's interpretation and perception of secularism. It can be interpreted as a reflection of the union's approach to freedom of religion and worship that Eđitim-Bir-Sen is the only union to include freedom of religion and conscience in the constitution.

Table 2.

Distribution of the Purpose and Activities in the Dimension of Politics and Democracy

Dimension	EBS	Eİ	ES	TES
Defending National Sovereignty	√	√	√	√
Freedom of Religion and Conscience	√	√	√	√
Secularism (Separation of State and Religion)		√	√	
Atatürk and Reforms		√		√
Defending peace - opposition to war, exploitation		√	√	
Respect for and development of national and moral values	√			√
Opposition to tutelage and oligarchy	√			
Positive discrimination for women and youth	√	√	√	√
Respect for the roots of civilisation	√			
Advocating justice and the rule of law	√	√	√	√
Demand to participate in the country and city governance	√	√	√	√
Advocating democracy and democratisation	√	√	√	√
Protecting the environment, culture and historical values	√	√	√	√
Opposition to racism, reactionism and separatism		√		
Demand to participate in active politics	√	√	√	√
Consumer protection		√		
Demand for gender equality			√	
Defending the territorial integrity of the country		√		√
Modern Civilisation		√		√
Opposition to race, language, religion, gender discrimination	√	√	√	√
Struggle for a humane and fair life		√	√	

As a general evaluation for the study sub-purpose, it is possible to state that trade unions meet on a common ground on democracy and human rights. The existence of certain differences in the expressions of these common denominators can be expressed. It can be claimed that the unions other than Eđitim-Bir-Sen do not include the issue of defending the sovereignty of the nation, opposition to tutelage, and oligarchy is because this issue was handled around the concept of 'democracy'. It can be said that other unions also meet on common ground in the context of national sovereignty in their discourse and actions. The unions were divided into two about Atatürk and his

reforms. This can be attributed to the country experiencing a significant turning point over Kemalism in the 1990s and 2000s. It is observed that the theme of the demand for peace and opposition to war and exploitation is handled directly and exclusively by Eđitim-Sen. This can be interpreted as a reflection of the relatively dominant socialist ideology in the union. Secularism can be considered as another general common denominator. However, Eđitim-Bir-Sen expresses the theme with a separate concept, 'freedom of religion and conscience'. Eđitim-Bir-Sen and Türk-Eđitim-Sen handle the theme 'national and moral values'. This can be interpreted as the reflection of right-wing politics to trade union rhetoric and socialisation criterion in Turkish political practice.

Labour Relations Functions

Table 3 below presents how the trade unions include labour relations functions in their constitutions' purpose and activities section.

Table 3.

Distribution of the Purposes in the Dimension of Labour Relations Functions of the Unions

Dimension	EBS	Eİ	ES	TES
Struggle for international trade union rights	√	√	√	√
Merit-based appointment, relocation and career advancement	√	√	√	√
Developing good working conditions and labour relations	√	√	√	√
Legal support for members	√	√	√	√
Collective bargaining unions struggle	√	√	√	√
Trade unions struggle with the right to strike	√	√	√	
Openness to participation in union-management	√	√	√	√
Democratic centralism		√	√	
Union unity and solidarity	√	√	√	√
Class and mass unionism		√	√	
Democracy in union-management		√	√	
Independent unionism		√		
Improvement of social security system				√
Improvement of working conditions	√	√	√	√

All of the unions, directly or indirectly, include economic gain, wages, and social assistance in the union purposes. This can be observed as a result of employees making their trade union choices based on salary. All unions include union struggles with collective bargaining. This can be interpreted as the result that the trade unions believe collective bargaining is the main strategy to gain and improve economic and social rights. However, the right to strike is demanded only by Eđitim-İş and Eđitim-Sen. This can be based on the aforementioned unions' adoption of class and mass unionism. Unity and solidarity stand out as one of the common denominators of the trade unions. Training and development are included in the purposes of all trade unions. This can be attributed to the unions being organised in education. Thus their members level of awareness is high, as well as the working conditions of the unions. It

is observed that the themes of protecting the family, psychological health and freedom of religion and conscience are expressed only by Eğitim-Bir-Sen. This can be considered as a natural reflection of the union's conservative and national perspective. Democratic, legal rights and interests, and improving working conditions are observed as common purposes in all unions. This may be because unions need law and democracy in their struggle. It is seen that improving working conditions is reflected in the constitutions of all unions as a basic principle of classical unionism. Türk-Eğitim-Sen is the only union that includes free unionism.

All of the unions include directly or with various concepts the common goals of unions such as economic gain, salary and social aid, union struggle with collective bargaining, education and development, democratic legal rights and interests, and improving working conditions. On the other hand, the issue of the right to strike is only mentioned by Eğitim-İş and Eğitim-Sen.

As a general interpretation, the following can be stated: It can be said that the trade unions reflect the references, which they adopt, on their purposes. In a sense, they include their own social, cultural and economic-political rhetoric in their purposes. Apart from that, they focus on common classical trade union functions.

Education and Development Functions

Table 4 presents the findings regarding the education and development functions of the trade unions and how they are included in the purpose and activities section of their constitutions.

Table 4.

Distribution of the Purposes and Activities in the Education and Development Function Dimensions of the Trade Unions

Dimension	EBS	Eİ	ES	TES
Free education for everyone	√	√	√	
Equality in opportunity in education	√	√	√	√
In-service training in trade union	√	√	√	√
Organising panel, conference and open discussions	√	√	√	√
Including research and development activities	√	√	√	√
Developing vocational and technical education	√			
Contemporary, democratic, secular education		√	√	
Public and competency-based education		√	√	
Improvement of fine arts and sports education		√	√	
Education in mother tongue			√	
Education on gender equality			√	
Participation of students and parents in educational management			√	
Developing alternative education systems			√	
Creating an education fund			√	
Correcting the faults of the education system				√
Attaching importance to religious and moral education	√			
Raising generations physically and mentally healthy	√			
National education		√		√

It is observed that all of the unions, except Türk-Eğitim-Sen, include free education in their constitutions. All four trade unions agree on the themes of equal opportunities in education, in-service training in trade unions, organising panels, conferences, open sessions, and research and development activities. This is important because education unions attach importance to education. Unions tend to increase their members' awareness and educate them in the context of common ideals.

It is observed that Eğitim-İş and Eğitim-Sen particularly include the development of contemporary, democratic, secular education, public and competency-based education, and fine arts and sports education in their constitutions. This reflects the common history of both unions in the past and their shared perspective on democracy and secularism. In a sense, this can be seen as a point where reformist/evolutionary unionism and revolutionary unionism can come together in the context of democracy and a better life.

Eğitim-Sen differs from the other trade unions in terms of education in the mother tongue, education based on gender equality, participation of students and parents in education management, developing alternative education systems, and creating education funds. Its radical revolutionary perspective can explain the differentiation of Eğitim-Sen from the other trade unions in these dimensions. Eğitim-Bir-Sen draws special emphasis on developing vocational and technical education, attaching importance to religious and moral education, and raising generations in good physical and mental health. This can be considered a reflection of the conservative perspective the union brought from the school of idealistic teachers and particular focus on religion and morality.

It is observed that Eğitim-İş and Türk-Eğitim-Sen use different words to include national education in their constitutions. It is noteworthy that both unions differ from the others by including the issues of national unity, Atatürk and country integrity.

Socio-psychological Functions

The distribution of purposes and activities in the socio-psychological dimension is given in Table 5 below.

Table 5.

Distribution of Purposes and Activities of the Unions in the Dimension of Socio-psychological Functions

Dimension	EBS	Eİ	ES	TES
Ensuring unity and solidarity among the members	√	√	√	√
Positive discrimination for women	√	√	√	
Supporting the disabled and positive discrimination	√	√	√	
Protecting family	√			√
Social aids	√	√	√	√
Protecting and improving mental and physical health	√			√
Providing membership services				√

Providing unity and solidarity among the members and social aids are among all four unions' common goals. In addition, it is observed that trade unions other than Türk-Eğitim-Sen include the purposes of providing positive discrimination for women, supporting the disabled, and providing positive discrimination as separate articles in their constitution. This is the unions' effort to catch up with the current developments, even in the context of the constitution. Eğitim-Bir-Sen and Türk-Eğitim-Sen include the purpose of protecting and improving mental and physical health in their constitution. It is also observed that Türk-Eğitim-Sen also includes the purpose of providing membership services. This shows that the union concentrates on some problems practically.

Socio-Economic Functions

The distribution of the purposes and activities in the socio-economic dimension is given in Table 6 below.

Table 6.

Distribution of Purposes and Activities of Unions in the Dimension of Socio-economic Functions

Dimension	EBS	Eİ	ES	TES
Establishing consumer cooperatives	√	√		√
Struggle for better economic gains and salary	√	√	√	√
Obtaining more bonuses	√	√	√	√
Obtaining more retirement benefits	√	√	√	√
Establishing building societies	√	√		√
Creating relief funds	√	√	√	√
Making economic agreements with companies	√			√
Providing economic aids to members	√	√	√	√

All of the four unions agree on the struggle for better economic gains and salaries, obtaining more bonuses, obtaining more retirement bonuses, creating relief funds, and providing economic aids to the members, suggesting that trade unions have common purposes and activities in terms of economic gains. It can be considered to confirm the interpretations in academic circles that unions are engaged in unionism "based on economic gains". It is seen that Eğitim-İş and Eğitim-Sen do not include an item such as developing economic agreements with companies in their constitutions. In addition, it is observed that Eğitim-Sen does not include activities such as establishing consumption cooperatives and building societies. This result can be associated with the fact that the union adopted class unionism, which highlights the political aspect of the union struggle.

Conclusion and Discussion

In the study, the following results have been obtained regarding the functions of the unions: it is observed that the purposes and activities of the education unions, according to the opinions of education experts, are mainly gathered in the dimensions of politics and democracy, business relations, education and development, socio-psychological and socio-economic.

The results of the distribution of the purposes and activities of the trade unions in the dimension of politics and democracy can be summarised as follows: First of all, shared purposes include defending national sovereignty, freedom of religion and conscience, justice, the rule of law and defending peace, demand to participate in the city and country governance, defending democracy and democratisation, environmental issues. Protecting cultural and historical values, positive discrimination for women and youth, demanding active participation in politics, the rule of law and opposing race, language, religion, and gender discrimination are included in the constitutions of all unions. Considering the issues, it can be concluded that all unions are active in politics. In this context, as Isikli (2005), Eraslan (2012), Cerev (2013) and Cevik (2010) stated, it can be stated that a predominantly politicisation in public unionism exists. It is possible to state that public employees' unionism in Turkey is in an organisational structure that emphasises social and political points.

The shared purposes and activities of Eğitim-İş and Eğitim-Sen include items of secularism, defending peace, opposition to war and exploitation, and struggle for a humane and fair life. This result confirms that the principles mentioned above are traditionally included in the programs of leftist, social democratic and socialist ideology-oriented structures, as Heywood (2019) stated in political science. Based on this finding, it can be said that both unions reflect the class and mass unionism perspective in their constitutions. As Acuner (1994) states, this reveals that the bloc consisting of nationalist, republican, left, social democrats and socialists, share common ground related to the mentioned issues.

The shared purpose of Eğitim-Bir-Sen and Türk-Eğitim-Sen in politics and democracy is respect for national and spiritual values and the improvement of these values. It can be said that this result shows that although both unions are on different sides, they can meet on the common denominator of spirituality and nationality. It draws attention as a common item, as Eraslan (2012) states, where conservative circles meet on a common ground differently from the other left, social democrat, and republican wing.

The shared purposes of Eğitim-İş and Türk-Eğitim-Sen are Atatürk's reforms, the unity of the country, and the goals of contemporary civilisation. The main reason for this agreement can be the sensitivity to defending the Republic, which was established with the war of national independence.

Considering the function of politics and struggle for democracy, the education unions refer to goals, principles, and values such as revolutionism, independence, nationalism,

independence, and national moral values, which is related to certain ideologies. It is observed that all of the unions aim to participate in politics and the country's management. In this respect, it is possible to state that they assume a dependent union-type role. In a sense, it can be claimed that the unions with the highest number of members in the education unions in Turkey are more prone to the dependent union type.

The results in the context of the distribution of purposes and activities of the unions in terms of labour relations can be summarised as follows: The struggle for universal union rights, appointment and relocation, advancement in the profession, justice, good working conditions and developing labour relations, legal assistance to members, openness in participation in union management, union solidarity, unity and solidarity are the items which all of the unions subject of the research have as a common goal. These functions follow Allen and Keaveeny (1988) and Salamon (2005)'s views. It is observed that democratic business life is the most expressed demand in the constitutions. Although how much of the mentioned demand is met is a different matter of debate, it is possible to state that these concepts evoke the expressions of democratic society, self-management, and governance.

The shared purposes of Eđitim-İş and Eđitim-Sen are focused on democratic centralism and democracy in union management. Concepts related to democratic and participatory mass unionism are the main arguments that the unions mentioned above generally define themselves. In this context, it is noteworthy that Eđitim-İş includes the independent unionism clause in its constitution. In general, this can be characterised as a stance against the criticisms against Turkey's trade unions that are "politicised and not independent from parties/ideologies".

Although the purposes and activities of the trade unions in the labour relations dimension are oriented towards the union struggle with collective bargaining, it is controversial to what extent this is applied in practice. Despite the demands in line with the union theories and the increase in the unionisation rate, "distorted growth" and a "dysfunctional" civil servant unionism are dominant (Celik, 2015).

The results regarding the distribution of the purposes and activities of the trade unions in the education dimension can be summarised as follows: Equality of opportunity in education, in-service training within the union, organising panels, conferences, open forums, research and development activities appear as shared purposes for all of the unions. It is observed that the common point of these purposes is the function of the unions defending social justice and serving the aim of educating their members following their own references.

The items which Eđitim-İş and Eđitim-Sen have common in their constitutions are modern, democratic and secular education, public and competency-based education, and the development of fine arts and sports education. This is the reflection of the basic arguments of modern, scientific, and secular education on the constitutions. In

addition, it can be stated that these approaches reflect the progressive philosophy as stated by Sonmez (2016).

In its constitution, Eđitim-Sen distinguishes itself from other unions for education in the mother tongue, education based on gender equality, development of alternative education systems, and organising an education fund. These purposes can be interpreted as the trade union's desire to highlight its transformative qualities. In this context, it is possible to state that the union is oriented towards radical critical pedagogy. With this approach, it can be said that Eđitim-Sen acts on the axis of revolutionary socialist unionism, described by Koray (2018) and Aren (2014).

It is observed that Eđitim-Bir-Sen, on the other hand, particularly emphasises the purpose of giving importance to religious and moral education. Issues such as national morality and spirituality and giving importance to religious and moral education, which are frequently emphasised in the constitution, show that the union emphasises the conservative function of education in its essence. With these indicators, Eđitim-Bir-Sen may reinterpret the idealistic civil servant organisation expressed by Eraslan (2012).

The distribution of the purposes and activities in the socio-psychological dimension can be summarised as follows: In this dimension, the unions collectively express the aim of providing unity and solidarity among their members and social aid. In addition, although the purposes of providing positive discrimination for women, providing positive discrimination for and protecting the disabled are expressed by all of the unions except Türk-Eđitim-Sen, it is clear that a need for explanation about this exists.

Protecting the family and protecting and improving mental and physical health are seen as the shared purposes of Eđitim-Bir-Sen and Türk-Eđitim-Sen. Considering the contents of the items, the purposes can be interpreted as a reflection of the national and conservative aspects of the two unions. It can be said that this perspective sets an example for the dependent union relations stated by Tokol (2017).

The distribution of the purposes and activities in the socio-economic dimension can be summarised as follows: All unions have similar purposes and activities except for a few issues. The union, which differs from other unions regarding purposes and activities in socio-economic terms, is Eđitim-Sen. In this context, it can be said that Eđitim-Sen tries to avoid relations and activities involving patronage within production relations, such as establishing production, consumption cooperatives, building societies and making economic agreements with companies. This can be interpreted as the unions' tendency to work on socio-political goals and ideology. It can be stated that the union, with these qualities, can be classified under third group Marxist (revolutionary) syndicalism, as stated by Uckan Hekimler (2015), which is the group that draws strength from Marx's scientific socialist ideology.

Civil servant unionism in Turkey shows the nature of dependent unionism in the context of the unions that are the study's subject. Since the first days of multi-party life, civil servant unionism in Turkey reflects the political spectrum, explicitly and implicitly.

Suggestions

The study includes the first four unions with the highest number of members among the education unions. Similar research can be done for other civil servants and labour unions.

It can be suggested to conduct qualitative studies to determine why the unions include the purposes revealed in the research.

It can be suggested to conduct qualitative studies that aim to determine the unions' goals, which goal and vision they are aiming for, and what missions they have undertaken.

In the study, the purposes of the unions are examined in the context of their constitutions. Work, social life, and education-teaching processes may exhibit some differences from the theory. In this context, studies aiming to determine the employees' opinions about the purposes of the education unions can be suggested.

The trade unions differ in purposes and activities regarding politics and democracy, business relations, education, socio-psychology and socio-economy. Research can be done on the reasons for differentiation based on the dimensions.

It is observed that the unions, which include the theme of protection and positive discrimination for women and the disabled, generally do not suggest any measure which can be associated with this purpose. It may be suggested that the unions, which include this view, include in their constitutions measures in the context of protecting women and the disabled and providing positive discrimination.

It is seen that public employees unionism in Turkey has an organisational structure that emphasises social and political points. In addition, workshops and training on unions' aims and functions can be organised to determine contemporary trends in socio-psychological and socio-economic dimensions.

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