

AN ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF PUBLIC WORKERS' UNIONS:  
THE CASE OF KAMU EMEKÇİLERİ SENDİKALARI KONFEDERASYONU  
(THE CONFEDERATION OF PUBLIC WORKERS' UNIONS)

ŞENGÜL ÖZTÜRK

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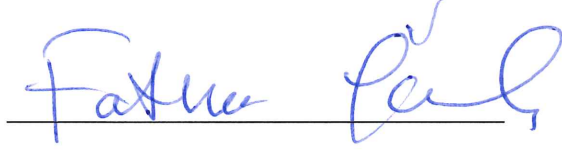
An Analysis of Education Programs of Public Workers' Unions: The Case of Kamu  
Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (The Confederation of Public Workers' Unions)

The thesis of Şengül Öztürk  
has been approved by:

Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Kızıltepe  
(Thesis advisor)



Prof. Fatma Gök



Assist. Prof. Cem Kirazoğlu



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## Thesis Abstract

Şengül Öztürk, “An Analysis of Educational Programs of Public Workers’ Unions:  
The Case of Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (The Confederation of Public  
Workers' Unions)”

This research was conducted in order to analyze the attitude of public workers’ unions towards union education and the education programs organized by these unions.

The sample of this research consists of the headquarters of eleven unions organized under the Confederation of Public Workers’ Unions (KESK). Due to the research questions, eight main dimensions of union education were analyzed. These dimensions consist of the purposes of union education and the problems faced, the kinds and contents of the educations, the selection procedure of the participants, union education programs for women and women’s participation to these programs, the motivation of union members, teaching methods and materials, educational staff and the evaluation processes of these educations.



## Tez Özeti

Şengül Öztürk, “Kamu Sendikalarının Düzenledikleri Eğitim Programlarının Analizi:

Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (KESK) Örneği”

Bu araştırma, kamu sendikalarının sendikal eğitime yaklaşımları ve düzenledikleri eğitim programlarını analiz etmek üzere yapılmıştır.

Araştırmanın örneklemini Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonuna bağlı on bir sendika genel merkezi oluşturmaktadır. Araştırma sorularına göre, sendikal eğitimin 8 temel boyutu incelenerek analiz edildi.

Bu boyutlar; sendikal eğitimin amaçları ve yaşanan sorunlar, sendikal eğitimin türü ve içeriği, sendikal eğitime katılanların seçimi, kadınlara yönelik sendikal eğitim programları ve kadınların bu programlara katılımı, sendika üyelerinin motivasyonu, öğretim metot ve materyalleri, eğitim personeli, sendikal eğitimin değerlendirilmesidir.

Araştırmada sendikaların eğitim amacı örgütlenme amaçlarıyla paralellik göstermektedir. Eğitimlerde, geleceğin sendikal kadrolarının yetiştirilmesine ve niteliklerinin artırılmasına ağırlık verildiği görülmektedir.

Sendikal eğitimler ağırlıklı olarak sendikal mücadele tarihi, kapitalizmin krizi, kamuda dönüşüm süreci, toplumsal cinsiyet, örgütlenmede yaşanan sorunlar ve alınması gereken önlemlere odaklanmaktadır.

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to those who lost their lives for the cause of the union struggle.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

KESK	Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (The Confederation of Public Workers' Unions)
EĞİTİM-SEN	Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası (Union of Education, Science and Culture Employees)
BES	Büro Emekçileri Sendikası (Union of Public Employees in Office)
BTS	Birleşik Taşımacılık Çalışanları Sendikası (Union of Transport Employees)
DİVES	Diyanet ve Vakıf Emekçileri Sendikası (Union of Employees of the Presidency of Religious Affairs and Foundations)
HABER-SEN	Basın Yayın İletişim ve Posta Emekçileri Sendikası (Media and Communication Employees Union)
KÜLTÜR SANAT-SEN	Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Emekçileri Sendikası (Labour Union of Culture, Art and Tourism Employees)
SES	Sağlık Emekçileri Sendikası (The Health and Social Service Workers' Union)
TARIM ORKAM-SEN	Tarım, Orman Çevre ve Hayvancılık Hizmet Kolu Kamu Emekçileri Sendikası (The Agriculture, Forestry, Environment and Husbandry Sector Public Employees Union)
TÜM BEL-SEN	Tüm Belediye ve Yerel Yönetim Hizmetleri Emekçileri Sendikası (Union of All Municipality Civil Servants)
YAPI-YOL SEN	Tüm Belediye ve Yerel Yönetim Hizmetleri Emekçileri Sendikası (Road, Construction, Infrastructure, Public Works, Title Deed Land Survey Public Sector Employees Trade Union)
ESM	Enerji Sanayi ve Maden Kamu Emekçileri Sendikası (Energy Industry and Mining Public Workers Union)

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The economic, political and cultural properties of the neoliberal market oriented order have led to the establishment of a specific field of public pedagogy. Education is going through an institutionalization process within which the sole aim is to shape competitive and self-interest oriented individuals (Giroux, 2009). In line with this development, the very definition of adult education is reduced to (and there is an attempt to exercise it as) a process in which individuals shall be suited to the rapid changes and transformations of this market oriented order. Various economic, political and cultural problems caused by the new world order show that adult education cannot be conceptualized according to the needs and goals of the market and that the social, political and cultural functions of adult education should not be neglected. Because of the negative consequences of neoliberal economic programs, the lives of a very small minority has become more comfortable, while the vast majority of people all over the world has lost control over the economic and political dimensions of their lives (Meriam, Courtenay and Cervero, 2006: 1).

George (2008) answers the question “who is in charge?” This question was posed by the conference entitled “Unions’ Tasks in Restructuring the Social State against Globalization,” which was organized by the union Harb-İş. According to George, transnational companies are in charge. He states that these companies make just 1/5 of their investments to underdeveloped countries. They prefer countries in which unions are banned. Furthermore, he puts forward that creditors are in charge. So creditors are those institutions managing the debts of so-called third world

countries. George thinks that other powerful institutions in the globalizing world are the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which are also in charge. Thus these institutions were established in order to lend money to countries with a weaker currency. Countries lending money from this fund have to accept the terms of it and pursue policies in line with it. Services regarding unemployment, education, health etc. are shrinking and privatizations take place due to the so-called “Structural Adjustment Programs” of the fund. In looking to a more local level he also states that national elites are in charge. This is the fourth group benefiting from globalization. This is due to the fact that indebted governments frequently use this debt to import consumption goods appealing to higher socio-economic groups. He also states that financial institutions are in charge. The institutions in question release high amounts of money on a world scale at once. They can use money worldwide as they wish or can withdraw it immediately from countries whose policies they do not approve. George defines these powers shaping the world as winners while those national governments losing power and being unable to take control over their national currency and public services due to their indebtedness are defined as losers. He also notes that this loss of power is caused by the privatization of the public sector and due to the fact that poor people cannot get sufficient access to public services; consequently poor and middle classes suffer from globalization.

The forces in question are capable to redesign especially underdeveloped or developing countries in tackling with social organizations, which might oppose these attempts. One of the main organizations of this kind is unions; they have initially been established to form a block out of one social party of social contradictions. Unions have been established with the development of industrial capitalism in order to enhance the working conditions and salaries of working people and in order to

establish a culture of unity and solidarity amongst the membership against employers; they are seen as an elementary pattern for social organizations (Livingstone, 2011). Unions, as one of the fundamental elements of a democratic society, have played a great role in enhancing historically the exploiting working condition standards of working people, in paving the way for justice and equality with regard to the working conditions, and in enhancing economic and social rights within the framework of the market economy (Kaygısız & Akarsu, 1996). Fields of responsibility for unions with regard to the establishment of the whole society with contemporary values and the democratization of social life are increasing day by day. Unions organized in the public sector as well as the other unions had always to respond to economic, technological, labor-market related, legislative and public challenges. On the other hand, labor movements are deeply concerned over how they might structurally face the enormous challenges stemming from economic globalization and what they perceive as a concerted attack to threaten their viability, weaken their influence and cut back on workers' rights (Nesbit, 2003:109). Though unions have their differences (with regard to their organizational forms, industrial bases and strengths, ideological and political orientations, recruitment approaches, organizing services, bargaining methods and power, the degree to which they encourage membership participation and local democracy), each of them is facing a similar crisis related to its own identity, direction and future (Hyman, 2001:103).

For unions it is only possible to be active as a powerful and effective party within social life by increasing their membership and gain qualitative strength. Today it can be observed that unions are undergoing a process of quantitative and qualitative weakening as well as those traditional methods used in their struggle and organizing practices are a burden to overcome their current crisis. The task to



empower feelings on behalf of unity and solidarity amongst union members and raising awareness amongst a wide range of people who do not have a union consciousness and turning them to active members within union activities is supported by union education programs. Koç (1994) notes that there are union schools in developed countries and that they inform them in detail about economic, social and political issues and thus lead to the formulation of certain policies. It is also noted that another field of their activity is to school union educators who shall conduct educations at union branches and workplaces.

Jesson and Beaumont ( 2001) address union education in respect to its contribution to civil society as follows:

the rationale for union education is the development of both the union and the wider union movement itself, through involving and empowering the membership to better participate in their own democratic association. At the same time, it provides the opportunity to offer union members access to alternative voices and discourses. Trade union education can really offer the possibility that society could be different.

(Jesson and Beaumont 2001:3)

They state that to achieve this goal the unions need to have clear objectives; they need to have the capacity to gain good outcomes for their members and above all to be democratic. This means that the union members are organized to pave the way for new leaders out of their ranks and in the workplaces, good leaders in the workforce and good leaders in the community generally. The union movement thus needs to have the capacity and capability to evaluate its successes or setbacks, celebrate those successes and learn from the setbacks and motivate people to work together to overcome challenges. The goal of this in-depth critical and reflective process is to develop an organizing model (Jesson and Beaumont 2001:3).

There is a rich experience regarding and an emphasis given to union education within workers' unions. Turkey as well as in the whole world workers' unions were established historically before public worker unions. Although public workers began to get organized later than workers, today public sector unions are quantitatively more organized in Turkey than workers' unions are. An essential issue of this research is to shed light on how the public sector unions (which have continuously struggled since the 1990s to organize themselves) are approaching union education and what their objectives are with regard to it.

### Background of the Problem

This research focuses on the approaches adopted by public sector unions towards union educational activities as well as the education programs themselves, which are conducted (in order to achieve political and organizational goals) by unions and directed towards their members as well as other social groups.

The research has been conducted in order to understand the goals and content as well as the planning, realization and evaluation processes of union educational activities. The approaches adopted and the observations made by the union executives and the union education specialists towards these activities have also been taken into consideration.

The approaches adopted by unions towards education and the planning, realization and evaluation processes of education programs are analyzed with respect to eight fundamental dimensions listed in a chronological order:

- The purposes of union educational activities;
- The types and contents of union education;
- The selection processes of the participants;
- Union education programs for women and their participation;
- The motivation of union members;
- Teaching methods and materials;
- Educational personell;
- The evaluation process of union educational activities.

### Significance of the Research

Unions are regarded as fundamental elements of societal organizations for 200 years because of their contribution to the free and democratic existence of individuals and societies. Trade unions are social organizations with the task to hinder and limit the negative effects of current neoliberal policies on working conditions as well as defending the rights and interests of their members against these negative effects. The actual and devastating outcomes of recent global problems (e.g. poverty, unemployment, human rights, environmental issues, wars, disarmament etc.) requires unions to pursue certain tasks actively within the whole of social life.

It is only possible for labor unions to pursue their goals to enhance the economic, democratic and social situation of their members and also to pursue their goals related to problems existing in the society as a whole by establishing firm relations to their own members as well as other social groups, i.e. by conducting strong activities with them. Union educational activities are the most fundamental

means for unions to realize their organizational and political objectives and to turn their quantitative strength into a repository of experiences, knowledge and know-how. Unions are also regarded as a kind of school to educate and raise the awareness of a wide range of people lacking union consciousness and to turn them into active participants within the union struggle.

It can be observed that there is little research conducted in Turkey as well as world-wide dealing in detail with union educational activities. While the number of studies dealing with educational activities within workers' unions is very limited and not up-to-date there is no study dealing as a whole with the educational activities of public sector employee's unions.

Union educational activities play a crucial role for enabling that the objectives of unions can be pursued and that they become a sort of school. This research presents data regarding how union educational activities are conducted so that the objectives of unions can be pursued and that their social functions be realized. It contains important findings with regard to the approaches adopted by union executives and union education secretaries towards union educations as well as on how the planning, realization and evaluation processes are conducted.

### Research Questions

This research has been conducted in order to analyze the approaches adopted by public sector employees' labor unions towards union educational activities; which goal is pursued by them and what their content is, how they are planned, what kind

of problems arise during their realization and how these educational activities are evaluated.

The questions asked for the purpose of this research are the following ones:

- B.1 What are the purposes of union education?
  - B.1.1 How are the goals of union educational activities specified?
  - B.1.2 What kind of problems do you face in specifying the goals of union educational activities?
- B.2 What kind of union educational activities are conducted and what is their content?
  - B.2.1 Who do the union educational programs and activities appeal to?
  - B.2.2 How are decisions taken with regard to the kind and content of educations to be given?
- B.3 How do you decide which members should attend certain union educational activities?
  - B.3.1 Which criteria are taken into consideration in choosing the attending members?
  - B.3.2 What kind of problems arises with regard to attendance?
  - B.3.3 How are the problems related to attendance solved?
- B.4 Are there specific union education programs directed towards women?
  - B.4.1 Are there gender differences in attendance to the union educational activities? If there are, what are they? What are the attendance rates?
  - B.4.2 How is the attendance to women to union education programs ensured; how does this differ from means used to ensure the attendance of men? What kind of problems is faced with regard to this issue and how are they solved?

B.5 What kind of observations is made during the educations with regard to the motivation of the members?

B.5.1 Do the education programs fit the level and needs of their attendants?

B.5.2 Are there problems with regard to this issue? If there are, how are they solved?

B.6 What kind of teaching methods and materials are used in union educations?

B.7 Who serves as educator during union educations?

B.7.1 How are union educators selected?

B.7.2 Do you get support from adult education specialists for union educations?

B.8 What are the most frequent problems arising during union educations?

B.8.1 What kind of short-term and long-term solutions are developed for the problems arising during union educations?

B.9 How is the evaluation process of union educational activities conducted?

B.9.1 Who is evaluating union educations?

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### The Concept of Adult Education

Although historically there have been various definitions of the goal, function, social and individual significance of education, it is frequently the case that it is referred to learning and teaching.

Lowe (1985) defines education as a range of learning experiences prepared and put into practice by trained instructors for the benefit of learners while Durkheim (2006) defines education as “an effect exercised by grown-up generations on those who are not yet prepared for social life.” For Durkheim the purpose of education is to realize the self-expectations of society and those individuals failing to do so will fall apart with society.

According to Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) education is:

“the deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit, evoke or acquire knowledge, attitudes, values or skills as well as any outcomes of that effort” (p.2). Education carries with it functions like the personal, social, cultural and political development of individuals by means of changing behavior and developing it; but also its task to contribute to the empowerment of the family, society and world in which those individuals live has been a matter of concern (Güneş, 1996: 2). Until recently education as a whole and schools have been formulated upon different philosophical approaches to meet the education needs of young people; but the scientific, economic, social, political and cultural changes and transformations of the current global world are stressing the importance of education given to adults and thus leading to a formulation of education which includes adults. Historically, adult

educational activities were social movements aiming at social justice and equality; their roots go back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The adult education movements whose main idea was to educate workers and those great strata in society deprived of education; those who were outside of the schooling system were given a means to access to education and knowledge while it also made great contributions to the spreading of enlightenment ideas such as social justice, equality and freedom (Sayılan, 2009:529; Ünlühisarcıklı, 1993:2).

There are different approaches in defining who is an adult and what the span of this concept. Jordan (1978) stated that this concept did not appear in America at all up until the Civil War and not really until early twentieth century. Jordan who defines adults as part of a certain society and culture says:

Today adulthood is considered to be a sociocultural construction; that is, the answer to the question of who is an adult is constructed by a particular society and culture at a particular time. (Jordan, 1978:192)

While Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) in stating that adults differ from children with regard to life experiences as well as psychologically, cognitively and physically define adult education in the following way:

Adult education is a process whereby persons whose major social roles are the characteristics of adult status undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values, or skills.  
(Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982:9)

Whereas the definition of adult education put forward by UNESCO somewhat much larger:



[...] the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adults by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development.  
(UNESCO, 1976)

### The Function of Adult Education

The most important factor making adult education a more actual theme with regard to the production, use and transfer of knowledge are globalization and its results.

The process of globalization (which became a more and more actual issue with neoliberal economic policies rising to dominance globally) is having a deep economic, political and cultural impact on a worldwide scale. The fact that the incredible accumulation of knowledge as well as scientific and technological advancements are having inevitably a bearing on the economic, social and cultural life and are changing them is out of dispute now.

Discussions on what the purpose and content of adult education should be and about what the economic, social, political and cultural effects and transformations triggered by the process of globalization are, are running parallel. The emphasis laid on adult education and efforts to spread adult education policies nationally and internationally are closely related to the results stemming from the neoliberal economy and its outcomes.

Holst (2006) points out that neoliberalism has become a predominant economic development paradigm over the last twenty years on a worldwide scale; he differentiates between an internal and external side of neoliberalism:

Internally, neoliberalism manifests itself through breaking down national borders and restrictions on the flow of goods, services, and capital, generally referred to as globalization (2006 :42)

While Hirtt (2001) states that the conditions leading to popularization of secondary and higher education changed gradually with the international crisis which broke out in the mid-70's, the characteristics of the economic set-up formed after 1980 have to be looked at in order to understand the tasks imposed on education by this new structuring. Hirtt stresses four characteristics of this new structure:

1. The intensification of economic competition (globalization)
2. Diminishing of fiscal resources
3. The acceleration of change (regarding technology and the markets)
4. The polarization of the labor market

Hirtt points at the contradictory results regarding education policies while stressing that these are the main factors leading to serious changes in education policies. He points out that under conditions in which completion becomes more and more keen industrial and financial forces demand from political leaders a transformation of education while at the same time the same economic forces demand that the state should diminish public spending on education and demand a financial pressure from the state. Hirtt emphasizes that economic forces promote the economic role of education in order to establish a qualified labor force. But the same forces are also trying to pursue policies in order to limit the means of education. According to Hirtt the evolution of the labor market shows that it is not necessary from an economic point of view to give prospective employees an education on a

high level and a general fund of knowledge. From a strict economic point of view ceasing the popularization movement is not a choice but a necessity, since it is by now very expensive and unnecessary. On the contrary, adopting this very point of view, a more polarize education system is possible and a recommended approach. Secondly, because of the unpredictable qualities of the economic setting, prospective workers should be taught some basic and general abilities to be put into practice easily under this rapidly changing setting instead of transferring them a common culture. Workers should be taught ways to make their abilities and knowledge compatible with the working life. Thirdly, the easiest way to transform the purpose of education is to make the education system flexible. Thus the public education system should be turned into a competitive education market in which everybody can get education according to her/his social fate and financial situation. Why is that? Since this deregulation means more autonomy and competition in the field of education it is seen as a guarantee that the education system can fit to the demands of the market instantly. Secondly, it an easy and politically acceptable way to sustain deregulation and the social polarization stated above. And thirdly, since it paves the way for privatization if the field of education it diminishes public spending and creates new profitable markets.” (2001:1-3)

Structural adjustment programs which are implemented since the 1980’s under the control of the World Bank and IMF made the liberalization of education an actual issue. According to Cornay (1995) global actors have given a priority to certain reforms. These actors envision reforms should be made in order to orient the purpose and content of education on all levels to the demands of the market. Furthermore, the financing of education and rearing should be reformed. It is also

stressed that these actors demand reforms to re-order the role of education with regard to social mobility and its egalitarian political function.

The fact that education has been oriented towards the needs of the neoliberal economy and reductionist emphasis (Ercan, 1998:152) laid on the purpose of education as an adjuvant of productivity has paved the way for an approach in which education is conceived of in line with market processes. While the effort to direct education towards neoliberal economic policies has brought the human capital approach to the foreground it can be observed that adult education is reduced to vocational training. Sayılan (2009) states that within the framework of globalization the first and foremost purpose of vocational training policies are conceived of as making companies competitive or sustaining this competitiveness, enhancing, producing and diversifying knowledge.

Today, with the process of globalization, there is an approach to reduce the function of adult education to vocational training and discuss it within the concepts of life-long education and life-long learning. This concept was in the 70s initially introduced to refer to an equal access to means of education for everyone but the meaning it had gained changed in the 90s (Dehmel, 2006). The life-long education approach in the 1990s with its emphasis on the employment of individuals and an education fitting the needs of the markets had an impact on adult education policies and blunted the social dimension of adult education (Sayılan, 2009:260).

Cruikshank (2002) notes that there are two historical trends regarding life-long learning. Thus the first trend lays an emphasis on formulating definitions and models while the other one adopts a more critical approach. This second trend looks at the binary character of lifelong learning, i.e. it might have a liberating or further

enslaving character. For those who adopt this latter approach life-long learning as well as education in general has clear ideological underpinnings

According to Cruikshank (2002b) post-school educational activities used to have the purpose of contributing to social development and social justice and there was a great diversity regarding these activities; but with the emergence of the new economy this field began to focus on giving employees skills to enable their active participation into the international economy. Cruikshank criticizes the emphasis on the thesis that the most important requirement of an information-based economy is the existence of information workers and notes that this is a contradiction in terms. For Cruikshank economic prosperity cannot be achieved by just aiming at vocational development and that life-long learning should be set free from this narrow framework. (Cruikshank, 2002 and 2002b).

Bağcı (2010) notes that there are two different approaches dealing with the capacity of life-long education to come up with solutions within the context of the problems brought about by globalization. Thus the first approaches maintains that life-long education could solve almost every problem facing humanity. Another current accepts the fact that that life-long education could open up some new possibilities but points at its limits and the errors regarding its practical implementations. Bağcı notes that the first tendency is concretely expressed within the texts of the EU, OECD and the World Bank and that in these texts discussions regarding education are considered with goals for economic development.

Duman (2005) states that similar tendencies can be observed in approaches toward education stemming from the EU and the USA. Here the significance of education is considered to be equal to the ability to employ young people and later on citizens or giving them the skills necessary to enable them to enter the labor

power market. Thus Duman remarks that this tendency called “new vocationalism” trivializes life-long learning.

The formatting of education due to the demands of the market economy has put the concepts of “flexibility” and “adjustment” to the foreground. One of the main foundations of the expectation that individuals shall be transformed into a potential workforce for the market economy is the demand that people shall adopt themselves to changes and transformations. This argument is constantly stressed with the thread that if individuals do not refresh their skills due to the requirements of the market economy they will become unemployed. While education is seen as a sort of commercial network within the project envisioned by the globalization process for the society it has to be questioned for whom education brings freedom and equality. The supposed liberation of the individual via education in fact makes her/him more entrepreneurial and more competitive (Miser, 2002:57).

If the rapid changes and transformations on a worldwide scale are taken into consideration it is an inevitable effort for individuals to adjust themselves to these processes. But efforts to put such policies into practice in highlighting just economic development are blunting its social aspect. The contributions of adult education to the social, cultural and democratic transformation of the society are crucial. There are different approaches criticizing the attitude to orient adult education towards the needs of the market economy and discussing what kind of objectives it shall pursue. According to Hal Beder the facilitation of change in a dynamic society, supporting and sustaining a healthy social order, increase production and lead to personal development are the four reasons why there should be adult education (cited by Ünlühisarcıklı, 2009:87).

Jarvis (1985) categorizes the social functions of adult education. For him these are the maintenance of the social system and the reproduction of existing social relations; the transmission of knowledge and the reproduction of the cultural system, individual advancement and selection, gaining a second chance and legitimation; Furthermore, it is also a leisure time pursuit and an institutional expansion to fill non-work time and should also lead to development and liberation (Jarvis,1985).

Geray (1978) noting that education has a great impact on individuals and society states that education as an institution belonging to the superstructure is shaped in line with the base and relations of production of a society. For Geray it can be observed that education, in transferring the new knowledge, skills, behavior and value aggregate of society, has gained a characteristic to save and preserve the current state of affairs and the balance of interests. According to this argumentation the concept of education implies a certain power relation. Thus for Geray the dominant classes, being in charge of the productive force, are using education as a means to prevent a change of the existing state of affairs (the status quo). Furthermore, it is argued that education holds also the function of serving the transition of societies from one stage to another one within their historical evolution. Thus Geray envisions a great role for education in awakening broad popular strata, enabling them to defend and gain their rights and interests and organize themselves for this purpose. Geray (1993) categorizes in his article entitled “Halk Eğitimi ve Siyasaları Sorunları” [“Common-Public Education and Policy Problems Related to it”] the expectations towards common-public education in solving social, economic and cultural problems. Thus education in general and especially common-public education has to serve social cohesion as well as the sustenance and development of the cultural wealth of society. A further task is to empower the individual in such a way that she/he can make a

livelihood; thus common-public education is obliged to give individuals the suitable knowledge and skills enabling them to get a vocation (or a trade), develop their skills and make them productive. Geray maintains that education enables individuals to find their place in society and make them active. Thus for him common-public education has to teach, contribute to the development of personalities of people outside of the formal education system in order to enable them to find their place in society. So education also prepares people to participate into public affairs and decision processes (Geray, 1993:1).

With globalization there is an increase in and a diversification of the problems faced by societies. Unemployment, poverty, wars, environmental problems, migration, health problems, human rights problems, women issues, children issues, racism, discrimination and states of conflict related to these problems are at stake with changing intensities in a lot of places and they have an impact on all societies. Individuals are not just participating to their societies upon their own needs but also in line with the needs of their societies. There is no limit to the effort to actively develop solutions to the society in which one lives and to transforming it due to democratic principles. The function of adult education is to facilitate the effort of adults willing to become reflexive and bearing an intellectual responsibility, be open to changes and transformations, learning unceasingly, developing an attitude to live in peace with oneself and others and be cooperative, to develop and realize oneself. Ünlühisarcıklı (2009) maintains that education is required for the development of free and autonomous individuals and that it facilitates gaining an awareness regarding political and social inequalities existing in the society in which one lives. Ünlühisarcıklı states that human beings do not just live but will also exist by transforming their environment. (Ünlühisarcıklı, 2009:97)



It has additionally to be remarked that “The Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education” affirms that “civic, political, trade union and co-operative educational activities should be aimed particularly towards developing independent and critical judgment and implanting or enhancing the abilities required by each individual in order to cope with changes affecting living and working conditions, by participation in the management of social affairs at every level of the decision making process” (UNESCO, 1976:1)

### Transformative Learning

The field of adult education deals with the problem of defining the learning process itself in line with coming to a definition of the characteristics of adults, of defining what they learn, why they learn, with what kind of methods and techniques can or could turn the learning process into an eligible and long-lasting experience, how the learning environment should be, what kind of qualities the adult educator should have etc.

Sayılan (2001) notes that the efforts to construct a theory of adult learning can be summarized in three categories; these are:

1. Those ones which focus on the characteristics of adult learners
2. Those ones which stress the social conditions of adults
3. Those ones which focus on the transformation of the consciousness perspective

Merriam (2009) notes that the first studies on adult learning focused on the question of whether adults can learn or not and that afterwards the researchers paid attention to the question of how adult learning could be separated from learning in the childhood. Merriam stresses that the theory of adult learning started to embrace

different approaches from scientific fields outside of the field of adult education and thus underwent and expansion from the mid-1980s on. Besides this Merriam states that after 80 years of research there is no single solution, theory and model with regard to adult learning, that there is a colorful mosaic of theories, models and a set of principles as well as explanations. Thus Merriam notes that the learning experience can be designed more and more effectively with a rise in the amount of information available about the identity of the learner, the context of the learning process and the learning process itself. Merriam says that the ongoing studies focus more on the learning process itself than on the question whether adults learn or not. With the rise of the workers as an organized form on the historical scene, the problematic of educating workers and all parts of society being negatively influenced by the contradictions of society (women, migrants, LGBT individuals etc.) is discussed by adult education theorists upon the concepts of the democratic transformation of society, inequality, justice, class-consciousness, hegemony and within the framework of transformative learning theory (Sayılan, 2001). Mayo (2011) states that the transformative adult education theory, presupposing that every educational activity is political, calls upon adult educational activities focusing on the changes in the basis of society and being socially transformative.

The transformative learning theory developed by Mezirow has been, from the 1970s on, taken into consideration by many researchers and been strengthened with regard to its different dimensions (Taylor, 1998; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999; King, 2002). While the transformative learning model, which is seen as an important theory within adult learning theories, was developed by Mezirow it can be traced back to the works of the Brazilian educator Freire.

Freire (2006: 22) states that the aim of social life is to humanize the world and that everyone has the potency to transform the world in becoming aware of the forces influencing her/him. He stresses that one has to know who one is and how one is shaped by social forces in order to be free, in order to be a free actor of social transformation and that it is not possible to become humanized without having the knowledge and without being aware of this shaping process. Freire conceives of the process of becoming conscious as a process towards critical thinking. Becoming conscious is a process in which the individual becomes capable of transforming its socio-cultural reality and the capacities of its reality, becoming not a passive receiver but an active subject of the process of knowing by having gained a deep awareness. Freire states that the education system described by him as the banking concept of education cannot be conceived of as a neutral process of knowledge, attitude and emotion transfer; thus he puts forward a model of defining problems.

Martinez (1993) outlines Freire's methodology briefly. Thus the first step is to "identify the problems" and thus the learners and educators usually engage in some sort of participatory research about the problems. The next step is to produce a material representation (code) of the problem (the generative theme). The issue at hand is represented in some sort of audio-visual manner by the learners themselves. Then the participants describe the situation, shown in the code, to the educator based on their own experience. Then the situation is analyzed by the learners and the educators from a personal, a cultural and an institutional/political perspective. The next step is to take action to change the situation. Thus a learners and educators might design a "Planning the Action" chart consisting of several categories such as identifying the problem and what is to be changed, a long-range vision and immediate plans.

Freire focuses on “dialog” while he is developing a theory of how to put adult education into practice within this framework. Freire defines dialog as “a confrontation of common thoughts and actions among humans directed towards a world to be transformed and humanized.” Since dialog is a confrontation between humans naming the world, there cannot be a position in which some humans realize this confrontation in the name of others (Freire, 2006:66).

Mezirow (2000) notes that Freire constructed his emancipatory education method upon the analysis on four consciousness levels of poor illiterates under pressure and that this is the basis of what Freire calls perspective transformation approach. Transformative learning has been defined by Mezirow in the following way:

Transformative learning refers to the process by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspective, habits of mind, mind-sets, mental models) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open emotionally capable of change, and reflective, so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action. Transformative learning involves participation in constructive discourse to use the experience of others to assess reasons justifying these assumptions, and making an action decision on the resulting insight.

(Mezirow & Associates, 2000: 7-8)

According to Mezirow learning occurs in four ways:

- Elaborating existing frames of reference
- Learning new frames of reference
- Transforming points of view
- Transforming habits of mind

(Mezirow & Associates, 2000:19)

There are three major themes in the theory of Mezirow, who emphasizes learning resulting from the critical evaluation of life experiences. Thus in the process of transforming the meaning structure experience, critical reflection and rational

discourse play a central role. Transformative learning takes the learner's experience as a point of departure and as the subject matter of transformative learning.

According to Taylor (1998) experience is conceived of being socially constructed, thus it can be deconstructed and acted upon. Experience is the pivotal point of critical reflection, referring to a process of questioning the consistency, assumptions and beliefs based on prior experience. Thus it seen as stemming from an awareness of a contradiction between our thoughts, feelings and actions. Thus it is assumed that these generally result from a distorted epistemology (regarding the nature and use of knowledge), psychological (acting inconsistently with regard to our self-conception) and sociolinguistic assumptions, by means of which society and language set limits to our perception. Taylor notes that it is assumed that rational discourse is the most crucial medium through which transformation is fostered. The underlying presupposition regarding the role of discourse in transformative learning is that it is rational as long as it can create the conditions necessary to understand each other and thus it has to be driven by a notion of objectivity. Seen from this perspective all actions and statements should be questionable and open for discussion. Thus an argumentative field is opened up in which understanding is achieved through examining evidence and arguments with regard to their relevance and strength. Thus Taylor notes that all this is aims at fostering a mutual understanding among others.

Mezirow tried to conceptualize transformative dynamics leading to changes in the lives of individuals. This is why experience is taken to be central. This theory presupposes that there are transformations brought about by experiences and that there is no way back from them. The assumption that the individual is aware of what is happening around them, that s/he is conscious of her/his actions in normal life and is capable of analyzing these actions critically and develop consciously a behavioral

change with regard to actions is essential to the transformative theory of learning. On the other hand critical thinking stresses the importance of being aware of frame of references in order to undergo a transformation. Thus one of the main backbones of transformative learning is that awareness of individuals regarding the things going around her/him is taken as a confrontation of this individual with internalized values and roles. Seen from this perspective Freire and Mezirow set the goal of transformative learning as a process of restructuring.

“Mezirow focuses on the idea that learning occurs as a result of reflecting upon experience, so that much of his work is relevant to understand the learning process in socialization and in non-formal learning situations. However, he also suggest that there are different levels of reflection and he specifies seven of these, some of which he claims are more likely to occur in adulthood:

1. Reflectivity: awareness of specific perception, meaning, behavior
2. Affective reflectivity: awareness of how the individual feels about what is being perceived, thought or acted upon
3. Discriminant reflectivity: assessing the efficacy of perception, etc.
4. Judgmental reflectivity: making and becoming aware of the value of judgments made
5. Conceptual reflectivity: assessing the extent to which the concepts employed are adequate for the judgment
6. Psychic reflectivity: recognition of the habit of making percipient judgements on the basis of limited information
7. Theoretical reflectivity: awareness of why one set of perspectives is more or less adequate to explain personal experience”

(Jarvis, 2004: 134)

Mezirow states that transformation theory maintains that human learning is grounded in the nature of human communication; i.e. to understand the meaning of what is being communicated, especially when intentions, values, moral issues, and feelings are involved- requires critical reflection of assumptions. (Mezirow, 1998).

Mezirow states that the transformative learning process defined by him as gaining a new perspective can be realized in ten steps and he enlists these as follows:

1. A disorienting dilemma
2. Self –examination with feelings of guilt or shame
3. A critical assessment of assumptions
4. Recognition that one’s discontent and process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change
5. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
6. Planning of a course of action
7. Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one’s plans
8. Provisionally trying out new roles
9. Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
10. A reintegration into one’s life on the basis of conditions dictated by one’ new perspective. (Mezirow, 1995: 50)

Taylor (1998: 54) stresses that first of all trust within the learning environment is important for the transformative learning theory to be applicable and that this is facilitating the learning process since the theory adopts a learner-centered approach and thus promotes participation and cooperation. Taylor also stresses the practical importance of activities promoting critical reflections. Mantoya (2008), on the other hand, underlines that transformative learning theories enable individuals to interpret new experiences, control every-day life, adopt new strategies and make them capable of developing a deep self-awareness.

For Mezirow (1998) the primary role of educators is to enable learners to focus on dealing with their beliefs, feelings and behaviors, to see the results of their assumptions and evaluate these, develop alternative assumptions and test assumptions together with adult learners.

But the dichotomy between learner and educator is problematized within this debate as well. According to Taylor (1998: 57-58) Cranton sees educators as a facilitator, who are also learning within this process in a conscious and self-reflective manner. Thus Taylor shows that Neuman (1996) confirms this view identifying some

crucial points for the facilitator in promoting reflection and transformative learning. Thus as Taylor cites from Neuman, the facilitator has to be willing to adopt the same position of a learner as well while encouraging others to do so. This requires relationships based on trust and confidentiality. The learning context has to be philosophically consistent and techniques of reflections which might seem unfamiliar should lead to an attitude of risk-taking and the latter should be encouraged in this context. Thus this process of facilitation adopted by the learning educator should incorporate a sort of affective processing. Thus according to Taylor's emphasis on Neuman's view, critical self-reflection should be promoted in order to identify, interpret and get rid of negative feelings.

#### Union Education: The Functions of Labor Unions

Social organizations were established in order to find solutions to social problems faced by individuals; they have become the most crucial element of democracy and contemporary societies. For people pursuing certain goals and being aware of that knew that this required the contribution of others and thus organized life became unavoidable. Social organizations pave the way for individuals to develop policies in order to realize these solutions as well as direct political actors to pursue such kinds of policies (Bayrak 1998; Keyman 2004). For a well-functioning democracy a social model based on popular sovereignty, i.e. a realm where the voice of the people matters is necessary. This means that the people, after having elected those who will govern, have to participate directly as well as upon their organizations to the decision-making processes and thus are controlling those in charge by having an influence on them (Gözübüyük, 1995:17).



In these modern times unions, which are defined as social organizations, have a very deep impact. Capitalist relations of production, which were formed with the emergence of private ownership of the means of production, paved the way for the formation of classes with different interests. These led to the establishment of political, economic and cultural organizations to represent and realize the interests of the forces which emerged in this process (Urhan, 2005).

The Turkish word for union [sendika] comes from ‘syndic,’ which is defined within the juridical system of ancient Greece and Rome as someone defending the interests of the city apart from the municipal assembly or someone who defends the interest of his client, who represents a union vis-à-vis juridical organs. The term ‘syndicat’ is used to express the function of ‘syndic’ and the pursuit of it (Turan 1979:8, Demir 1999:3, Dinç 1998:26).

Talas (1997:220) defines unions as class organizations with the goal of resisting, enabling labor to benefit from the means of society in a fair way within an order based on free enterprise. Gülmez (1983: 45) states that unions are determining the relations between employers and employees alongside the relations between those participating to the production process and the relations established by means of their organizations and the methods they use.

Öztekin (1993) stresses the importance to get organized for those who live by means of their labor and that union organization is a necessity; thus:

“It is a natural right and also inevitable and unavoidable fact in our era that those living by means of their own labor get organized in order to defend their interests against those employing them and gain a better standard of living.” (Öztekin 1993: 67)

The Union of Public Office-Employees (BES) publicized an educational pamphlet entitled “Why and what kind of union?” and defines unions as an organization for struggle; thus unions are defined in the following way:

“The premise of unions is that all material wealth is created by labor. Thus unions are organizations struggling in order to defend, extend and enhance the economic, democratic, social, legal, cultural, personnel rights and interests within the work life, to guarantee a live for the employees fitting to their work and in line with human dignity.”

“Unions are organizations in which employees join forces for common goals on the basis of their common interests.”

“Unions are democratic mass organizations claiming economic, democratic and political rights which are organically independent from the state, from capital, parties and organizations acting on the basis of common problems and claims of all employees.”

(Büro Emekçileri Sendikası, 2001:1)

Unions are one of the most crucial means for the establishment and development of a democratic order; thus they take care on the economic, social, cultural rights and interests of their members and strengthen their organization along these goals and principles. Işıklı (1994) stresses that unionism is a democratic establishment and that unionism can only exist in societies in which democratic institutions and rules are effective above a certain degree.

## Union Education Definitions, International Experiences and Backgrounds

Public workers' unions were later established than workers' unions. The educational activities organized by workers' unions form an important portion of adult education within the framework of union educations. These educations could take the form of literacy campaigns, primary education or vocational education as well as regarded as an education with a cultural quality. On the other hand these educations can focus on how to establish unions, the solution of disputes over salaries, working conditions on an international scale, the economic foundations of collective labor agreements or on problems regarding the participation of unions to social development and economic planning services (Pehlivan, 1990: 181).

It is impossible to make generalizations about the educational activities of unions on an international scale. While union educations in some countries focus on collective bargaining, employer-employee relations and office management unions in other countries are not just offering general education and culture programs but also have programs accessible to everybody and are active to develop the educational and cultural means of their respective countries (Lowe 1985: 121).

For instance Gray and Kornbluh (1991) point out that in the USA the AFL-CIO sponsored George Meany Center for Labor Studies was established in the 1960s to educate union staff and administrators. But with time course offerings for rank-and-file members expanded. But these activities do not just cover educations regarding workplace interests but also personal needs and interests (AIDS, substance abuse, literacy, English as Second Language, pre-retirement planning etc.) and are sometimes sponsored in cooperation with employers and are offered on company time; as their article was written 8000 rank-and-file members participated to these

educational activities. Special educational activities towards women were also organized from the 70s on to enhance their participation in unions and enabling them to gain leadership qualities. Other social groups are also taken into consideration and special courses are offered to them. In the last twenty years college degree programs for union members emerged.

Spencer (2007) shows that a certain classification could be made with regard to the audience and contents of union education. Thus there are “*tool* courses” (shop steward training, grievance handling, health and safety representative courses etc.) preparing members to become representatives of the union. These are provided by union centrals in Canada, UK and Sweden. There are also “*issue* courses” linking workplace and “societal issues” (such as sexual harassment, racism or “new human resources management strategies”). Further there is a third category called “*labor studies*” dealing with issues such as labor history, economics and politics. These can take more institutional forms such as the UNISON Open College in Britain as a sort of union education with a sense of adult education. But beyond institutional forms also interactive telecommunication techniques are used for union education. According to Bélanger (2007) forms of distance education and online education are also becoming more widespread.

But such institutes or more institutionalized forms of union education are not just a national phenomenon, especially in a world of post-Fordist production and globally organized capital. Salt, Cervero and Herod (2000) are criticizing and evaluating approaches to workers education especially with regard to the methods used and that the process of globalization has to be emphasized more by unions and their educations. Although it is questionable whether it fits such an approach it seems that there are some steps taken in this direction, although on a more centralized and

non-national level. The ILO organizes international labor educational activities in Turing upon the Bureau for Workers' Activities (ACTRAV) since there is also a strong tendency of globalization with regard to institutions on behalf of capital interests such as the WTO or the IMF. Due to these challenges there seems to be a need for supplementary activities going beyond national confines. Thus according to Cairola (2007) the educational activities of ACTRAV is to educate union specialists to strengthen labor unions on an international scale. Thus these educations are focusing more on the international dimension of labor relations.

Not just the content but also the methods used are also changing and in some union contexts there is also a search for new methods going beyond the classical power relations between those who teach and those who are taught. Zullo and Gates (2008) point out that in most union education contexts, there is a degree holding university instructor or invited professionals or union staff who serve as teachers. They try to show that there are also other approaches going beyond the teacher as some kind of information holder. Thus they give reference to the emancipatory concepts used by Paulo Freire. In their fieldwork based on the Labor Studies Center conferences they show how rank-and-file members could be turned into active elements of educational processes.

In having reviewed these practices and experiences it has to be stated that a certain process and aggregation of know-how is necessary for unions to be able to act in line with their principles and goals, to establish an infrastructure, to pave the way for a common language, attitude and behavior amongst their members, to contribute effectively to the democratic culture of their countries and to establish a union culture. The most important means for an effective union struggle is union education. Unions are just able to enhance work conditions and further develop these, to

consolidate a culture for organizing and a consciousness in these lines, to reinforce organizational growth by strengthening union structures by organizing effective union educations. Küçük (1990) stresses that unions contribute to the establishment of the pluralistic structure of society by their mere existence, their actions and activities. Küçük also notes that they enable their members to participate to societal practices, define themselves within these practices and reproduce themselves by opening up possibilities for social interaction for their members. Thus according to Küçük, individuals organized for the sake of common and limited interests develop a co-existence, are in solidarity and are active. These paves the way for them to be aware of themselves and others; join forces and define themselves as well as others upon their activities and actions. It is mentioned that unions open up such a space of possibility. While struggling for rights in line with their goals and principles and enhance the consciousness of their members, unions have also to educate those who lack such a consciousness. The fact that unions have to enable the participation of their members to processes of struggles they also have to make other social groups conscious and enable also their active participation. Thus union became a sort of a democracy and politics school. Küçük further says:

The messages of these organizations functioning as pressure groups towards society as well as the means of social interaction they provide to their members, have an educational dimension; this dimension has to be seen within the framework of common-public education. It can also be observed that these organizations engage directly in educational activities towards society and its own members, and they organize education schedules. It is obvious that these activities have to be considered within the framework of common-public education. (Küçük 1990:70)

The purposes of union education cannot be separated from the goals and the structure of the unions and is closely related to the functions and responsibilities of

unions. Çelik (2001) makes a distinction between unions with regard to their functions and responsibilities in categorizing them according to their perspectives either as radical or reformist. While unions with a radical line organize workers to constitute a new sociality and politics against the capitalist system, those with a reformist line focus on seeking better working and living conditions, security of employment and a fair share of the benefits of economic growth. Çelik stresses that educations are structured according to the respective approaches; thus there are two of them. These are the instrumental approach and the ideological approach. According to Çelik, while the instrumental approach defines the education mechanism as a preparation for workers to new jobs or to duties in unions, the ideological approach focuses on providing workers with the analytical and critical thinking skills, which shall enable them to understand their lives and the society. These two approaches are opposed to each other.

Demirbilek (1990) defines union education as a means to gain de facto power and a strong unionism; thus Demirbilek (1990:2) lists the following goals for union education:

- to strengthen the tendency of members to actively participate to union activities;
- to pave the way for solidarity, union of opinion, and a sense of belonging amongst the members;
- to strengthen democracy within the union;
- to educate leaders and make the society aware of unionism.

Similarly, Spencer (cited by Çelik 2001:24) proposes the following goals:

- to educate and train union lay members (and staffers) to play an active role in the union;
- to educate activists and members about union policy, about changes in the union environment such as new administration techniques or changes in labor laws;
- To develop union consciousness and support social action, to build common goals and to share organizing and campaign experience.

## The Unionization Process of Puplic Workers Worldwide and in Turkey (KESK)

Labor unions of civil servants were found later than workers unions; this is the case in Turkey as well as worldwide. While workers struggled from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for their rights and liberties, civil servants began to be active and to organize themselves with the development of the social state. Civil servants were employed in fields such as justice, defense, public safety and finance which were important for the functioning of the state as well as the maintenance of order; these fields required employees with certain qualities. Thus civil servants were privileged with regard to their salaries and reputation in comparison to workers. This fact made them more suitable to internalize the existing system. Civil servants had socially and economically more advantages compared to workers but with changes of the state institution their social, political and economic status also changed and thus the loss of privileges paved the way for establishing labor organizations (Özdemir, 1990:8).

According to İpek (2006) the spreading of democratic rights and liberties on a worldwide scale, the rise in the employment of civil servants and the convergence of working conditions and relations led civil servants to organize labor unions.

Ateş (2004:1) states that for civil servants the salaries defined by the state as a public employer were not sufficient, that due to inflation the reel purchasing power diminished and impoverishment increased and that they underwent a regress in social and cultural terms and thus lost their social status. These developments paved the way for the establishment civil servants' labor unions.

The first labor unions were organized like friendship associations or banned establishments (Chapman, 1970:288). It can be observed that in a lot of European countries civil servants did not have the right to organize themselves under labor



unions up until World War II. The first civil servants organization was established at the post office in 1890 in the United States of America and was accepted by the US Congress in 1917. Its main goal was to make pressure to for some legislation, the improvement of the conditions in which the service is done, to maintain the proficiency system and to get credit facilities. In England civil servants began to get organized in 1908 and assemblies called Whitley Councils were established in 1916. After World War I it was necessary to call this assemblies for arbitration in determining service conditions. In France civil servants got the right for unionization in 1946 (Tortop, 1994: 184).

In Turkey civil servants unions were organized in the form of associations, alliances and clubs from the establishment of the Republic up until the 1960s. The constitution of 1961 gave civil servants the right to organize labor unions but not the right for collective bargaining. The first labor union of civil servants could be established now; so in 1965 “The union of public office attendants of Turkey” [“Türkiye Devlet Büro Görevlileri Sendikası”] was found in Ankara. But six years later with the military coup on March 12, 1971 the organizations of civil servants were banned alongside the existing unions (Mahiroğlu, 2005:144; Koç, 2001:29). Public workers organized associations and took actively part in the struggle for democracy and became an important part of the social opposition. With the military coup in September 12, 1980 public workers as well as other oppositional social groups and laborers lost their economic, social and political rights and were exposed to policies based on violence and oppression. After the coup, public workers went on to establish basis for labor union organization in establishing associations and continued their activities in building up commissions and platforms. Teachers were faster in this regard than other civil servants and thus established in 1990 the labor

union Eğitim-İş and then Eğitim-Sen. A lot of other unions like Tüm-Bel-Sen began to apply for legal registration having a mass basis. Public workers managed to organize a congress to adopt a statute in order to organize a confederation in 1995 with the involvement of 28 labor unions and the participation of 500 delegates despite all kinds of oppressive policies executed by the state. KESK was established on December 8, 1995.

KESK maintains that labor is the most important value and that union struggles are part of the struggle for democracy and freedom. Thus it has certain self-declared goals and principles. The goal of KESK is to defend and improve the economic, democratic, social, political, cultural, vocational and legal and the personal employee rights and interests of all its members and of all laborers. KESK demands that all rights and liberties stemming from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other legal agreements be implemented. It envisions a world without war and without exploitation and thus wants to contribute to a persistent peace in Turkey as well as on a world scale. KESK formulates its aims with this regard as establishing and solidifying all democratic institutions and rules against all kinds of oppressive regimes, struggling for democracy against fascism, for independence against imperialism, for freedom against oppression, for the fraternity of people against racism and chauvinism. For KESK all laborers should struggle in unity and together and thus that laborers should struggle together in workplaces and sectors; thus it aims to establish such kinds of relations. The confederation wants to make efforts to establish unity and solidarity on an international scale and thus get into contact with international labor organizations and further develop these relations. Another objective of KESK is to pave the way for the social and cultural development of laborers, for the development of class-consciousness. Its aim is to

turn organization and democracy into a lifestyle, and for that purpose organizes scientific and cultural activities. The confederation struggles for the establishment of a common, general and democratic union, for completely making use of collective bargaining and strike rights for all laborers, for job security and a ban on lockouts. KESK states that it wants all laborers to be organized under the same umbrella organizations and thus make all kinds of organizational and cultural efforts to unite laboring classes. With this perspective the confederation states that it will support all kinds of labor unions, platforms, federations etc. Another concern of KESK is the gender issue. KESK states that it is against all kinds of gender discrimination within social life and thus struggles to overcome the inequality between sexes. One of its principles is the active participation of women in union activities and thus to positively support them. Furthermore, KESK states the ecological issues as one of its major concerns. The confederation wants to save the ecological balance and the historical as well as cultural environment. According to KESK the environment should not be harmed by production processes; and thus KESK aims to establish labor union initiatives concerned with these issues. For KESK the interests of laborers are also the interests of the whole society. Thus it demands that laborers should control and participate in the management, administration etc. steps of the production processes of goods and services. KESK wants to intervene into the creation and distribution processes of social wealth on behalf of the laborers. Another of its aims is to struggle for an equal and free life of all nations and to get rid of all barriers hindering them from determining their future. Last but not least, KESK aims to improve the condition of laborers on all levels of working life and production processes in line with their own objectives, to adjust the physical circumstances at work with the features of the related work and services; it wants to

control, prevent accidents on the workplace and occupational diseases. Furthermore, KESK wants to spread work conditions based on social security and that handicapped people should participate into the work life under the most suitable conditions, create solution and means or possibilities against problems related to these handicaps (KESK, 2010).

## CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

Data collected within this research has been gained in using the qualitative research method. The data has been gained by using semi-structured interview techniques and subsequently interpreted.

### Sample Selection

The population of this research consists of public workers' unions. The sample consists of the headquarters of eleven sectorial unions organized under the umbrella of KESK (Confederation of Public Workers' Unions).

Initially a plan was to made conduct this research by interviewing the education secretaries and education specialists at the headquarters of the related unions. Prior to this there was a meeting with the president of the confederation to get information about the headquarters of the related unions. The telephone numbers of the presidents of the unions in question were taken. Each of them was called and was informed about the research. Consequently the names and telephone numbers of the executives, education secretaries and specialists were taken and a meeting-schedule was prepared by calling each of them.

There is not an education specialist at every union headquarter; thus at least one person organizing or being responsible for union education programs was contacted and asked for an appointment. Since union educational activities are conducted by education specialists or education commissions composed of union education secretaries and members an emphasis was laid on meeting the kind of people who are responsible for these activities. The headquarters of 11 sectorial unions accepted to make appointments and interviews and enabled me to collect the

research data. Interviews with 14 persons were conducted for the purpose of this research.

The 11 sectorial public workers unions in question are the following ones: EĞİTİM-SEN, BES, BTS, DİVES, HABER-SEN, KÜLTÜR SANAT-SEN, SES, TARIM ORKAM-SEN, TÜM BEL-SEN, YAPI-YOL SEN, ESM.

### Interview Guide

Data for this research has been obtained by using the semi-structured interview technique. The semi-structured interview guide designed in 2001 by Münevver Çelik for her research on workers' unions and called by her "Interview Guide of the Basic Problems and Their Solutions of Union Education" was a support for this research in formulating the research questions.

For the purpose of this research the interview guide designed by Çelik (2001) was revised in considering the general and specific differences between workers' unions and public sector employees' unions.

No previous study has been done for this research. The researcher herself is also a member of Eğitim-Sen, which is organized under the umbrella of KESK; the researcher was going to the branches of other unions and held meetings with their executives and thus was able to make observations. Initially it was planned to conduct this research by meeting the education secretaries and education specialists at the headquarters of the related unions. But during this research it was observed that the union headquarters are planning and conducting the educational activities collectively with at least one education commission, education secretary and education specialist. During each interview the questions were asked by taking these differences and distinctions into account and thus certain questions were left open.

## Data Collection Procedure

In order to get data for this research the president of the Confederation of Public Workers' Unions (KESK) was contacted. The sectorial unions have been informed and thus the contact information of those responsible for union education at the headquarters were given. Since all the headquarters of the labor unions are in Ankara, each one has been called and those responsible for union education were contacted. In those cases in which it was not possible to get into contact with those responsible for union education or where there was not such a person at all the presidents of the unions were taken as a supplementary source of information. Consequently a schedule for preliminary interviews has been set-up covering ten days.

Interviews with Yapı-Yol-Sen and DİVES were conducted with the presidency of these unions. This research has been conducted in Ankara since all the union headquarters are located there. Just one union (DİVES) did not have an office on its own. They had a room within the building of the confederation and its president was an imam who was always working in Diyarbakır. The opportunities to go to Diyarbakır were limited a preliminary phone call with the secretary general of the union was conducted, the questions were sent via e-mail and thus there was an effort to collect more data by making phone calls. But then the president of DİVES called and said that he will be in Ankara during those dates so that we were able to make a face-to-face interview. Both kinds of data has been combined and thus presented here.

All informants accepted the attempt to record the interview and thus there are voice records of these interviews. But two informants did not want that certain parts of the interview to be recorded. Nevertheless, after the researcher shared the notes

taken during the interview the informants accepted that some parts of the information stemming from them would be included to the data of the research. The interviews' duration lasts between 45 minutes and an hour. All data has been collected between 10<sup>th</sup> of December 2012 and 11<sup>th</sup> of January 2013.

### Data Analysis

Since the data was comprised of voice records and notes they had to be resolved them within a certain order.

The informants sometimes mixed-up their answers and combined some answers to different questions thus their answers had to be re-ordered while writing the voice records down. Each answer has been order to fit to the appropriate question. Those answers considered not to have a bearing on the issue or as thoughts aloud were picked out and the research data was re-ordered.

The answers given by the informants to the questions were analyzed under eight main topics; these are:

- Purposes of union education
- The types and contents of union educations
- The selection process of the participants
- Union educational programs for women and their participation
- The motivations of union members
- Teaching methods and materials
- Educational personell
- The evaluation processes of union educational activities



CHAPTER IV  
RESEARCH FINDINGS

Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Name of the labor union	Participant and her/his title	Education level	Sex
KESK	Education and organizing secretary	Undergraduate	Male
EĞİTİM-SEN	Education secretary	Undergraduate	Female
EĞİTİM-SEN	Education specialist	PhD	Male
TÜM BEL-SEN	Union specialist	Undergraduate	Male
SES	General education, press and publications secretary	Undergraduate	Female
HABER-SEN	General secretary	Undergraduate	Male
HABER-SEN	General press and publications, social and foreign affairs secretary	Graduate school	Male
YAPI-YOL SEN	Chairmen	Graduate school	Male
ESM	Press, publications and education secretary	Undergraduate	Male
BTS	General education and organizing secretary	Undergraduate	Male
KÜLTÜR SANAT -SEN	General education and organizing secretary	Undergraduate	Male
BES	Education secretary	Undergraduate	Female
TARIM ORKAM SEN	General secretary	Graduate school	Male
DİVES	Chairman	Undergraduate	Male

Table 1

For the purpose of this research interviews were made with 8 secretaries responsible for education, 2 general secretaries, 1 education specialist, 1 union specialist and two general secretaries as seen in Table 1. Just three of the participants were women. Most of the participants had an undergraduate education, just one of them had a PhD and three of them had a graduate school (Yüksekökol) education. All

of them were involved in the planning, realization and evaluation processes of union educations and all of them are still holding their offices. With one exception all of them had themselves attended union educations. The union executives/secretaries and presidents were actively involved in union educations prior and after their election into office and are continuing to do so.

### Purposes of Union Education

The goals of union education run parallel to the general organizational goals of the unions. In Turkey the organization of public workers on a union basis has faced with serious forms of oppression. It can be observed that the goals of union education is basically arranged to serve the organization processes of unions since there are legal and de facto constraints regarding the freedom of organization. The participants noted that although the legitimacy of public workers' unions and especially KESK is legally accepted there are barriers to get organized at workplaces and that the union members are facing systematic pressures on diverse degrees. Thus the participants stressed that union educations are planned with the objective to serve the organizing processes of the union as well as enhancing the qualifications of members and cadres on that ground.

The participants declared that the goals of union education are the following ones:

- To ensure that the members have the necessary knowledge and are well equipped to be active in line with the policies, statute and principles of KESK.
- Enhance union consciousness and union awareness
- Strengthen the organizational ties (sense of belonging) and involvement of the members to their union
- To pursue common goals by using a common language (creating unity regarding discourse and opinions)

- Informing members about the gains and losses of laws related to public workers in working life as well as in social life, expose the hidden and concealed aspects of laws to the members and to the public in general
- To ensure that the members understand that union struggle forms an important part of the struggle for democracy and to ensure that the link between unions and politics is well established in order to create a democratic culture in the country
- To ensure that members are deepening the unionized struggle, that they raise their awareness against developments leading to fragility and oppression in order to be more resistant
- Ensuring the development of a practice of struggle against arbitrary practices and pressures at the workplace
- Ensuring that the members gain a skill to communicate impressively and thus leading to improvements in solving problems

The participants noted that the goals of union education are determined upon problems faced during union struggles and needs that come up.

“Our members are always under pressure at their workplaces. At the workplaces there are arbitrary practices exceeding by far the limits of Act Number 657 Regarding Civil Servants, which is a barrier for flexible and unregulated, working conditions. For instance recently the number of the personnel is shrinking seriously and this means an increase in the work to be done. Those members who are very conscious with regard to the union are able to stand against these kinds of practices in a very resistant way.”

“Those members whose ties to the union are weak or whose are not conscious enough cannot stand against the pressures they face; they also cannot come up with solutions against the threads they face and can also cancel their membership. Union educations are organized in order to reveal their capacity to come up with solutions and prevent them from becoming fragile.”

“Union education is supposed to make active union members on the level of executives as well as workplace representatives more equipped. An executive or a workplace representative is more likely to come up with solutions the more this person is equipped and resistant; thus this person can strengthen the tie between members and the union as well as strengthen the efforts to organize the union. The class conscious executives and workplace representatives make the organization processes more trustworthy for the employees.”

All participants noted that it is not easy to mobilize all the members for union education. They further remarked that the purpose of the related education activity could just be achieved in defining the right kind of content and target group.

According to the statements of the interviewed unionists, the education of executives and workplace representatives should be emphasized; they stress that it is possible to establish ties between the members and the union via qualified cadres. While some unionists stated that their union organizes different educational activities for union executives and workplace representatives some stated that they are not able to do so due to financial constraints.

The participants highlighted that the needs of the organization and the properties of the target group are taken into consideration in order to determine the goal of the educational activities. The participants noted that they emphasize the education of prospective cadres and especially the attendance of new and young members to the educational activities. One participant, in noting that the goal of the educational activities differ with the content of the education and the target group, explained this situation in the following way:

“There is a difference with regard to the know-how of a new member and a member/representative or union executive being active for years. We try to take this into consideration in defining the objectives of an education activity. For instance: If our aim is to educate new members, the objective is to raise union consciousness, strengthening the sense of belonging to the union etc. But the goals pursued during educations of representatives or union executives is on a higher level.”

It is accepted that the union’s ability to engage in firm activities is closely related to the quantity of its members. Enhancing union consciousness and setting union policies into motion is possible by means of educations. Considering the difficulty in reaching all members the core cadres are selected as the target group of union

educations. Thus all unions lay an emphasis on workplace representatives who are elected in each selection period. The participants declared that the objectives of educational activities directed at workplace representatives are the following ones:

Enabling workplace representatives to

- follow the agenda of the union and realize the tasks they got in the union to their workplaces;
- inform the union about the working conditions as well as about the problems faced by members at the workplace and to come up with solutions;
- enhance communicative skills and strengthening the union by recruiting members.

Unionists from unions emphasizing educational activities and seminars towards union executives declare their objectives to be the following ones:

Enabling union executives to

- to learn the functional processes of the union;
- to develop union policies against social as well as workplace based problems and thus enriching the perspective of the union;
- to enhance their leadership qualities and to communicate impressively with members and other employees;
- to inform the members and other employees about the role of the union and to solidify this role.

The ways in which the content of union educations are determined differs from union to union. Especially the number of members plays a decisive role here. While those unions whose membership is rising quantitatively lay an emphasis on enhancing the qualifications of their members and preparing prospective cadres within the framework of their educational activities those unions with a quantitatively stagnating or diminishing membership lay an emphasis on educational activities to overcome these problems. Unions with a relatively small membership are conducting educations hand in hand and interwoven with organizing activities. All unions under the umbrella of KESK (except Eđitim-Sen) note that it is a problem for them to employ education specialists. Since Eđitim-Sen has relative high number of members it organizes an “educator education program.” The participant from

Eğitim-Sen stated that the purposes of this education activity attended by voluntary members are the following ones:

Enable members who attended this education activity to

- determine the educational needs of the branches and to plan education programs at branches or regions fitting these needs
- synchronize union education with organizing strategies
- be active in the branches as educators
- prepare sources for union education.

Another education organized with this perspective is the “women educators’ education” program. KESK and its member unions highly emphasize that women’s labor becomes visible within social life as well as in the work-life. The unions accept the fact that precarious and flexible working conditions are becoming the main form of employment within the capitalist economic system on a worldwide scale and that women suffer most from these and that the exploitation of women’s labor is increasing. Thus they found women secretaries in the unions as an establishment struggling against gender discrimination, violence, the exploitation of women’s labor etc. and developing alternative policies. The fact that unions are conducting and spreading these activities with women has brought about a more active participation of women in unions and necessarily their education onto the agenda. Thus the “women educators’ education” program is conducted in order to meet these requirements. The goals of this program conducted by Eğitim-Sen are stated as the following ones:

- Enabling women members to participate and be actively involved in the union struggle on all levels
- Raise the consciousness of women members about gender-based problems and enhance women’s sensibility towards these issues.
- To plan education programs at the branches and in the regions against gender-based problems and spread these to a wide range of other social groups.

The goals of union education can be directed towards the needs of the union as well as the needs of the society. KESK and its unions demand that the whole society participates in an organized manner to the decision making processes and advocate a public service which is out of the spectrum of the state and the market as far as possible, which is organized due to the principles of equality, which is free of charge, which has quality, which is accessible and given in the native language. KESK is aware that unionized struggle is a part of the struggle for democracy and freedom and thus tries to organize these activities together with other social groups. The unions are not just organizing educations for their members; they also organize various panels, symposiums, conventions and seminars directed at or together with such other groups. Such activities can be organized on a national as well as an international level. According to the participant from Eđitim-Sen (to give an example) the “Democratic Education Convention” was one of those events. Four conventions under this title had been organized and while the interview was made the fifth was being prepared. The participant from Eđitim-Sen stated that the goals of this convention are the following ones:

“The education convention we are going to organize will (as it was the case in the previous ones) put forward alternative education policies related to all problems and practices of education and suggest a perspective in order to struggle for an education given in everybody’s native language, without gender discrimination, which is organized due to the principles of equality and is secular, scientific, without fees and public as well as open to the access of everyone. These are principles in line with our statute and we will make the results of the convention public.”

The ways by which the goals of union educations are determined differs from union to union. Although there are education secretaries in all unions the content and target group of the educations is determined collectively by the central administrative board

and with the suggestions coming from the general assembly of the union which gathers periodically. The education secretaries make decisions about and define the goals of union educations by taking into consideration the demands coming from the general assembly of the union which serves as a decision-making unit. On the other hand the unionists of two unions remarked that the goals of educational activities in their organizations are defined by education commissions and that these are realized after being approved by the central administrative board.

### The Types and Contents of Union Education Activities

The education secretariats plan the needs of the organization upon the suggestions coming from the branches and formulate these in a more concrete manner during the periodic general assembly meetings and thus realize them. The participants noted that the contents and forms of union educations are planned by taking into consideration the needs of the organization, the characteristics of the target group supposed to attend these and the financial situation of the union. The contents of the union educations changes depending on whether they are organized by the headquarters or by a branch.

The participants noted that union center educational activities deal and consist of the following topics:

- The history of union struggles in Turkey and in the world
- The contradiction between capital and labor
- The crisis of capitalism and its transformation
- The relationship between unions and politics
- The public personnel regime, flexible work and job security
- Communication and mobbing
- The transformation and restructuration process of the public sector
- Gender issues
- Budget and collective bargaining issues
- The relationship between the union and the workplace
- The relationship between unions and democracy



- Problems faced during organizing and measures to be taken
- Actual problems in diverse sectors

Union educational activities organized by the headquarters lay an emphasis on educating union executives and cadres due to the needs of the union. The fact that educations with similar contents and topics are organized is an indication of this. On the other hand the educations organized by branches mostly deal with the changes and developments in the diverse sectors and their content is organized due to the demands and suggestions of members. In general the contents of educations organized by branches deal with the following topics:

- Union rights and liberties
- Problems faced in the related sectors
- Prospective or actual problems at the diverse sectors due to changing laws and practices
- Gains and losses for the working conditions brought about by laws
- The transformation of the public sector (education, health etc.)

In unions having a high number of members the educational are not organized regularly but they are oriented towards union executives and workplace representatives with an emphasis laid on educating prospective union cadres and improving their qualifications. Due to financial constraints unions with a relatively small number of members are just able to organize central educations once or twice in the three years during which a selected administration is in charge. The educations organized by the headquarters generally go on for at least two days so that the attendants have to spend the night there; mostly these educations take the form of panels or seminars. On the other hand the educations planned due to the needs and demands of the branches last just one day and take the form of meetings related to organizing efforts and involve one branch or region.

The participants noted that they also organize panels, seminars, and symposiums related to issues like the Kurdish question, democracy etc. that is according to them directly related the working conditions. These are activities, which are not just directed to members, but open to anybody who is interested.

Educational activities aiming at spreading the culture of democracy on an individual as well as social level are frequently organized. These educations, which are also attended by non-members, are organized in cooperation with diverse democratic mass organizations (e.g. AÇEV, UNICEF, TMMOB). For instance Eđitim-Sen organizes projects such as “Education towards Mothers and Children” and “Education towards Fathers.”

Besides this there are educational activities promoting members and leading to their social and cultural development such as correspondence school, English, photography, folklore, drama, painting courses and exhibitions. These are organized due to the demands coming from the members. This is not frequently the case and they are more an issue of branches. These educational activities are realized in order to enable the social and cultural development of members as well as turning the unions to a social space.

The type of education is determined upon the number of attendants. Centrally planned and realized educational activities are generally divided up into sessions, last for more than one day and take the form of interactive seminars/panels. The educational activities organized by the headquarters can only be attended by union executives and workplace representatives who are members of the union. Whereas the educational activities organized by branches can be attended by anybody. One participant formulated his opinions regarding the problems faced in the following way:

“Centrally planned and realized educations can rarely be organized within the three years. Since the attendants have to spend the night at that place there the costs are high. We do not have any problem regarding attendance but if educations are overcrowded it can be the case that they are not as effective as it was initially expected for them to be. The educations should be attended by less people and be more effective but since the educations stemming from the headquarters are generally not well planned we aim to involve as much attendants as possible. Since the number of attendants is high we organize educations in form of panels and seminars.”

Considering the fact that it is difficult for unions to organize educational activities directed at their members the publication activities of unions could also be regarded as a sort of educational activity. All unions regularly prepare pamphlets, journals, bulletins and posters dealing with actual problems and changes. These publications are given to the members via workplace representatives and enable them to keep up with the course the union struggle is taking and thus to be informed about actual developments. Recently the web-sites of unions are also used for educational purposes. Education pamphlets, notes and articles can be accessed by anybody. Eđitim-Sen is preparing a distance education and union TV project.

#### The Selection Process of Participants

The headquarters of the unions are informing the branches about educations in a written form and demand from the branches that they should engage in activities for these educations. The centrally planned and realized educations are directed towards a limited number of attendants since the night has to be spent there and since they last for more than one day. The branches are trying to figure out who should attend these educations in line with the target group of the education. The headquarters

determine the characteristics (such as being a workplace representative, being a union executive, being a women etc.) of the target group.

The defined target group is the decisive factor in selecting the attendants. For instance, if a certain educational activity is meant to be for workplace representatives then it is announced just to them; or if it is meant to be for union executives again it is announced just to them.

The participants noted that if the number of attendants is limited or it is demanded that more people should attend a certain educational activity the branches themselves select the attendants due to personal observations. During these observations or impressions, characteristics such as the ones listed below are taken into consideration:

- the sensibility of the member towards union struggle and her/his level of struggle experience
- her/his attendance to the actions and activities of the union
- her/his contribution to the organizing and organizational efforts of the union.

One participant explained:

“We do not have any problems regarding attendance; on the contrary there is an excessive demand for attending educations. Since our economic sources are limited we have to define quotas. We emphasize the participation of young members who hitherto have not attended any union education and especially the participation of women. There are a lot of apolitical people in our sector as it is the case in other sectors, too. There are a lot of people ignorant to what is happening right in front of their eyes and who are unconcerned with such things. We try to mobilize those members prone to being organized and to organizational efforts for the educations and thus want that they attend the educations.”

Another participant said:

“When we organize educations for union executives (except the presidents of the branches) we call them in a certain order. We organize educations directed at workplace representatives and young cadres, those who

just began to work as civil servants or at new members. We emphasize educations towards workplace representatives who are an important link in the communication between the union and the members.”

Yet another participant said:

“Our main target group are young men and women and those who never attended union educations before. We do not deploy a formal selection procedure. Our goal is to educate union cadres for the period to come. We aim to educate prospective cadres able to underline the importance of workplace representation and having developed a certain consciousness. Since we want to prepare our members to become workplace representatives and strengthen existing workplace representation units our most important criterion is that the persons are participating voluntarily and are willing to do so.”

All participants stressed that they highly emphasize the participation of women.

Unionists from some unions noted that if a man from a branch participates to an education that also a women participant was demanded.

There is no criterion defined for attending educational activities in the branches or at the workplaces. The participants noted that interested members as well as public workers who are members of other unions can come to the education programs and activities at the branches.

The participants were asked if the educational activities are attended to as expected. They said that this depends on the format, topic and content of the educational activity in question. Those unions with a high number of members (such as Eğitim-Sen, SES, Tüm-Bel-Sen) are generally organizing educational activities during which the night has to be spend there and they remark that more people than demanded are willing to attend these and that they do not have any problems regarding participation and thus apply a non-formal selection procedure. Whereas union with a quantitatively small number of members stated that they are not able to

frequently organize centrally planned educational activities during which the participants have to spend the night there and that these are limited to just one day being comprised of one or two sessions; so the attendance to these is very low. But these unions remarked that education meetings, which are organized together with organizing meetings at the workplaces, have a high attendance.

For the educational activities organized by branches the topic and the previous activities regarding a certain educational activity is of crucial importance. If the branches are announcing this activity in a way to yield a high attendance than the quantity of the participants rises. They also note that if an educational activity deals with issues which are directly related to the employees (such as legal, personnel rights etc.) the attendance is high.

One participant pointed out the problems faced during organizing educational activities in the branches:

“We had no problem regarding participation during one educational activity which was centrally organized in Ankara. But one activity which we organized at a branch in İstanbul was barely attended due to disputes and conflicts which took place at that time within the union.”

Another participant remarked:

“Since the night has to be spend there during centrally planned and organized educational activities there is a lot of time pressure. They can or cannot be appealing, they might become a realm for socialization. On the other hand they can be very exhaustive since they are very intense. At some branches people have to work over the weekend. Since people want to use their weekends to go out and make holidays these activities might be not that much attended as was expected.”

## Union Education Programs for Women and Their Participation

Although the number of female members is relatively low in comparison to male members within the unions under the umbrella of KESK the participants stressed that it is crucial issue for them that women become workplace representatives, union branch executives and become executives at the headquarters; thus they note that efforts are made to yield such results.

In all unions there are women secretariats and they as well as certain commissions are organizing education programs directed at women. All participants noted that, although not periodically, their unions organize education programs and activities directed at women.

They remarked that these education programs deal with the following topics:

- Women's struggle in the world and in Turkey
- Women and unions
- Women's labor and gender
- Gender discrimination
- Violence against women
- Gender and its impact on working life
- Mobbing
- Education for women education educators (Eğitim-Sen)

Centrally planned and realized educational activities towards women secretaries at the branches can last more than one day as well as organized on a daily basis and it can be the case that these are organized on special days related to women (8<sup>th</sup> of March and 25<sup>th</sup> of November day against violence against women). The topics and contents are showing similar characteristics.

The attendance of women to these education programs differs from union to union. In unions where the proportion of women members is lower than those of men the attendance of women to these education programs is also low. On the contrary, in

unions in which the proportion of women members is high or equal to male members women's attendance to these education programs is high. Tüm-Bel-Sen remarked that women's participation to union educational activities is to 90% higher than those of men. It was noted that this exception is the case due to the fact that there is a high women employment ratio in this sector and that the proportion of female members is higher than the proportion of male members.

All participants remarked that in unions in which the number of female members is relatively lower or approximately equal women attend union educations to a lesser degree than men. It was noted that this is due to the fact that women members are generally married and have children and thus have responsibilities with this regard. They further noted that a special effort is made to overcome problems with regard to women's participation caused by the fact that they maintain the household, are married and have children.

Unions, which have quantitatively a high number of members and thus are financially in a more advantaged position arrangements, are made to enable women to come to the central education activities (in which the night has to be spend there) with their children or husbands. If women members come with their children arrangements such as daycare, kindergartens or entertainers are organized. In relatively small unions other union members who do not attend the education take care of the children.

It was noted that during the education activities in the branches the children were put into rooms prepared for them and that members who are not participating to the education take care of them. The participants noted that if the circumstances of the education programs were appropriate for the attendance of women the number of attendants rose. On the other hand some participants remarked that women's



attendance changed from region to region. For instance, while male attendance is higher in the southern cities, women's attendance is obviously rises in the western cities.

It was remarked that although there are women secretariats at the headquarters and branches of the unions they are relatively new secretariats and that efforts are made to institutionalize them. Most participants noted that these secretariats are becoming functional in raising an awareness and coming up with solutions for problems faced by women on all levels during union struggles. But it was also noted that they are exposed to more pressure because of that. As this research was conducted 5 female secretaries of the headquarters of KESK (including the women secretary) were arrested because of union actions and activities. One participant said:

“The common characteristics of or arrested friends is that they are Kurds and women. Since being a unionist in this country means to be targeted by the state, being also a women and a Kurd is making this situation harder. We were intensively pursuing of activities towards women on all levels. We were making activities for the 8<sup>th</sup> of May and realizing educations dealing with gender issues, we were working hard. Women are the best organizers and these arrests aim exactly to hinder this.”

#### Educational Personnel

There are no professional education specialists employed at the unions with the exception of Eđitim-Sen. The professional specialist employed by Tm-Bel-Sen is also taking part in the planning, application and evaluation process of union educations.

The education activities are planned and organized under the coordination of the education secretariats of the union or by voluntary education commissions established by union members.

The education personnel involved in the union education programs can change depending on the content and the topic.

- Union members specialized in a certain field,
- union executives
- and academics specialized in a certain field can be educators.

Academics, members and union executives specialized in their respective fields are serving as educators during the education activities aiming at representatives and union executives and organized by the headquarters.

On the other hand, educational meetings giving information about various developments/changes in different sectors and which do not require specialization are done by union executives, by union members who are specialized in their respective fields or certified educators who previously had attended the “educators’ education” program.

The participants they choose the educators on the basis of some criterions; they check whether these persons previously had done union education, whether they are familiar with the union and as well as whether they are concerned with union issues.

One participant made the following remark:

“While we choose the educators we prefer academics or specialists who are familiar with the union members and are experienced with that respect and have a positive attitude towards unions and union struggles. If we do not do this the education are not effective. If it is possible to establish a positive communication between members and educators the education are more effective.”

Since union executives are closely keep up with actual developments and changes they frequently come to educations or informing meetings organized by the union

branches as educators or orators. One participant who stressed that they try avoid choosing educators amongst the ranks of academics noted the following:

“The laws are changing all the time and union executives are keeping up with these changes and have profound knowledge regarding these issues. And because of that our union executives are involved in the educational arrangements or informative meetings organized by the branches as educators. Sometimes the members get bored while specialists are giving educations on theoretical issues but the meetings with the union executives can become more interactive since the members can focus more on the losses and gains related to changes which concern them.”

During educations organized at branches towards members or representatives the headquarter is asked to send educators and the headquarters are carefully trying to meet these needs.

All participants think that unions should employ union education specialists. But there are two different approaches related to this. According to some unionists this should be done on a voluntary basis and not professionally and others think that professional educators should be employed in order to bring continuity into the education efforts and institutionalize them. They maintain that education specialists will contribute to the further institutionalization of education.

The unionists explained that they do not get advices from the field of adult education while planning, realizing and evaluating union educations. Their answer to the question whether they think if this is necessary they said that they do not have much ideas about that. All participants thought that the question “do you get contributions from an adult education specialist for your education” makes references to “an educator specialized on her/his respective field.” After me having informed briefly the participants about the field of adult education some said that it would be necessary to get know-how from this field and some did not voice any

opinions on this issue. One participant noted that they do not need the special know-how from the field of adult education since they are familiar with the characteristics of the participants and are organizing the educations by considering these. They remarked that the educations are designed more upon previous experiences and observations.

### The Motivation of Union Members

The participants noted that the factors having an impact on the motivations of the members during union educations are the following ones:

- The topic and content of the education
- How far the member is involved in the union struggle and her/his level of interest in politics
- Union education experience
- The physical circumstances of the education
- The proficiency of the educator

Since the educations are attended voluntarily, it is noted that there is no problem with regard to participation. The participants said that if the participants are sufficiently informed about the content of a certain education program there is not a problem regarding participations and the motivation of participants. Those members who believe in the union struggle but are not active themselves attend educational activities related to social, legal and personnel rights etc. Issued, which directly concern employees; thus they are very motivated. On the other hand, it can be observed that persons who have more union experience and care about being active on all levels participate in all kinds of actions, activities and educations.

Some participants told that the attendants are not homogenous with regard to their knowledge and prior union education experience and thus the union educations are organized in such a way as to appeal to the most uninformed ones. Sometimes it

can be the case that attendants who did not attend any educational activities before, might find the contributions unnecessary or are not eager to be part of this kind of discussions.

The form of the educations are also a factor which has a bearing on the motivation of the participants. The opinions and observations of the participants diverge at this point. Some participants noted that the centrally planned and organized educations which last more than one day are usually very intense due to the limited amount of time available and are exhausting for the participants. On the other hand some participants observe that these education during which the night has to be spend there the participants are spatially far away from their daily routine concerns and are thus able to get focused on the education, that since they are all together they can socialize. One participant noted:

“Since the night has to be spend there during centrally planned and organized educations there is a lot of time pressure. They can or cannot be appealing, they might become a realm for socialization. On the other hand they can be very exhaustive since they are very intense. At some branches people have to work over the weekend. Since people want to use their weekends to go out and make holidays these activities might be not that much attended as was expected.”

The participant remarked that the defamations done by the press against KESK and the systematic pressures exerted on KESK by the state are frequently discussed by members with different perspectives during educations dealing with actual political, social and economic developments. Since the members adopt different perspectives regarding union struggles the educations might reflect these. Some participants noted that some attendants can have prejudices. Some might attend the educations to get to know what the union is thinking and to understand its perspectives but some might

attend the educations to make their points and thus trying to make their point of view a prevalent one.

One participants made the following observation:

“People attending to educations can sometimes come there with prejudices. Our members can have different opinions about actual problems. This can be the case with regard to religious symbols. Since there is a public defamation against Egitim-Sen such as that “the union is irreligious, it is on behalf of the Kurds” we lose members and during the educations we try to explain that this is not the case. It has already been stated that nobody can be discriminated due to her/his religious belief. They show that they are prejudiced with the questions they ask. We try to explain to our members the perspective adopted by KESK or our union as far as possible and try to formulate common perspectives. We try to turn the educational activities into a mutual learning process as far as possible.”

The participant stressed that these educations overcome prejudices and further strengthen the sense of belonging. Although very rarely there are also cases in which they lead to resignation from membership. The participant from BTS told the following incidence:

“Our educator noted that neoliberal policies were becoming more intense and more were spreading with the AKP government and stated a harsh criticism on the aggressive labor policies pursued by the government during the last eight years. One member who said that she/he voted for the AKP criticized this. But at the end of the education the perception and approach of this colleague changed to a great degree. While thinking that this member could resign from membership after this education she/he did not fall apart with the union and even brought new members...Not just during educations but also during the exchange of ideas in times during which educations do not take place there can be a warm environment. Although rarely there can be also opposite cases and there can also be people who resign from membership after an education.”

Another important issue is the kind of expressions used by the educators. All participants noted that academic forms of expression should not be used during

educations. They remarked that a language, which does not take the level of apprehension of the members into consideration, leads to their estrangement from the education and thus making the educations ineffective for the members.

Some participants pointed at the motivational difference between members with a higher political level and those without regarding educations dealing with actual political issues (the Kurdish problem, nationalism) considering the relationship between unions and politics. While members experienced in union struggles can find it unnecessary to discuss these issues from anew some find it necessary. Also be discrepancies regarding the points of views amongst new members can be observed.

If the content of the education does not fit the political and union know-how of the attending members they cannot follow up or they can get bored.

#### Teaching Methods and Materials

The participants noted that after defining the content and topic of the educations they try to inform the attendants about the content as much as possible and try to get them prepared for the educational activities. Two participants remarked that they give sources and written materials which could be conceived as some sort of preparation to the attendants prior to the educations and thus prepare them. One participant explained this:

“It is not possible to know completely how much the attendants already know. There are members who never had attended educational activities and those who had. Since we suppose that there are differences with regard to knowledge about and experiences of union struggles we previously inform them and gave them written materials and sources so that they come with a certain preparation. In the cases where we do not inform them the eagerness to attend is low or if they do not come with a certain

preparation they cannot get sufficient efficiency out of the educations and cannot gain that much from the educations.”

The methods and materials used during union educational activities depend on the content of the education and the educator involved. The educations can be designed upon the classical learning method as well as upon the interactive learning method. Most of the participants observed that during the educations where the classical method was used, the attendants got bored and that these were inefficient. While the classical method is mainly used during educational activities with a high attendance, these are supported by slide shows, videos and similar visual materials. One participant pointed out that workshops with a low number of attendants are very vivid and interactive. All of the participants remarked that they try to avoid the classical method as far as possible and that they lay an emphasis on the active participation of the attendants.

The participants noted that the method and materials used changes from educator to educator. There can be educators with a prior union education experience as well as educators lacking this experience. One participant said:

“We prefer people with a prior union education as far as possible. Academics who were not involved in union educations do not know the characteristics of the audience and thus cannot slow down to match their level. Thus we previously inform such educators about the characteristics of the audience. The education levels and professions of our attendants differ from each other and they are not on the same level of perception. In such cases the educations can become very boring and ineffective. But an experienced academic can match the level of the audience since she/he knows their level of knowledge and perception. They carefully try to make the education interactive.”

One participant who is involved in the educations as an educator and is also an education specialist of the union noted:



“From time to time we are supported by academics but we do not prefer them. Some of them are doing this as if they were giving a lesson at the university. They tell what they have to and leave. Also our members are not very comfortable with them and there can be a sort of estrangement. If we or another of our member specialized on her/his respective field, for instance, is involved as an educator we can match their language. They are asking questions in a very relaxed way. The discussions can be more vivid.”

It can be seen that the topics and the contents of the educations have an impact on the methods used. If the content of the lesson in question is packed with knowledge (for instance “the transformation of capitalism”) the presentations are made by using slide shows. In the communication lessons the method of dramatization is used frequently. If it is dealing with an actual development or change than it is more like a questioning-answering format.

The participants also stressed that the characteristics of the audience is also of importance. The profiles of members having attended union educations and being at the union for a longer time can be different from those who did not attend any of these educations. The participants noted, for instance, that there arises some sort of confusion if the educations for workplace representatives are designed by taking a person who did not attend any union education as a basis.

It can be observed that the contents of union educations are designed upon organizational needs. By looking at the age, experiences, professions, gender etc. of the audience it can be seen that the principles of adult education are not taken into consideration. It can be further stressed that the materials used in the lessons are not designed by being concerned about teaching methods.

All participants pointed out that the members are especially very satisfied from the communication educations. They explained that this is due to the fact that the dramatization method is used during these educations.

An emphasis is laid on using visual materials during the educations as well as using slide shows and question-answer sessions. Other materials such as footages, pictures, slides, participants, videos, newspapers, articles and audio records listened to prior to the educations.

All participants noted that the educations should be realized with a low number of attendants. They agree that the educations which are made rarely due to the financial constraints and intensive activities of the unions should be made more often.

#### The Evaluation Process of Union Education Activities

With the exception of a few unions the union educations are not evaluated by using formal methods.

The union education specialists, union educators and union executives who organized the educations try to evaluate their impact and effectiveness during the educations as well as afterwards in formal and informal ways. The most frequently used evaluation methods are the following ones:

- The union education specialists and union executives come together with the attendants and sometimes use written polls and mutually evaluate the educational activity in some kind of small talk.
- It is observed whether the attendants actively participate to the educations or whether they are passive.
- A written or an oral report is demanded from the educators.
- The contribution of educations on the members and the organization is observed.

Most of the participants noted that they are not able to formally evaluate centrally planned and conducted education lasting for more than one day since they are intense. Their observations are limited to the attendants and educators. Whether the attendants get bored or actively participate to the educations is measured by means of observations.

One participant told his observations during educations in the following way:

“We evaluate the educations by means of observing them in real-time. The participation to our educations is generally based on asking and answering. We can check whether the attendants are bored or not in looking at how active they are. Our members take it easy. If they feel exhausted or feel that their attention is going lost they demand breaks.”

One participant noted the following with regard to criticisms made after the educations:

“Our last education lasted four days. We had a lot of topics. Most criticisms dwelled on the fact that the breaks had been too short and that the topics were too intense. Some of our members suggested that they should have a break lasting half a day in order to walk around, have a meal and entertainment. We wanted that people get to know each other more and that we should be together but we noticed that we got them bored a little bit. We will consider this for our next education.”

The education process and the results are evaluated with open-ended polls directed towards the attendants. The opinions and observations of the educators are also included into the evaluation report.

Almost all participants pointed out that the results of educations cannot be observed in a short-term but that they observed concrete results afterwards. One participant noted that the educations enhance the qualifications of the attendants and said:

“We organized an education in Şile prior to the 25<sup>th</sup> of November. One of the attending colleagues did not take part in the previous strike actions and if he did he was fearful. But we saw that he spent more effort to take part in the strikes, actions and activities of our union after that education. This colleague said that he got more relaxed after this education and that interacting with lots of people had empowered him very much.”

Another participant told how the results of educations are observed in a concrete way and said:

“Between 2006 and 2007 we had an intense education period. After this activity a very respectable portion of the attendants became union executives at the branches. It is impossible to become union executives at the headquarters for those who do not have political affiliations but it is possible for them to become union executives at the branches. We saw concretely that these educations are enhancing the qualifications of the attendants. Some of them became workplace representatives and some executives at the branches. To give an example regarding the educations at the branches: There was this education we made in Çorum with 180 attendants. I gave them 6 months and said jokingly that they should bring one new member. For instance we got more members after these educations. We observed that some members of other unions resigned from membership and came to us after these educational activities.”

One participant who gave concrete examples on how union education contributes to organizing efforts remarked:

In recent times there is a serious attack by the government against KESK. There are pressures in all workplaces in which we are organized to pave the way so that we do not have any members there, not even one. There is not just an intense pressure in our sector, it is also the case in other sectors. Thus it is of crucial importance that the educations take this situation into consideration and thus embrace KESK, get the members to know why they are or should be organized under the umbrella of KESK and thus strengthen it. We frequently saw that members of other unions came over to us due to one-to-one interactions or because they observed that KESK instantly does something about a negative development. But we can also loose these kinds of

colleagues very rapidly after a certain period due to the pressures. Especially in periods during which unions struggle for be the legal representatives of the employees in a certain sector we see that Memur-Sen does such kind of things. The unions close to the government in charge exert such kinds of pressures or are hindering us. We are observing that these educations are effective for enabling to keep our members and enable them to spread their union consciousness to other employees. We observe that the members who have gone through educations are more eager to struggle, have more know-how and are more resistant against the problems they face. They are struggling more against problems faced at the workplaces.

One participant explained the resulting contributions of the educations on the attendants with the following observation:

We are able to trace the empowerment of the attendants' level from the questions they ask. We also observed in a palpable way that some attendants who were workplace representatives became union executives. Also those who are not or members can attend. There are some of them who became union branch executives later on.

While some participants noted that they evaluate the educations in using open-ended polls directed at the attendants some of them tried to figure out how the attendants evaluate these in making a conversation session. The observations and opinions of the educators involved in the educations are also taken into consideration in certain meetings. One participant noted that they include the evaluations of the educators into the education evaluation reports. The participants pointed out that they use these evaluations and suggestions for the educations to come.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

#### Summary

This research has been conducted with the headquarters of 11 sectorial public workers' unions organized under the umbrella of KESK (Confederation of Public Workers' Unions). These are sectorial public workers' unions, which are conducting education programs for the purpose of unionization.

Participants have been made with union education secretaries and executives; thus their opinions, observations and thoughts are reflected here. All informants have gone through union educational activities; thus the opinions and assessments of rank-and-file members, representatives and branch executives attending these programs has not been taken into account.

Another important limitation is the fact that it is only possible to get concrete data on how or how far unions are able to realize union education programs by attending them and that this could not be done.

In this chapter the findings of the research are summarized and the results are interpreted upon the data at hand. At the end of the research the data is interpreted by the researcher.

The purpose of this research was to analyze the approaches of public workers' unions towards union education and to analyze their education programs aiming at their members. The sample consists of the headquarters of eleven sectorial unions organized under the umbrella of KESK. The sample of this study consists of eleven main sectors in which KESK is organized. The sample of this study consists of eleven main sectors in which the KESK is organized.

## Discussion and Conclusion

The sample of this study consists of eleven main sectors in which KESK is organized. Eight fundamental dimensions of education have been taken into consideration within the framework of this study.

1. The educational activities of unions are mainly organized by education secretaries. The education secretaries are organizing the educational activities on the basis of prior experiences and know-how. There is no education specialist in the unions except the case of Eđitim-Sen. It can be seen that educational activities are not organized on a regular basis and in a planned manner due to financial problems and the fact that there is a lack of education specialists and that education secretaries are elected for a three-year period. It can further be observed that unions employing an education specialists are more likely to institutionalize educational activities.

2. The research results show that the purpose of education programs of the unions are in line with the organizational goals of each union, which by itself defined by the specific goals and approaches of each union. The fact that there is a decrease in union membership and the concrete pressures exerted upon unions have an impact on union education and education programs are organized in order to overcome these problems and come up with solutions. The most crucial aims of these educational activities are to enable members to engage in activities in line with the goals and policies of the unions and thus to give them the required knowledge and know-how, to enhance union consciousness and increase union sentiments, to increase the organizational commitment and (feeling of belonging) amongst and contribution from members. Members need union experience and know-how in order to sustain workplace organization and strengthen it.

Educational activities aiming certain audiences (workplace representatives, administrators) are also in line with the general goals of the unions. It can be observed that the goal of the educational activities is to educate cadres, who are able to sustain the intuitional tradition. Besides this, unions, which have a high number of members and whose membership is increasing are trying to lay an emphasis on increasing the qualifications of their members and train prospective cadres. Unions whose membership is decreasing or stable lay an emphasis on education programs aiming at overcoming these problems. Those unions with a lower number of members are organizing union educational activities in line with organizing efforts and thus these efforts and the educational activities in question are interwoven.

3. The educational activities organized by the headquarters are dealing with the needs and goals of the union; the contents are similar and there are common topics to be dealt with. These educational activities lay an emphasis on theoretical issues such as the history of union struggles and their causes, the crisis of capitalism and its transformation as well as on practical topics such as labor legislations and regulations.

While the educational activities organized by the headquarters do not take the demands of the members into consideration the educational activities at the branches are dealing with the gains and losses brought about by new laws or regulations and with the actual needs of the employees as a response to their demands. These educational activities are more like seminars or panels than a formal education.

4. There is no formal selection procedure in order to determine the attendants but the headquarter determines the audience (work-place representatives, administrators etc.) of the educational activity and the branches are organizing this activity along these general lines. The educational activities organized by the



headquarters are just open to a limited number of participants due to financial problems; thus members, who are actively participating to union activities and who are young are generally preferred. Besides this there is a sensibility to choose members who might contribute to the organizational efforts of the union. Educations towards work-place representatives are meant to aim at members who are young and who have never attended such an educational activity of the union but it cannot be said that this goal is achieved. Besides the educational activities for women, some unions set quotas in order to encourage women's participation to mixed educational activities (mixed in the sense that these educations are not gender-specific). Although the expected results are not yielded such a perspective is always on the agenda.

Fundamental member educational activities are seen as the field of responsibility of the branches and these are organized as some sort of informative meetings. There is no criterion for these educations, i.e. everybody can participate. They are open to everybody who is interested in the topic in question and even those who are not union members can participate.

5. The participants are stressing the importance of women's participation to union educational activities and they try to meet the necessary requirements to encourage this. Except of three unions there are women secretaries in every union. Educations are organized by these women secretaries; the topics are dealing with women and these educations are especially organized on dates which are important with this regard. Despite of all these efforts women's participation to union activities is lower than the participation of men. It cannot be said that all unions make similar efforts to empower women's participation to union activities vis-à-vis the

“responsibilities” of women like caring for their families. Unions which have a better financial situation can meet the necessary requirements with this regard but it cannot be said that this is the case in other unions. While the participation of women is higher in those unions with a high number of women members, the participation of women in unions with a low number of women is also on a lower level.

All unions agree that the necessary requirements should be met in order to empower women’s participation to union activities but only the unions with a better financial situation can meet these requirements to a certain extent. It can be observed that the pressure exerted and the obstacles put by the state especially against the activities of the unions organized under KESK is an obstacle to women’s participation. While this research was conducted five women secretaries of the headquarters, including the women secretary of KESK, were arrested because of their union activities.

6. The educational activities of the unions are mainly organized by union administrators and education secretaries. Only one union has an education specialist. It can be seen that educational activities are not organized on a regular basis and in a planned manner due to financial problems and the fact that there is a lack of education specialists and that education secretaries are elected for a three-year period.

It seems that the question whether to employ a union specialist is an important one and that there are two different approaches with regard to this problem. Some participants noted that this should be done on a voluntary basis and that this should not be done as a sort of profession while others noted that it is necessary to employ professional educators in order to enhance the sustainability and institutionalization of the educational activities.

Depending on the content and topic of the education union members, union administrators or academics specialized in a respective field can engage in union educations. It is emphasized that the academics should have prior experience with such union educations and that they should care about union struggles. Some participants noted that academics establish a teacher-learner relationship during the union educations and that this leads to some sort of estrangement of the participants. Thus some participants noted that the educators should be those who are trained from within the union.

Specialized academics and members as well as administrators specialized in a respective field engage in the educations organized by the headquarters and aiming at representatives and administrators. Actual developments and changes with regard to special professions which do not require the educator to be specialized are organized as some sort of informative meeting by union administrators.

7. The methods and materials used during union educations depend on the content, the educator and the number of participants. Since educations do not occur frequently they are organized with the highest number of participants possible and with an intensive content. It can be observed that classical explanation methods are used during theoretical educations, which are realized as a sort of presentation. Materials such as slideshows, short videos, pictures etc. are used in the presentations made during educations, which are more like seminars. Although all unionists agree that the educations should be done in an interactive manner, they just conceive of this as a sort of questioning and answering method.

Sayılan (1999) notes that the question of which method and technique is to be applied during union educations is directly related to the audience and goal of the

education. Sayılan remarks that the selection of the techniques has to be concretely discussed upon the goal of the education, its scope, content and the characteristics of the participants. It cannot be said that the methods and materials used during the educations are chosen in considering the framework of adult education. No adult educator is engaged in the educational activities organized by the unions.

8. While there is a voluntary attitude to participate to union educational activities the topic and content, the union struggle experience of the members and their political level, the physical circumstances of the education, the competence of the educator have an impact on the motivation of the participants. Which of these factors have more and which ones have a lesser impact on the motivation of the participants is observed upon experiences. While the participants are heterogeneous with regard to their union struggle experience and their political level etc. this fact is not taken into consideration in a serious manner. The educational activities are generally organized in taking those who are participating for the first time as a basis. In such cases the educations might intensify the knowledge of more experienced participations or they might be boring. Another factor which has an impact on the motivation of the participants is the fact that they adopt different thoughts and perspectives with regard to the topic in question. While this can lead to the establishment of common perspectives it can lead to resignation from membership in a few cases. On the other hand it cannot be said that the educational activities are supported by social and cultural activities despite existence of such demands stemming from the members.

9. With the exception of a few unions the union educational activities are not evaluated in a formal manner. Although a few unions make questionnaires after the education in order to evaluate the outcomes unions in general observe the participants during the educations or talk to them and evaluate the efficiency upon such practices. Sometimes they ask the participants to formulate observation and evaluation reports in a written or oral form. There is an effort to re-organize the prospective educations upon observations and the requests and proposals of the participants. The participants note that the impact of union educations cannot be observed in a short-term but an increase in the number of members would reflect the efficacy of these programs.

It is also assumed that the education or discussion topics will yield the expected result. It can be observed that the participants do not have a clear idea whether these goals can be yielded or how far these goals can be achieve with just one education activity.

#### Limitations of the Research

This research has been conducted with the headquarters of 11 sectorial labor unions organized under the umbrella of KESK. These are public sector unions, which are conducting education programs for the purpose of unionization.

Interviews have been made with union education secretaries and executives; thus their opinions, observations and thoughts are reflected here. All informants have gone through union educational activities; thus the opinions and assessments of rank-and-file members, representatives and branch executives attending these programs has not been taken into account.

Another important limitation is the fact that it is only possible to get concrete data on how or how far unions are able to realize union education programs by attending them and that this could not be done.

#### Recommendations for Further Research

Although there are many public workers' unions in Turkey, the researcher conducted this work only with the unions related to the KESK. As the public unions' political differences affect their goals and forms of struggle, those differences are reflected in the unions' educational programs. The form that public union's political differences give the educational programs of the unions might be researched in the future.

As mentioned among the constraints of this work, the efficiency of the educational programs of unions is discussed with the attitude and of members or participants, who are attending the educational process, toward the educational programs. Yet, the fact that whether the educational programs satisfy the needs of the members is as important as a research about the fact that whether the educational programs are matching the goals of the unions. The efficiency of the educational process might be questioned with the attitude of the members toward the the educational process.

## APPENDICES

### Interview Guide (Turkish)

#### KAMU SENDİKALARININ SENDİKAL EĞİTİM AMAÇLARI ve SENDİKAL EĞİTİME YAKLAŞIMLARI

Sendika Adı :  
Görüşülen Kişi :  
Görevi :  
Cinsiyeti :  
Eğitim Düzeyi :  
Sendikadaki çalışma deneyimi :

1. Sendikada eğitim birimi var mı? Ne kadar zamandan beri faaliyette bulunuyor?
2. Sendikada ne tür sendikal eğitim programları gerçekleştiriliyor ve içerikleri nelerdir?
3. Sendikal Eğitim faaliyetleri ne kadar sıklıkta düzenlenmektedir?
4. Eğitim programlarının içeriklerine kim tarafından ve nasıl karar veriliyor?
5. Sendikal eğitimin amaçlarını açıklar mısınız?
6. Eğitim programlarının amaçları kim tarafından nasıl belirleniyor? Bu konuda yaşanan sorunlar var mı?
7. Eğitim programları hazırlanırken yetişkin eğitimi uzmanından yararlanılıyor mu ?
8. Düzenlenecek eğitim programlarına katılım nasıl belirleniyor? Herhangi bir seçim prosedürü var mı? Varsa neye göre katılımcılar belirleniyor?
9. Eğitim etkinliklerine sendika üyelerinin katılımında sorunlar var mı? Varsa ne tür problemlerle karşılaşılıyor ve sorunlar nasıl çözülüyor?
10. Düzenlenen Sendikal eğitim programlarına katılımlarda kadın erkek oranları ile ilgili gözlemleriniz neler?
11. Kadın üyelere yönelik özgün konu ve başlıklarla sendikal eğitim programları düzenleniyor mu? Düzenleniyorsa bu programlar nelerdir?

12. Kadın üyelerin sendikal eğitim programlarında katılımlarını erkek üyelerden farklı olarak nasıl sağlıyorsunuz? Bu konuda özel bir çaba var mı?
13. Eğitim programları katılımcıların düzeyine ve ihtiyaçlarına uygun mu? Bu konuda ne tür problemlerle karşılaşıyorsunuz?
14. Eğitim programlarını uygulamak üzere eğitimci olarak kimler görev alıyor ve bu eğitimciler nasıl belirleniyor?
15. Eğitim programlarında ne tür eğitim metod ve materyalleri kullanılıyor?
16. Eğitim etkinliklerinde yer alan eğitimciler etkili bir uygulama için yetişkin eğitim alanının uzmanlığı konusunda yeterli donanıma sahip mi?
17. Eğitim programlarının sonuçlarını değerlendirme süreçleri kim tarafından nasıl yapılıyor? Ne tür değerlendirme yöntemleri kullanılmaktadır?
18. Eğitimin sonuçlarının sendikal eğitimin örgütlenmeye olan katkısını nasıl gözlemliyorsunuz? Bu eğitimlerin örgütlenmeye etkisine dair örnekler verir misiniz?
19. Sendikal eğitim programlarınızın hazırlık, planlama ve uygulama süreci içinde en sık yaşanan sorunlar nelerdir? Ve bu sorunlara karşı geliştirilen çözümler nelerdir?
20. Sendikal eğitim konusunda en sık yaşanan sorunlar ve sorunlara karşı geliştirilen çözümler neler?



## Interview Guide (English)

### PURPOSES OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF PUBLIC WORKERS' UNIONS AND THEIR TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS:

Name of the union :  
Interviewed union :  
Position :  
Gender :  
Educational level :  
Work experience in the union :

1. Is there a special unit at the union dealing with educational tasks? Since when is it active?
2. What kind of education activities are organized within the union and what are their contents?
3. How frequently are union education activities organized?
4. Who makes the decisions about the content of the educational programs and how are these decisions made?
5. Could you explain the purposes of union educations?
6. Who defines the purposes of these education programs and how is this definition process realized? Do you face any problems with this regard?
7. Do you consult any adult education specialist while you prepare the education programs?
8. How are the participants determined? Is there any electional procedure? If that is the case, what are your criterions?
9. Do you face any problems with regard to the participation of union members to these educational activities? If that is the case, what are these problems and how are these solved?
10. Could you tell your observations about the women/men ratio of the participants?

11. Are there union education programs dealing with women-specific themes and topics? If such kind of educations are organized, what do they consist of?
12. Apart from male participation, how do you support women's participation to union education activities? Are there any special efforts with this regard?
13. Do the educational programs fit the level and needs of the participants? What kind of problems do you face with this regard?
14. Who is engaging as an educator to these educational programs and how are these educators determined?
15. What kind of education methods and materials are used during the education programs?
16. Are the educators involved in the educational activities sufficiently equipped with the special knowledge from the field of adult education in order to conduct the educations in an effective manner?
17. By whom and how are the results of the education programs evaluated? What kind of evaluation methods are used?
18. Could you tell your observations on the contribution of the results of union education to the organizing efforts of the union? Could you give examples with this regard?
19. What are the problems you face most frequently during the preparation, planning and application process of union education programs? What kind of solutions are developed with this regard?
20. What are the most frequent problems faced with regard to union educations and what kind of solutions are developed?

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