

Militancy and Moderation in the Teacher's Unions: Is There a Fit Between Union Image and Member Attitudes?

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Abstract

We compare member attitudes in the Professional Association of Teachers (PAT) and the National Unions of Teachers (NUT), seen as the most “moderate” and “militant” English teacher unions, respectively. PAT members were higher in job satisfaction and both organizational and professional commitment, with NUT members higher in union citizenship behavior (UCB) and pro-union attitudes. For NUT members, pro-union beliefs had a stronger effect on union commitment, and union commitment on UCB. These findings are consistent with the images of the two unions, and with the suggestion of Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard (1999) suggestion that the nature of the membership will moderate the antecedents of commitment and participation.

Introduction

Multi-unionism, defined as when employees at a particular workplace are represented by more than one union, is a declining but distinctive feature of British industrial relations (Cully, Woodland, O'Reilly, and Dix 1999). Aside from the fact that it may provide employees with a choice of union representation, multi-unionism has raised concerns. From a union perspective, it may fragment union resources, increase competition between unions, and undermine union effectiveness. From an employers' perspective, multi-unionism complicates collective bargaining processes and is associated with strikes, reduced business efficiency, and reduced productivity (e.g., Machin, Stewart, and Van Reenan 1993).

In the 1960s, the Donovan Commission was concerned that multi-unionism would result in strikes due to jurisdictional disputes, and there was a fear that unions would seek to be seen as more militant than their rivals in order to attract members. However, more recently unions have competed in “beauty parades,” whereby employers select unions for recognition on the basis of their moderation and potential for cooperative partnership. Furthermore, unions with no strike pledges, such as the Royal College of Nursing and the Professional Association of Teachers (PAT), bucked the trend of union decline in the United Kingdom with sustained membership growth (Kessler and Heron 2001). Such developments have led to debates on the relative efficacy of “militancy” or “moderation” (e.g., Kelly 1996).

Given all this, it is surprising that few studies have examined members' attitudes in allegedly “militant” and “moderate” rival unions. Beaumont and Elliot's study (1989) of employee choice of unions in nursing and Bacon and Blyton's study (2002) of Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) and Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) attitudinal militancy and moderation in the steel industry are the main exceptions. However, Beaumont and Elliot's work (1989) examines a limited range of attitudes, with just four

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single-item scales, and Bacon and Blyton's (2002) study was restricted to a very small sample of shop stewards ($n = 49$), rather than rank and file employees, and their militant–moderation scale appears to have limited reliability.

In this paper, we go beyond the existing research by using larger samples of rank and file union members and established attitudinal scales to examine the extent to which the different organizational orientations of two competing teachers' unions (PAT and the National Union of Teachers [NUT]) are reflected in their members' attitudes and in the antecedent processes of commitment and union citizenship behavior (UCB) in the two unions. The PAT and NUT have been characterized as the most “moderate” and “militant” of the teachers' unions, respectively, and our concern is to establish the extent to which these images are reflected in the pattern of member attitudes and participation.

Union Membership in Teaching

There are four main teachers' unions in England. Three are affiliated to the Trade Union Congress (TUC): the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL), and the NUT. There is also a non-TUC union, the Professional Association of Teachers (PAT). The NUT is the largest union and has been the most militant (Seifert 1987). Our concern is with the PAT and the NUT.

Each union has cultivated a distinctive image as part of recruitment competition. PAT's website informs potential members that “PAT doesn't believe in sound-bites, histrionics or threats but does believe in a professional approach and achieving results through determined negotiation.” A recruitment video stresses that PAT “resolves problems by communication and negotiation not conflict” and ends by stating it is “the independent non-striking association” and urging potential recruits to “Speak to the professionals.” In contrast, the NUT's recruitment message is more unionate. In the “*Ten Good Reasons to Be in the NUT*” pamphlet (National Union of Teachers 1999), potential members were told that the “NUT is demanding a proper national contract that protects teachers and improves their conditions of service.”

Union image may influence an individual's choice of union (Craft and Abboushi 1983, Beaumont and Elliot 1989). Teachers choose a union early in their careers, and survey evidence from new qualified teachers (NQTs) suggests that their factual knowledge of individual differences between teacher unions is rather limited and that the decision of which union to join is very much influenced by the union images portrayed (Riley 1996, Labour Research Department 2005). For example, the Labour Research Department survey (2005) found many NQTs were unaware of differences between the teacher unions on key policy areas, but that overall image, such as being impressed with the recruitment message, were highly influential in joining decisions.

There has been pressure for further union mergers in teaching, and the goal of one union for all teachers has been widely debated. Explanations for the lack of progress on merger tend to centre on historical differences in policy and the resistance of general secretaries and executive committees. However, a key reason why mergers have not been successful is that unions' images may be difficult to reconcile (Riley 1995). The unions with perhaps the most well-defined and distinct images are the PAT and NUT.

The Professional Association of Teachers

The PAT describes itself as an independent trade union and professional association for teachers. It was founded in 1970, in the same year that the NUT first affiliated to the TUC, by two Essex-based teachers during a period of increased industrial action by teachers. The guiding principle in the formation of the union was a pledge to uphold professional standards in teaching, and in particular not to take strike action (Bryant and Leicester 1991). The union's motto is “children first,” and the no-strike pledge is enshrined in the “Cardinal Rule,” rule 4 of its constitution, which states that “members shall not go on strike in any circumstances.” The union has a “Code of Professional Action” to guide members in disputes. This emphasizes dispute resolution by negotiation and lobbying, with the strongest form of action being to demonstrate outside working hours.

PAT has a devolved, regional structure and recruits college lecturers in addition to teachers. It also has two specialist sections, the Professional Association of Nursery Nurses (PANN), recruiting nursery

nurses, nannies and other child carers, and the Professions Allied to Teaching section (PAT), recruiting school support staff. PAT had around 35,000 members in 2005, approximately evenly split between teachers and the other two sections. PAT's teacher membership tends to be older than in other teaching unions, and it seems that many identify politically with the Conservatives (Riley 1996).

The National Union of Teachers

The NUT is the oldest and largest teachers union in England and Wales. It was founded in 1870 as the National Union of Elementary Teachers. For the last quarter of the 19th century the union had more male members than female, but in the 20th century the position was reversed, with women coming to form the majority of the membership, and this has been so ever since. In 2004, the NUT had some 240,000 members, 76 percent of them female.

Among teachers unions, the NUT has traditionally taken the most adversarial stance on policy and employment issues. Examples include the union's opposition to Trust Schools and Academies and its resistance to performance-related pay (threshold payments) for teachers. The NUT has a relatively strong and longstanding left-wing bloc of activists and has the most militant orientation of the teaching unions (Seifert 1984). Despite militant teacher unionism suffering badly in the 1980s, resulting in the loss of national pay bargaining rights, there has been a resurgence of the left in the NUT, and the deputy general secretary elections in 2005 were won by a left-wing candidate.

The NUT's militant orientation is reflected in newly qualified teachers' (NQT) perceptions. Riley (1996) reported the perception of the NUT as the union with the most distinct image, as a supporter of Labour and a staunch defender of teachers' rights, and as having a left-wing, political, and collectivist culture. The Labour Research Department (2005) survey of 1,500 NQTs found that perceptions of militancy were important in union joining decisions and that the NUT was perceived as the most militant teacher union.

Union Commitment and Participation

Based on their meta-analysis, Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard (1999) found support for an "integrative" model of union commitment and participation. According to their model, the impact of job satisfaction on union commitment is partially mediated by organizational commitment and the impact of union instrumentality by pro-union attitudes. Finally, union commitment has a direct effect on union participation. Union instrumentality refers to the perceived impact of the union on outcomes valued by members (Fullagar and Barling 1989). In contrast, pro-union attitudes are defined as the desirability of unions in general (McShane 1986), rather than attitudes towards the individual's own particular union. Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard (1999) find that pro-union attitudes have a larger direct effect on union commitment than does union instrumentality. Since pro-union attitudes reflect perceived mutual support and solidarity, this implies that unions should pay greater attention to social exchange aspects of the member-union relationship, rather than seeing their relationship with members as a purely economic exchange. They argue that unions need to adopt a campaigning approach, based on rank and file and community involvement and on building pro-union attitudes.

Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard (1999) found evidence of dual commitment to union and employer, in that there was a positive relationship between organizational and union commitment. They also found a positive relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment and a negative relationship between job satisfaction and union commitment. However, findings on the latter relationship have generally been mixed (e.g., Fuller and Hester 1998, Tan and Aryee 2002).

Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard suggest that "researchers should begin to focus their attention on how multivariate union commitment models may vary with the nature and composition of the workforces examined" (1999:315). They suggest that the nature of the membership may influence the relative importance of pro-union attitudes and instrumentality. We focus on the members of two teaching unions, PAT and NUT, the former a relatively moderate union emphasizing "professionalism," the latter a more ostensibly "unionate" organization (Blackburn and Prandy 1965; Prandy, Stewart, and Blackburn 1983), emphasizing vigorous representation of members' interests and not necessarily eschewing militant action. While the occupation and industrial relations context is common for both unions, they are nevertheless attempting to

present very different images. Our primary research question is whether these organizational orientations are reflected in members' attitudes and in the antecedent processes of commitment and union citizenship behavior (UCB) in the two unions.

Our model is based on the "integrative" model of Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard (1999), and we conceptualize union participation as a form of UCB. This is consistent with the recent literature (e.g., Fullagar, McLean Parks, Clark, and Gallagher 1995; Skarlicki and Latham 1996; Tan and Aryee 2002). We also test an alternative version, replacing organizational commitment with professional commitment. Our interest in professional commitment is based on longstanding debates about the significance of professional commitment as an antecedent of union orientations. One strand of research suggests that professionals make uneasy union members, as the competing roles of professional and member pull in opposite directions. Corwin (1970) describes the tension teachers face between commitment to profession and union as akin to a "split personality." Shedd and Bacharach have argued that the distinction between union and professional issues for teachers is artificial and that there is an implicit anti-union undertone to much of the debate, with "professionalism" being a veil for "cooperation" and "servility" (1991:180–81).

Whatever the merits of these views, during the 1960s and 1970s teachers in many countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States, turned increasingly to unions (Jessup 1978) *and* to militant union action (Cox 1980, Fox and Wince 1976). Explanations for this have included the changing social origins of teachers, growth in school size and the associated bureaucratization, increased feelings of powerlessness in decision making, and reduced job influence (Bacharach, Bamberger, and Conley 1990; Fox and Wince 1976). However, there has been little formal testing of the impact of professional commitment on union outcomes. What few studies there are have provided mixed findings, reporting both negative and positive correlations between professional commitment and outcomes such as militancy (Alutto and Belasco 1974, Black 1983, Kadyschuk 1997).

Method

Samples and Procedure

PAT sample. A self-completion questionnaire was mailed to a sample of 3,500 members in England. Questionnaires were returned by respondents directly to the university in sealed reply-paid envelopes. We received 1,256 completed responses, a rate of 36 percent. In this paper, we focused on main scale teachers only, excluding heads ($n = 19$), deputy heads ($n = 82$), and senior teachers/others ($n = 2$). We also excluded six respondents who were members of other unions as well as PAT. Along with cases with missing values on the study variables, this produced a sample of 1,086 cases for analysis. The mean age of this sample was 49.41, with an average of 22.67 years working in teaching and 13.93 years of PAT membership. Over 90 percent were female, 81 percent were married or living as married, 30 percent worked part-time, 3 percent were supply teachers, and almost 8 percent were on fixed-term contracts. Discussion with senior officers suggested that our sample was broadly representative of the union, which included 90 percent females.

NUT sample. A questionnaire was mailed to 1,174 members, the full membership of two divisions of the union. Questionnaires were returned directly to the university in reply-paid envelopes. We received 420 responses, a response rate of 36 percent. We excluded heads ($n = 2$) and deputy heads ($n = 15$), and deleting cases with missing values provided a sample of 386, with mean age of 43.34, an average 17.20 years in teaching, and 15.67 years union membership. Seventy-three percent were female, 80 percent were married or living as married, 11 percent worked part-time, 2 percent were supply teachers, and 4 percent were on fixed-term contracts. Union leaders assured us that our sample was representative of the membership of the two divisions surveyed. For example, 75.8 percent of the union's members were female.

Measurement

Unless otherwise mentioned, responses were on a seven-point scale of "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7). *Job satisfaction* included three items from the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire (Spector 1997). *Organizational commitment* focused on commitment to the school, with four items reflecting Meyer, Allen, and Smith's affective dimension (1993). *Professional commitment* included four items from their affective occupational commitment scale.

Union commitment also involved four items and paralleled those for organizational commitment. *Union instrumentality* was measured using Sverke and Kuruvilla's "instrumental rationality-based commitment" (1995), a self-interested commitment based on the satisfaction of salient personal goals. We included eight items, each formed by taking square root of the product of two items, one such as "The union's chances of improving my pay are great" and a corresponding one such as "To get higher pay is . . ." (The second set of items had a seven-point scale from *very unimportant to me* [1] to *very important to me* [7].) We added an additional pair of items, referring to the provision of membership benefits by the union. *General pro-union attitudes* reflect general attitudes towards the union movement as a whole (McShane 1986). We measured this with six items, such as "Unions are a positive force in this country."

Union citizenship behavior (UCB) reflects members' extra-role behaviors and was measured as a response to the question, "Think about how you behave in relation to the union and your work colleagues. How often do you do each of the following?" Responses were on a five-point scale of "not at all" (1) to "at every available opportunity" (5). Exploratory factor analyses of the 10 items suggested an interpretable three-factor solution in each sample. "*Activist UCB*" included four items: attending union meetings; helping with union campaigns or elections; volunteering to be a union official, committee member, or delegate; and attending a union rally. "*Rank and file UCB*" included three items: reading union literature, voting in union elections, and speaking well of the union. Three items reflected "*individual-oriented UCB*": advising work colleagues on union-related matters, advising them on grievances, and helping them put their case to management.

Results

Measurement Model

We estimated a measurement model with each of the above constructs measured by the individual questionnaire items. The nine-factor measurement model (job satisfaction, organizational commitment, professional commitment, union commitment, union instrumentality, pro-union beliefs, and three dimensions of UCB) provided a reasonable fit for the PAT sample ($\chi^2 = 2510.993$; $df = 666$; $CFI = 0.914$; $RMSEA = 0.051$). All indicators loaded significantly ($p < 0.001$) on their latent variables. A single-factor model provided a poor fit ($\chi^2 = 14175.053$; $df = 702$; $CFI = 0.372$; $RMSEA = 0.133$), with a significant deterioration in chi-square relative to the hypothesized model (change in $\chi^2 = 11664.060$; change in $df = 36$; $p < 0.01$). A reasonable fit was also found for the NUT sample ($\chi^2 = 1378.946$; $df = 666$; $CFI = 0.911$; $RMSEA = 0.053$), with all indicators loading significantly ($p < 0.001$). A single-factor model provided a poor fit ($\chi^2 = 5860.596$; $df = 702$; $CFI = 0.360$; $RMSEA = 0.138$), with a significant deterioration in chi-square relative to the hypothesized model (change in $\chi^2 = 4481.650$; change in $df = 36$; $p < 0.01$). These findings provide support for the measurement model in both samples.

Comparison of Attitudes and UCB

A comparison of our two samples on the study variables reveals that while union commitment and perceived union instrumentality were not significantly different between the PAT and NUT members, PAT members were significantly higher in job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and professional commitment, while NUT members were higher in all three dimensions of UCB and in general pro-union attitudes (see Table 1). These findings were essentially unchanged when we controlled for gender, age, job level, school type, and part-time, supply, and temporary contract status. This accords to some extent with the relative images of the two unions: it appears that PAT members are more satisfied with their jobs and more highly committed to their employers (their schools) and to their profession (teaching), while NUT members are more pro-union in general and more prone to participate actively in their union, although not necessarily having higher commitment or perceived instrumentality for their union.

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Reliabilities

	PAT		NUT		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Me an	St d	Me an	St d									
1. UCB— Activist	1.1 2†	0. 38	1.6 71	0. 71	.76/. 66	.30* **	.38* **	.29* **	.12* **	.30* **	- .24* **	- .36* **	- .14* *
2. UCB— Rank and file	3.1 3†	1. 02	3.2 8	0. 98	.26* **	.69/. 70	.44* **	.43* **	.27* **	.35* **	- .17* *	- .12* *	- 0.05
3. UCB— Individual	1.9 9†	1. 09	2.1 6	1. 08	.33* **	.42* **	.83/. 85	.27* **	.14* *	.30* **	- .15* *	- .13* *	- 0.05
4. Union commitment	4.5 97	0. 97	4.5 3	1. 09	.23* **	.53* **	.37* **	.76/. 80	.49* **	.51* **	- 0.03	- 0.03	0.03
5. Union instrumentality	4.3 3	0. 89	4.3 5	0. 97	.10* *	.30* **	.23* **	.48* **	.92/. 93	.36* *	0.06	0.08	0.09
6. Pro-union attitudes	4.9 1†	0. 96	5.6 4	0. 93	.13* **	.34* **	.25* **	.49* **	.40* **	.84/. 79	- 0.08	- 0.07	- 0.02
7. Job satisfaction	5.5 2†	1. 27	4.7 2	1. 58	- 0.02	0.04	0	.09* *	.10* *	.08* *	.86/. 88	.70* **	.69* **
8. Organizational commitment	5.2 2†	1. 19	4.5 8	1. 36	- .06*	0.01	- 0.02	.10* *	.11* **	.07* **	.63* **	.75/. 78	.49* **
9. Professional commitment	5.8 5†	0. 99	5.2 8	1. 28	- 0.06	.08* *	.08* **	.18* **	.16* **	.18* **	.67* **	.48* **	.81/. 83

Note. Correlations for PAT below the diagonal, for NUT above the diagonal. Reliability coefficients are shown on the diagonal (PAT/NUT). 2-tailed tests. PAT, n = 1,086; NUT, n = 386.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

†Shows that the PAT and NUT means are significantly different (.05 level of significance or better, on an independent samples T-test).

Our analysis of survey respondents' open-ended written comments suggests that, for PAT members, legal protection was essential in an increasingly litigious climate, and this was the key reason, and only reason in many cases, for joining a union. PAT was then their union of choice because of its no-strike clause. For example: "I belong to PAT only because I need to belong to a union for insurance protection." "I belong to PAT because it is the only one I can join that won't ask me to strike."

In sharp contrast to the PAT responses, no NUT members mentioned legal protection as their reason for choosing the NUT. Respondents' comments in the NUT surveys reflected a different set of issues. The most frequent issue raised was that the union should be doing more to deal with key concerns of workload, work-life balance, and working conditions. Some PAT members also noted these concerns, but they did not link them to criticisms of the union; rather they blamed the government for the problems of the teaching profession. Many NUT members felt that their union should be more active in engaging government to bring about the necessary reforms. For example: "The profession is on the verge of collapse as result of serious exploitation of teachers. We are too stressed, over-worked, and under-valued and constantly under pressure to achieve. The union should do more to support us in issues where it really matters."

A small number of PAT members said that they were considering switching to the NUT, not because of any conviction that this was the right thing to do, but because of friction with NUT teachers in their schools. Their concern was that they were made to feel like free-riders on the more militant actions of NUT members. As a PAT member put it: "My biggest area of concern at the moment is the relationship in my

school with NUT members. They feel that they earn the benefits for teachers by threatening strike action and the like, and PAT members freeload on their efforts. It makes my life in the school very uncomfortable.”

Structural Models

Turning to our analysis of the antecedents of union commitment and UCB, we estimated two structural models, one including organizational commitment and the other including professional commitment (Figures 1 and 2). Constructs were measured by individual questionnaire items, apart from UCB, where for the sake of parsimony the three UCB dimensions referred to above were used as indicators of a single UCB construct. We estimated two-group structural models, with PAT and NUT members forming the groups—an unconstrained model, with all parameters free to vary across the two groups, and then a model with the structural parameters constrained to be equal. To assess whether the structural relationships differed between the PAT and NUT samples, we compared the fit of the two models.

For the organizational commitment analysis, the unconstrained model provided quite a good fit ($\chi^2 = 2468.003$; $df = 684$; $CFI = 0.917$; $RMSEA = 0.042$), which was superior to that provided by the constrained model (change in $\chi^2 = 20.432$; change in $df = 8$; $p < 0.01$). This suggests that there are significant differences in the structural parameters between the PAT and NUT groups.

Figure 1 shows the results for the unconstrained model. For both PAT and NUT members, job satisfaction was positively associated with organizational commitment, but neither were significantly associated with union commitment. Union instrumentality predicted union commitment directly, and also pro-union attitudes, through which there was an additional indirect positive effect on union commitment. Finally, union commitment positively predicted UCB. We examined the critical ratios for differences in specific parameters. Just two of the structural parameters were significantly different between the PAT and NUT groups: that from pro-union beliefs to union commitment and that from union commitment to UCB. In each case, the parameter was significantly higher for the NUT sample. These findings suggest that pro-union beliefs were more salient among NUT members and that union commitment was more likely to translate into active participation among NUT members than among members of PAT.

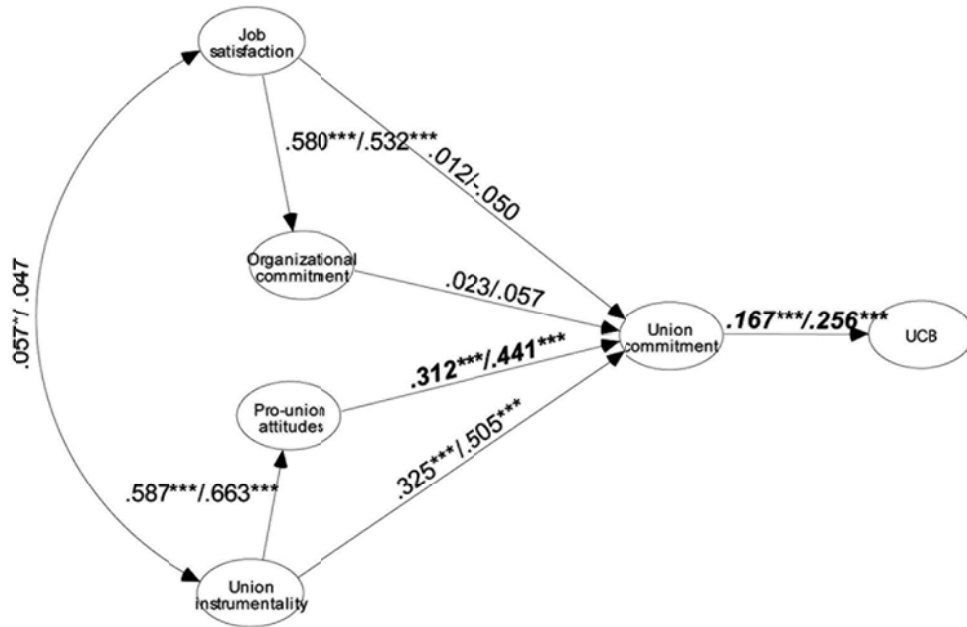
Turning to the analysis involving professional commitment, the unconstrained model provided quite a good fit ($\chi^2 = 2492.711$; $df = 684$; $CFI = 0.916$; $RMSEA = 0.042$, again superior to the constrained model (change in $\chi^2 = 22.433$; change in $df = 8$; $p < 0.01$). Findings for the unconstrained model appear in Figure 2. The findings were similar to the analysis for organizational commitment, except that the path from professional commitment to union commitment was significant. Again, the structural parameters from pro-union beliefs to union commitment and from union commitment to UCB were significantly higher for the NUT sample.

Discussion

In this paper, we have compared PAT and the NUT, commonly perceived as the most “moderate and “militant” teacher unions, respectively. Our comparison of member attitudes revealed that union commitment and perceived union instrumentality were not significantly different, the latter suggesting that the two unions were not viewed fundamentally differently by their members in terms of effectiveness. However, other attitudes did differ, with PAT members higher in job satisfaction and in organizational and professional commitment and NUT members higher in union citizenship behavior and general pro-union attitudes. The image of PAT is one of “moderation,” almost of reluctant unionism, and members’ relatively high job satisfaction and organizational and professional commitment are consistent with this. It is notable that PAT members expressed higher levels of commitment to the teaching profession, consistent with PAT’s claim to be both an independent union and a professional association. Furthermore, PAT respondents commented that they joined for insurance reasons rather than to get effective representation. In contrast, the NUT is the more unionate and “militant” organization. Again, the attitudes of members reflect this, with more strongly pro-union attitudes and a higher propensity to participate actively in the union. NUT respondents’ open-ended comments focused on issues of collective representation.

FIGURE 1

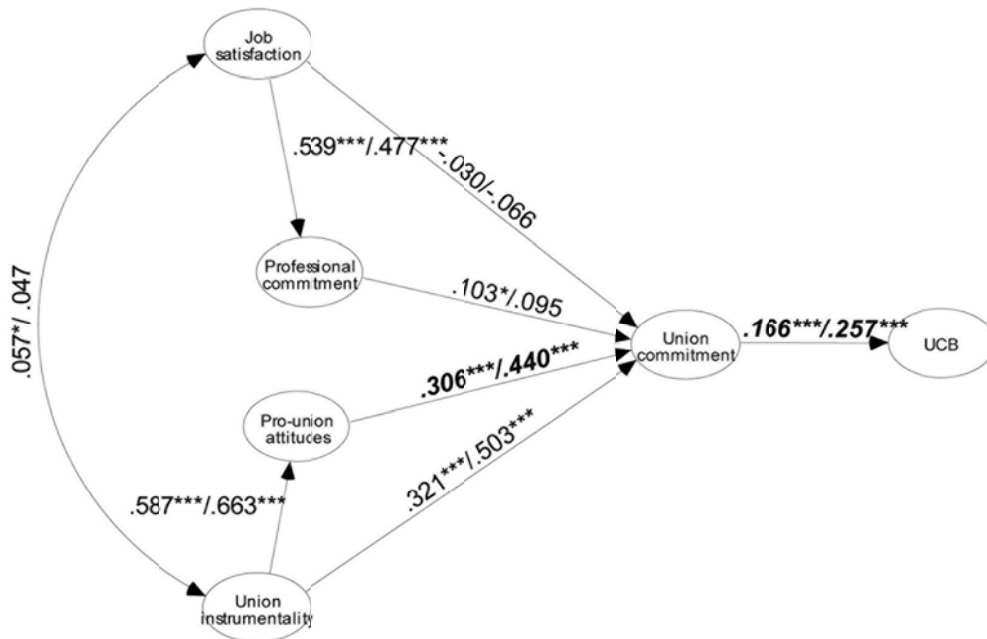
Antecedents of Union Commitment and Citizenship Behavior: With Organizational Commitment



Note: PAT, n = 1,086; NUT, n = 386. Unstandardized coefficients. Coefficients on the left/right are for the PAT/NUT sample. Pairs of coefficients in bold italic script are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$).
 $* p < .05$; $** p < .01$; $*** p < .001$.

FIGURE 2

Antecedents of Union Commitment and Citizenship Behavior: With Professional Commitment



Note: PAT, n = 1,086; NUT, n = 386. Unstandardized coefficients. Coefficients on the left/right are for the PAT/NUT sample. Pairs of coefficients in bold italic script are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$).
 $* p < .05$; $** p < .01$; $*** p < .001$.

Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard (1999) suggested that member characteristics may influence the antecedents of union commitment and participation. We evaluated this by replicating their model for the two groups of members. Our findings suggest that for PAT and NUT members, job satisfaction positively predicted organizational commitment, but neither were significantly associated with union commitment. Again for both samples, union instrumentality positively predicted both union commitment and pro-union attitudes, and the latter also had a positive effect on union commitment. As expected, union commitment positively predicted UCB. When professional commitment was substituted for organizational commitment, the findings were essentially unchanged, except that professional commitment predicted union commitment for the PAT sample only.

In spite of the basic similarities in these findings, there were differences in the magnitude of effects across the two samples. In the NUT sample, pro-union beliefs had a significantly stronger effect on union commitment, and union commitment had a stronger impact on UCB. These findings suggest that pro-union beliefs were more salient among NUT members in motivating union commitment and that union commitment was more likely to translate into active participation among NUT members than among members of PAT. This is consistent with the view of the NUT as the more “militant” and unionate organization. Overall, these findings are consistent with the suggestion of Bamberger, Kluger, and Suchard (1999) that the nature of the membership is likely to moderate the relationships in the model, and especially the relative importance of pro-union attitudes.

There are also implications for debates on union strategy. Discussions of “moderation” and “militancy” have focused on their relative merits as union strategies (e.g., Kelly 1996). However, our findings demonstrate that, at least in teaching, both may be viable, in that they may address members and potential members with different preferences, on the one hand for a union emphasizing “professionalism” and eschewing strike action under any circumstances and on the other for an effective defender of teachers’ rights, willing to give strong voice to members’ concerns on educational policy and terms and conditions. Whether this also holds true in other sectors is a moot point, but similar competitive multi-unionism exists in other parts of the public sector and in the private sector as well (Cully, Woodland, O’Reilly, and Dix 1999).

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