


New Teacher Associations: Comparative Analysis of Teachers' Political Participation in Chile and Spain

SAGE Open
January-March 2025: 1–14
© The Author(s) 2025
DOI: 10.1177/21582440251320833
journals.sagepub.com/home/sgo


Sebastián Ortiz-Mallegas¹ , Claudia Carrasco-Aguilar¹ ,
Antonio Luzón-Trujillo² , and Mónica Torres-Sánchez³ 

Abstract

Teacher associations have historically been important agents of teacher advocacy. However, they are now facing challenges due to the crisis of traditional structures. This has allowed the emergence of new teacher associations that seek other forms of participation in educational governance. Via a comparative qualitative analysis of education between Chile and Spain, this study examined the repercussions of associationism in two forms of regulating teacher participation in educational governance: regulated and de facto. The results show how in Chile, a new social force has been created to overcome the political ineffectiveness of associations, whereas in Spain, independence from political parties has been sought through the technification of trade unionism. These findings highlight critical differences in the political strategies of teacher associations in both countries, with implications for the future of educational governance. The study also discusses the broader consequences of associationism in the context of labor market shifts and the changing landscape of teaching professionals.

Keywords

teacher associationism, political participation, teacher trade unionism, comparative education, struggle

Introduction

Teacher associations have been valued by both power structures and the social bases of the teaching profession, their role being defending the demands of the education sector (Anderson & Cohen, 2015) and consolidating a collective identity that has disputed the political meanings of their profession (Bascia & Maharaj, 2022). Currently, their role is significant in the configuration of teacher identity, the democratization of school systems, as well as in the struggles around professionalization (Apple & Apple, 2023; Cheng et al., 2021; Krantz & Fritzén, 2022). This is not only because they channel teachers' voices and new demands within government structures (Gavin, 2022), but also because of their emerging role in teachers' continuing professional development (Adlerstein & Pardo, 2023; Santori & Holloway, 2023).

However, associationism has not been an equivalent phenomenon in all countries; rather, the political structure of nation-states has favored the consolidation of various forms of political participation among teachers (Ross-Schneider, 2022). In some contexts, this participation has

been guaranteed through educational governance, whereas in others, it has been demanded and built through the brilliance of organized action (Collao & Nieto, 2017; Weinstein & Zettelmeier, 2022).

In any case, teacher associations or unions are not experiencing their best political moment. The crisis of traditional associations (Msila, 2022; Peebles, 2022), distrust of teachers regarding the negotiation processes between their representatives and governments (Symeonidis & Stromquist, 2020), and interventionism of political parties (Parcerisa & Verger, 2024) have led teachers to seek to reverse from classic forms of organization. For some, that includes developing a new

¹Universidad de Playa Ancha, Valparaíso, Chile

²Universidad de Granada, Andalucía, Spain

³Universidad de Málaga, Spain

Corresponding Author:

Sebastián Ortiz-Mallegas, Department of Mediations and Subjectivities, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universidad de Playa Ancha, Av. Playa ancha #850, Valparaíso 2360072, Chile.
Email: sebastian.ortiz@upla.cl



understanding of the teaching profession and work (Coley & Schachle, 2023).

In this sense, new trade unions and professional associations have configured other spaces for teacher participation and struggle (Han & Keefe, 2023; Ramos, 2023; Sisto et al., 2022). These new struggles are related to a form of collectivizing teachers' demands from a micropolitical action of work (Riveras-Vargas et al., 2022) and changes to the classic forms of negotiation with the centralized state (Duarte & Brewer, 2022; Stacey et al., 2022).

Nonetheless, there is little evidence regarding the micropolitical levels of these new teacher associations. Research thus far has described the role of traditional groupings in negotiating with the state, where associationism involves more than one level of protest (Stacey et al., 2022), and other forms of labor activism (Han & Keefe, 2023; Ramos, 2023). Furthermore, little research has explored the implications of this phenomenon in the context of global reforms. In general, comparative education studies have focused on describing the strategies developed by traditional associations in negotiations with the state (Brown & Nikolai, 2022; Carvajal Diaz, 2019; Dobbins & Nikolai, 2019; Weinstein & Zettelmeier, 2022), even though the phenomenon of associationism also includes other forms and levels—political and social—of channeling teacher representation and resistance (Coley & Schachle, 2023; Reichert et al., 2020; Ross-Schneider, 2022).

This study took up the challenge of developing a critical comparison of the phenomenon of teacher political participation in two contexts that share the crisis of traditional teacher organizations (Matamoros Fernández & Álvarez Vallejos, 2022; Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021) but differ, in the place of associations in educational governance: external and imbricated. In this way, Chile and Spain are two social, political, and cultural contexts that can be compared to analyze the consequences of the phenomenon of teacher associationism.

Teacher Associationism (Union and Professional) and the Protection of Teachers' Political Participation

In the international context, the history of teacher associationism has been marked by the relationship with the state (Bascia, 2016). This relationship has involved the continuous search for agreements and the inclusion or exclusion of teachers in educational reforms and governance processes (Bascia & Maharaj, 2022). In this regard, Weinstein and Zettelmeier (2022) proposed four axes of analysis to describe the role of teacher associations in educational governance. Regardless of their form, associations seek to (a) represent or express the interests and needs of teachers, (b) participate in the governance and management of school systems, (c) be a voice of influence in education policy, and (d) remain a relevant actor in the political fabric of states.

In the first axis, two forms of associationism coexist: union labor and professional collegial (Weinstein & Zettelmeier, 2022). Their difference lies in the emphases of their demands, one tending toward labor and the other toward professionals. Despite this, teachers are not only workers or professionals, nor do their associations behave exclusively according to the type of associationism they build. Therefore, rather than the type of associationism, what is of interest is to revisit opportunities for organized action for the defense of teachers (Bellido de Luna Mayea, 2021).

To ensure the inclusion of both components—labor and professional—associations have sought to institutionalize different spaces for negotiation with the state. In some contexts, participation has been regulated in educational governance, whereas in others, it has acted de facto through collective teacher action (Finger & Gindin, 2015; Weinstein & Zettelmeier, 2022). These forms of participation are also linked to levels of fragmentation on associative action. For example, German and Mexican teacher unions have a strong tradition of bargaining with the state, which has been successful because of a single union monopolizing teachers' collective bargaining agreement (Brown & Nikolai, 2022; Peebles, 2022).

This situation is diametrically opposed to other contexts, such as Austria or Spain, where although there is regulated negotiation, the fragmentation between various territorial autonomies—landers and autonomous communities (Monarca & Sánchez-Urán, 2022)—has made it difficult to move toward common working conditions for teachers. In Spain, this situation is even more complex, given that there are not only different levels of negotiation with the state, but also a wide diversity of unions and political interests (Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021) that make it difficult to advance toward common agreements.

However, associative fracture and regulated bargaining cannot be considered exclusive between the state and large trade unions or professional associations. On the contrary, strong privatization processes have led to the emergence of intermediate figures that also regulate, negotiate, and agree on the conditions of the teaching profession and are associated with those who financially administer the territorial and school autonomies of educational governments. For example, Chile's centralized government, maintains a process of associative fracture due to its privatization of education, which has allowed the emergence of intermediate figures—private administrators who handle public funding—called “private providers” (Mizala & Schneider, 2019; Sisto et al., 2022). This has differentiated the forms of partnership between the public and private sectors.

Moreover, this has been difficult for Chilean teachers, as they have no regulations for their participation beyond the nominative, and have to look for alternatives to make

their opinion visible amid the presence of intermediate figures and different statuses of regulation of their work. On one hand, the Chilean Teachers' College [*Colegio de Profesores de Chile*], which has majority of representation, performs as if it were a trade union, agreeing on minimum conditions for the teaching profession that must be adjusted and defended by its union representatives in local negotiations (Matamoros Fernández & Álvarez Vallejos, 2022). On the other hand, teachers administered by publicly-funded private providers—which accounts for 52% of the country's education workforce—must negotiate teaching conditions with their provider, and there may be as many collective bargaining agreements as there are private educational institutions.

In addition, the work of the associations is not only limited to negotiation, but also to the functioning of the education system. In some contexts, this occurs by forming committees, expert groups, or other consultative and decision-making bodies; in others, it involves participating directly, as in Mexico and the United States (Han & Keefe, 2023; Oldham, 2020). In yet other spaces, teacher participation has been relegated to consultation in education policy design and implementation processes.

Another role of teacher associations entails disputing interests within the political fabric of societies. In this regard, the relationship between associations and political parties has represented a critical element (Peebles, 2022; Reichert et al., 2020). For example, in several regions, political parties have acquired an organized arm to reach out to teachers, which has caused deep tension in negotiation processes with governments when led by political parties aligned with their positions (Mizala & Schneider, 2019; Parcerisa & Verger, 2024).

Furthermore, rapprochement or distancing from political parties also depends on the history of the associations. In some contexts, teachers' associations have emerged within the framework of official politics that sought to guarantee the collectivity of the teaching profession. Comparative studies between Chile and Spain have demonstrated how, in both contexts, the close relationship between teaching associations and political parties was shaped by a post-dictatorial strategy aimed at reconstructing the fractured social fabric. This alignment helped to define the identity of these associations, which is now being questioned by teachers organized in a new network of associative participation, incorporating both local and global elements (Carvajal Diaz, 2019; Parcerisa et al., 2022).

New Teacher Associations: Challenges for Participation and Political Resistance

In the last decades, the evolution of salaried work and the phenomenon of citizen participation have solidified the need to reinvent the traditional trade unionism

associated with the industrial class, creating a professional model influenced by social justice nuances (Stacey et al., 2022; Stevenson, 2015). This new form of trade unionism would be sustained based on a new type of worker, no longer associated with a factory but with the field of professional services and who expects changes in not only their working conditions, but also the conditions of social injustice experienced by contemporary societies. This illustrates a teacher trade unionism that is moving toward social justice (Han & Keefe, 2023; Oldham, 2020) and a commitment to a critical perspective in education (Bascia & Maharaj, 2022).

This new associationism would demand open political participation, away from institutional and centralized political negotiation and based on the local situations and experiences of teachers (Bellido de Luna Mayea, 2021). According to Sisto et al. (2022), organized teachers have been drawing new forms of resistance and associationism, some subtle and interwoven with the regulations that public policy-makers use to control the teaching body. And others, are associated with the creation of a new hegemonic force that revitalizes traditional forms of trade unionism, by integrating the pedagogical component to their political union militancy (Peebles, 2022). This emphasizes the relevance of the micropolitical as a space for rethinking the action of demands, militancy, and political activism within the workplace (Ramos, 2023).

Additionally, this has also been made possible by the role of new social movements and their influence on political associations. In the last decade, demands for better education have emerged outside traditional associations and in broad social movements (Finger & Gindin, 2015). An example of this is the Spanish social movement called "green tides," which has sought to visualize other spaces for the defense of education and its demands (Parcerisa et al., 2022). This shifts the focus of educational protest to everyday citizen spaces of discussion about school and education (Apple & Apple, 2023; Msila, 2022). In some contexts, these situations have enabled new forms of teacher associationism as in Chile and Portugal, where organized teachers have sought to build other forms of educational protest.

However, this institutionalization of the political place of associations in educational governance has generated tension and mistrust within teacher associations (Bascia, 2016), which deal with a social base that is suspicious about the real interests of their leaders' involvement with the institution. In Spain, for example, some union leaders develop a political career due to their work as union representatives (Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021), which raises doubts among teaching staff regarding the true motives behind their representation.

Chile, like Spain, represents a significant case of this type of political party interventionism (Ortiz-Mallegas &

Torres-Sánchez, 2023; Parcerisa & Verger, 2024). In fact, the latest legislation on teacher professional development in the country shows these complications; most teacher unions accept government proposals despite the expressed opposition of organized teachers, prioritizing their relationship with the government over the relationship with the rank and file (Mizala & Schneider, 2019; Parcerisa et al., 2022). This situation has led to the emergence of a new political force as an alternative to the leadership of the union, seeking democracy and other ways of building associations; and which is increasingly common in studies on resistance and teachers' struggles (Coley & Schachle, 2023; Stacey et al., 2022).

Against this backdrop, literature shows a contemporary phase of refoundation of teacher associations (Bellido de Luna Mayea, 2021), aligned with concepts like "new unionism" (Stevenson, 2015) or broad teacher associations, and akin to "union revitalization" (Collao & Nieto, 2017; Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021). These new conceptualizations indicate that traditional forms of negotiation centralized in the state must learn to coexist with other decentralized approaches that address the protests and demands of organized teachers in their schools and territories. This challenges traditional associations to undertake new strategies and decisions to channel teacher activism and resistance at work (Ramos, 2023; Stacey et al., 2022; Stevenson, 2015).

In this context, this study explored the forms of political participation of teachers in the micropolitical sphere using the framework of two types of teacher associations: Chilean associationism, known for being professional and distant from government management and featuring de facto participation; and Spanish associationism, a trade union approach imbricated in educational governance and regulated participation (Weinstein & Zettelmeier, 2022). These two types share the crisis of traditional associations due to: (a) the fracture of their associations, due to both the diversity of associationism and biased bargaining at different levels and bargaining agents; (b) the closeness to traditional political parties; and (c) a discredited image that affects teachers' adherence.

In addition, both contexts share sociocultural and historical characteristics that make their connection possible, including post-dictatorial traditions (Carvajal Diaz, 2019) and cross-border regulation of teachers' work in relation to a common epistemic community—the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development—that has tended to fracture and delegitimize the options for collectivization and teacher organization (Anderson & Cohen, 2015). In summary, both countries have differences in governance structures, the challenges of teacher associationism and forms of participation. Table 1 summarizes a contextual analysis

between Chile and Spain, addressing some key aspects such as the privatization of the education system and the role of political parties.

Method

Qualitative Design

Qualitative research was conducted through an international, multiple-case ethnographic study (Falk et al., 2024). The objective of this research was to understand the configurations of teachers' political participation within their associations in Chile and Spain, with each context of union participation representing a distinct case. Recently, ethnographic case studies have gained prominence in the specialized literature on qualitative research in general (see Boéri & Giustini, 2024; Liu & Pertierra, 2024; Phukrongpet et al., 2024) and educational research in particular (see Daramola et al., 2024; Garg, 2024). Unlike other types of case studies, ethnographic case studies stand out because they provide access to contemporary educational issues that are deeply intertwined with social and historical processes, particularly in relation to teachers (Gould-Yakovleva & Liu, 2024; Willis & Louth, 2024).

According to Simons (2009), case studies adopt a contextual approach, as they are studied within their natural environments; they possess an interpretive perspective and exhibit flexibility in methods. The ethnographic case study employs qualitative methods to closely describe a context, interpreting it in relation to cultural theories. Unlike classical ethnography, which requires prolonged immersion in foreign cultures, the ethnographic case study can be conducted over shorter time scales and within familiar cultures while maintaining an understanding of the case in its sociocultural context. The design of this study considered the framework proposed by authors such as Falk et al. (2024), who argue that an international, multiple-case ethnographic study facilitates adequate contrasts between realities in different countries, generating detailed descriptions that prioritize the specific cultural and practical contexts of each country.

Participants and Production of Information

In each country, different teacher associations were involved. In Chile, participants included teachers from the Chilean Teachers' College, various federations, unions, and an organization aligned with the political left (Ortiz-Mallegas & Torres-Sánchez, 2023) that can be classified as a "new association" (Muñoz-Tamayo, 2018). In Spain, the study engaged with six corporate unions representing public and semi-public sector teachers.

Over the course of 8 months, participant observations were conducted to obtain detailed descriptions of the

Table 1. Contextual Analysis Between Chile and Spain.

Aspect	Chile	Spain
Privatization of the education system	The education system underwent significant privatization following the reforms of the 1980s, leading to the fragmentation of education and creating labor disparities between public and private school teachers.	The education system is predominantly public; however, there are private and subsidized schools. Teachers in the private and subsidized sectors have different working conditions compared to those in the public sector.
Role of political parties	Political parties have intervened in teacher associations. The Chilean Teachers' College the largest union, has been influenced by the government, creating tensions with its membership.	Political parties have played a key role in teacher associationism, with unions historically linked to them, thereby influencing negotiations with the government.
Teacher participation	Teacher participation is primarily organized through unions such as the Chilean Teachers' College, which has limited influence on educational decisions. New associations are attempting to overcome the ineffectiveness of traditional unions	Union participation is institutionalized, playing an important role in educational governance. However, fragmentation among unions makes it difficult to reach common agreements.
Type of participation of associations	De facto, with institutional elements. A blend of union, professional, and new forms of associationism.	Institutionalized. Union-type associationism.
Historical context	Chile's recent history includes a dictatorship that centralized power and promoted neoliberal reforms, which continue to impact the education system and teacher associationism.	Spain's history includes a democratic transition during which teacher unionism was consolidated with strong political support. However, in recent years, there has been a growing distrust of political parties.
Educational governance structure	Centralized governance with strong influence from private actors in school administration. The system facilitates fragmented negotiation, resulting in significant disparities between the public and private sectors.	Decentralized governance, with responsibilities held by autonomous communities, leads to variability in the negotiation of working conditions depending on the region.

Table 2. Data Collection and Participants.

Data Collection	Chile	Spain
Observations (field notes)	National "executive committee" assemblies. Annual meetings of affiliated persons. Courses, training, and workshops. Courses, trainings, and workshops. Calling and protest activities.	Daily working days. Trade union visits to schools and provincial delegation. Interunion meetings. Call-in activities and protests. Liaison meetings with other associations.
Documents	Three internal working documents.	Internal document of analysis of norms and laws. Document of answers to frequently asked questions. Accountability booklets.
Interviews	Normative proposal for public policy. 11 Female teachers 10 Male teachers	8 Female teachers 6 Male teachers

context, which were recorded as field notes. Additionally, official documents prepared by each association were reviewed, and in-depth interviews were conducted (Simons, 2009). The interviews constituted the primary information-gathering strategy for subsequent analysis, as they were used to reconstruct the narrated practices and lived experiences (Boéri & Giustini, 2024).

In each country, the number of interviews was determined by data saturation, as well as the contrasting of categories and the relevance of the interviews (Bartlett &

Vavrus, 2017), resulting in 21 interviews in Chile and 14 interviews in Spain. In qualitative research, this is generally considered a relatively high or sufficient number of interviews (Simons, 2009). In the Chilean sample, the interviewed teachers consisted of 11 women and 10 men, of whom only six worked in semi-public schools. In the Spanish sample, the interviewed teachers included eight women and six men, with only one woman and one man employed in the semi-public sector, while seven held positions within their organizations. Table 2 summarizes the

data collection strategies and the participants involved in the process.

Information Analysis Strategies

First, an analysis was conducted within each case, followed by a comparative analysis of the cases (Simons, 2009). In the intra-case analysis, the reflective thematic analysis strategy outlined by Braun and Clarke (2019) was employed, encompassing the following stages: (i) familiarization with the data, (ii) initial coding, (iii) generation of themes, (iv) review of themes, (v) definition and naming of themes, and (vi) production of the final report. This was succeeded by a comparative analysis of the cases (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). In this approach, the results are presented descriptively, interpreting the accounts based on the meanings articulated by the participants themselves. Consequently, the theoretical elements of the analysis are detailed in the section entitled “Comparative Discussions: New Challenges of Teacher Associationism in Chile and Spain.”

Regarding rigor, while the relationships established in the field are essential for obtaining quality data and negotiating valid meanings, this study employed two complementary strategies to validate the results: triangulation and respondent validation. Triangulation involved examining the phenomenon from multiple perspectives, while respondent validation concentrated on ensuring the quality of the research process. Although neither strategy guarantees complete validity, both significantly contribute to it (Simons, 2009). To provide evidence of the interpretations, the most relevant textual quotations from the information analyzed have been selected. These records were translated into English, maintaining the coherence of the meaning expressed in their initial Spanish reference.

Finally, this study ensured informed consent from the participants, guaranteeing the confidentiality and anonymity of the data collected. The integrity and dignity of all individuals involved were respected at all times, promoting researcher reflexivity to minimize bias and safeguard the participants.

Results

Case 1: Chile

Chilean Teaching Organizations, Administrative Fracture, and Double Militancy to Achieve Unity. The association studied, among its programmatic objectives, seeks the construction of a broad front of workers. For this, it considers necessary to conquer the leadership of Chilean Teachers' Association, if this is the legitimized figure of teacher collectivization. This means that its strategy encompasses with two fronts, one focused on union matters and the

other on trade union affairs, including classic demands for democratization and transformation of the traditional union and the construction of participation in a broad working front that brings together the teaching sector inside private institutions. Its challenge revolves around achieving union unity despite the administrative division between the public and private sectors.

This generates a “double militancy” for affiliated teachers who participate in both trade and the professional unions, and that in Chile it is possible given the free association of teachers. Even though, this double militancy leads to fatigue among organized teachers, due to the greater time commitment and demands, however, teachers understand the need to do so to strengthen union unity, which is one of the greatest challenges for teacher associations.

The teacher comments that he is tired, that it is complex to participate in the Education Congress organised by the Teachers' College and to organise campaigns to collect signatures for the Popular Policy Initiative (IPN). He mentions that the congress implies “convening colleagues, raising awareness, and planning a space that is not always easy to lead” and that the IPN implies a territorial strategy of “going out to the streets, organising colleagues, visiting schools.” (Observation record, Executive Committee, Session 4, 2021).

For one interviewee, this dual militancy has its principle based on the unity of the teaching profession and a new militancy that includes and connects the macro and micropolitical levels. Hence, this combines these levels of associationism with new labor activists of teacher unity.

There has not necessarily been this demand from the organisation for dual militancy, but it has to do with principles that seem fundamental to me, and I believe that they are also at the base of the organisations that I participate in: you cannot be doing national politics if you are not connected to what is happening at school, you cannot be talking about national union politics if you are not involved in a union. (Teacher, national representative of the new teacher association and president of the school union, private subsidised institution).

This double militancy combines different levels of work regulations: political and related school. In this sense, leaving the school space to include macrosocial perspectives becomes a challenge for organized teachers, who problematize their work in relation to the systemic conditions that maintain the system. In the face of this, merely creating a good classroom without altering the neoliberal capitalist system is insufficient for social transformation.

We are not going to strive to burn our eyelashes, to make a better class for the neoliberal capitalist system, for

neoliberalism; we are going to make good classes for our students, but we are going to fight to transform the system in which they study. ... So, it goes far beyond the micro space. (Teacher, regional representative of the new association and union leader of the Teachers' College, municipal institution).

Awakening of Teachers and Political Training on Neoliberal Work. After the installation of the professional development system for teachers in Chile, the participating association began to build a proposal for resistance in the traditional union, which would place the institutional scenario as one of dispute. To this end, it sought to build a political force in the union with the help of collectives that were close to its political positioning. Through this force, pressure increased within the union to issue communiqués and focus on demands that question the country's current system of teacher professional development.

Among the agreements of the assembly: pressure the teachers' union for legislative changes in the teaching career. They must eliminate the double evaluation, the lack of tenure for special teachers, and the absence of an agenda for teachers of retirement age to be evaluated, among other issues. It was also decided to convene a meeting of "Profes de Chile" to socialise this strategy and to make a public statement on these demands. Note: "Profes de Chile" is a nonformal association within the union, which brings together left-wing teachers and with which they build alliances when greater political strength is required. (Observation record of, executive committee).

Furthermore, the organization began to offer virtual activities and free itinerant training programs aimed at placing the accountability mechanisms associated with the new professional development system at the center of the debate, along with questioning the implications of the neoliberal ideological matrix of these legislations.

For us, it is not just a simple training on how to make the portfolio or how to assign scores in the evaluation; it is an opportunity to question the model that is behind it, the neoliberal policies that are installed. ... For me, the experience of the teacher's blackboard is not to talk about the laws. It is to analyse and criticise them in the light of the questions that colleagues raise. (Teacher, national leader of the new association and community leader of the teacher association, municipal institution).

In this same aspect, recent educational legislation has influenced actions within educational establishments, both in the public sector, which was already beginning to experience the implications of the process of pigeonholing, and among teachers in mixed-finance institutions, who progressively entered this process. This has generated conversations among teachers—both organized and not—who recognize the need to include current

educational regulations into the discussions. These discussions not only imply debating the neoliberal policy of professional development and its implications and regulations at the center, but also politicizing the role of teachers in terms of what makes them precarious, directly related with job instability.

We must not give up on the effort, that we do have to participate, that we do have to politicise teachers, and that we have to get teachers out of the unionist view, which is a discourse that many assume and appeals to vindicate what is their own but does not seek to transform that which makes you precarious. (Teacher, national leader of the new association and community leader of the teacher association, municipal institution).

Those of us who work in the private subsidised sector are constantly trying to set up and create instances of political discussion within our establishments, so that our colleagues know that it is so important—for example, the teaching career, regardless of whether they work in the municipal or private subsidised sector. (Teacher, new association and community leader of the teacher association, private subsidised institution).

However, the discrediting of the traditional union inside the political sphere the delegitimation of the traditional union in the political arena after negotiations with the government and the approval of the teaching career project, not only forced an internal discussion on the role of the union in the developed action strategies, but also the resignification of its position as a member of this association. The question asked by the organized teachers implied the expectation of creating a different, renewed Teachers' College, capable of integrating and articulating at different levels the fortification of the teaching profession, the negotiation with the administration, and the pedagogical component of continuing education. This evolution aims to move toward new forms of pressure in response to a context of deregulated participation.

Yes, I believe that yes, there were, there have been a lot of expectations about showing a different Teachers' College. And I think that in that sense, we have been up to the task. ... We raised a more united mobilisation; ... we played a leading role in defending the jobs of our colleagues. It's like we managed to strike a blow, and I think that this is something that colleagues' value. Because at least there is a certainty that this teachers' association does not keep quiet. ... We have tried to generate a lot of pedagogical activities, to give that stamp, so that colleagues have training opportunities. (Teacher, regional union leader, teacher association, municipal institution).

According to this interviewee, the generation of massive instances of union unity with the inclusion of the micro and macropolitical components of teacher

participation, which would also involve teacher training, would generate a change in the image of the traditional association from one of discredit to one of recognition and value. This shows the blending between new micro and meso-political associations, the reconfiguration of macropolitical institutional options, and the need to create a double militancy for union unity.

Case 2: Spain

“Liberated” Union Teachers and Challenges of Unity in Spain. Regardless of the trade union model or structure, “liberated” teachers¹ experience the tension of whether or not include teachers in the private or subsidized sectors (charter schools, which account for about 21% of teachers in the country). Some teachers distinguished teachers who belonged to the education sector, as their trade union organizations include them in other areas of the general administration or employers’ sector. Even some teachers released from these education sectors indicated the difficulties they have experienced in involving the demands of teachers in these modalities, because they implicitly validate a privately financed school model, which has been widely questioned by trade union traditions. In this sense, teachers working in private institutions are not considered part of the education sector and their union representation is left to the discretion of how each union decides to position them internally.

Here, it has been difficult to defend the teachers in the state-subsidised education sector, and the working conditions, my goodness, are totally different; they are subject to whatever the boss says. If we add to that the ratios of the children—... The anecdotal thing is that here they said that when the right wing came to government, we were going to get everything, but we are worse off than when our people were here. (Liberated teacher, class union, worker, secondary school). There are other unions, more or less in the majority, although lately they are less and less representative, that also attend to private or subsidised education. Not that I am against this, but we are an education union for public education. If a colleague who works in the private sector wants to join us, it is a different sector. It is not education. (Liberated teacher, corporate union, civil servant, secondary public institution).

The challenge of trade union unity, which is expressed in the inclusion or exclusion of teachers from private and public institutions, is also linked to the long partisan tradition of Spanish trade unionism (Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021), where teachers from these sectors did not find a space for representation in trade union centers. This generates tension when it comes to building union unity, implying overcoming partisan and ideological differences.

Well, in inverted commas, there should be a pact between trade unions on certain demands, and ideological or partisan issues should be put aside. If we really believe that the number of students is important, then it is one thing for one union or another; we should all defend a demand, and I think that there is a lack of unity ... if in the end, to plant a tree is something good, regardless of whether it is said by someone on the left or on the right, from a left- or right-wing union. (Liberated teacher, corporate union, civil servant, public secondary institution).

It is also important to mention that this crisis of trade unionism in Spain is not necessarily associated with a decline in membership, given that the unions continue to provide services; rather, it is linked to the involvement of rank-and-file teachers in the political actions they develop in institutional bargaining. This has generated mistrust, questioning the work of the “liberated teacher,” as they tend to be associated with an image of privilege not only because they are allowed to leave the classroom, but also because it is believed that the workload inside the unions would be lower than in the schools. Consequently, the role of the “union representative” is constructed in tension between representing the interests of teaching staff and fulfilling a regulated role within the country’s administrative organizations. As a result, this has led to situations in which teachers who have been released from the school environment are judged, which is a complex issue, given that the working, economic, and social conditions experienced by union leaders do not necessarily have an articulation at micropolitical levels.

There are times when you come across some teachers who see you as—if you are a trade unionist, you are a chalk deserter. They call us that, which means that as we are not in the institutes, they don’t value our work. There are a lot of people who only know how to criticise the union, maybe because in other times, union members have done a bad job, and we have to recognise that. But I keep to my time table. I work the same as my colleagues, sometimes even more. (Liberated teacher, corporate union, interim, public primary school)

The trade unions have generated the reputation of shrimp eaters, which is like people who live off the land and who go out to eat; they spend their money on anything. ... People see you as a subsidised person who goes out to eat, and good meals, [because] shrimp are eaten by the rich ... and trade unionists don’t have enough to eat shrimp. I don’t have enough to eat them. (Liberated teacher, class union, civil servant, secondary public institution)

Thus, released teachers are treated as “chalk deserters” or “shrimp eaters” for their participation in union action. This shows the micropolitics surrounding teachers who decide to exchange some of their classroom duties to do union representation work. This puts them in a position of disrepute, both for leaving the classroom

and eventually finding a better job and for being part of the power circles—economic and political—that make decisions about educational work. However, this is not part of the competencies of the released teachers who visit schools and interact directly with the affiliated teachers. In these figures, the macropolitical crisis of traditional associations is reified, questioning the privilege of the power to talk about education and political ineffectiveness with which union representation has been carrying out.

Tensions and Paradoxes in the Functions of the Liberated Teacher. The functions performed by liberated teachers are articulated based on government mechanisms, both by responding to consultation by the teaching staff and by visiting educational institutions to update and disseminate information on these regulations. To comply with the regulations, some trade union centers have also made progress in offering teacher training courses that can serve as a merit in the process of stabilizing the teaching staff.

The meeting began by explaining the processes for the placement of staff and transfer competition. The decrees and laws that regulate this procedure are mentioned, and the participants are invited to read them. Subsequently, the table of the ranking is reviewed, indicating how the merits should be uploaded to the virtual platform. During the explanation, the teachers in charge point out the most frequent errors and queries. In a second moment, a simulation is carried out on the platform, resolving doubts about its use. It is concluded by indicating that each teacher must calculate whether they have enough merit for the transfer. If not, they are invited to participate in the training courses offered as trade unions, these would be virtual and would have a quick downloadable certificate that has all the requirements to be validated as a merit. Discounts would be available for affiliated teachers (Observation record, training, 2022).

In this framework, released teachers construct their role by offering technical advice on regulations. Their role is to help or assist the teaching staff in the regulation of the teaching function. This work has proven to be necessary, because teachers would not otherwise be aware of the regulations and therefore, would be required to be informed and assisted in obtaining potential merits, or would not be interested in understanding the implications of these regulatory processes.

My perspective is to help my colleagues, to inform them, so that they know what their rights and obligations are, ... [to] help and [be of] service to others, as a service to the trajectory of the teaching staff, because they depend on your advice to have a job. ... When they come physically, and we sit them down at a computer or we have to do it for them because they don't know, because they don't want or don't want to make mistakes and well, then we have helped many

people, and then they thank you. (Teacher, corporate union, interim, public primary school).

This work involves depoliticized technical assistance that is not associated with transforming teachers' conditions. In this aspect, some liberated teachers argue that their day-to-day work is to solve problems of legislation and help teachers whose professional lives are economically stable and therefore, do not see the need to mobilize and politicize their work. In this aspect, the union is an institution that solves the technical and administrative bureaucracy of a teaching staff that has already found its stability or needs advisory support in the face of a specific labor problem. This role presents an opportunity within a highly bureaucratic educational system characterized by continuous legal changes, as seen in the Spanish context.

Although we have an idea of social transformation and the role that education can play, our work, because it is a job, is based much more on administrative technical questions and on discussing legislation or helping teachers in questions that, in reality, we don't see that they are going to have anything in themselves. And it is difficult to generate mobilisations or changes because in the Spanish education sector, at least in the public sector, which tends to be civil servants, they have a fairly comfortable situation. Their problems are minor. Teachers have their lives largely solved, so it is more difficult to make them aware of the problems, which do not affect them directly. (Liberated teacher, assembly union, interim, secondary public institution)

However, the trade union function is not only reduced to advising on a teaching problem, but also involves representation in the participatory bodies available in the government. Despite this, for the teachers interviewed, trade union associations do not manage changes in education legislation, but rather are consulted about these possible modifications. In this space, teachers experience the tension of being the official bearer of teachers' concerns, while at the same time being unable to bring about profound changes in local school systems. They even argued that a rank-and-file teacher cannot change regulations or negotiate with the local authority, because this is a task for the unions and their representatives; moreover, the guaranteed negotiation spaces are not decisive for these changes.

In the personnel board, they are all represented, they can negotiate, but what is done are opinions, reports, institutional declarations, from the personnel board itself, which are referred to the corresponding delegation. They are merely informative (Liberated teacher, corporate union, civil servant, secondary public institution)

In fact, we are the legitimate representatives of the professional. In other words, a teacher cannot go and knock on

Table 3. Descriptive Analysis of Case Contrast.

Aspect	Case 1 (Chile)	Case 2 (Spain)
Administrative fracture and double militancy	The association in Chile aims to unify teachers under a broad front. There exists a fracture between the public and private sectors, leading to dual membership and fatigue among educators.	In Spain, union fragmentation is also evident, with tensions arising between teachers in the private-concerted sector and those in the public sector. The quest for union unity faces challenges due to ideological differences.
Political training and resistance to neo-liberal teaching work	In Chile, the formation of new resistance proposals within the traditional union can be observed, with a focus on politicizing the teaching role and questioning the neoliberal system	Spanish unions focus their action on technical assistance on educational regulations and laws, without necessarily addressing a deep political transformation of the teaching work.
Distrust toward the liberalized teaching staff	This is not addressed in detail in the Chilean case, but political participation and new forms of organization seek to strengthen the image of organized teachers.	Liberated teachers are perceived as privileged and distant from school reality, which generates distrust and criticism of their political efficacy.
Tensions in the functions of the released professorship	In Chile, a greater unity is sought between the pedagogical component and political participation, overcoming the divisions between the micro and the macro.	The teachers released in Spain focus on solving technical and administrative problems, without generating profound changes in educational legislation or working conditions.

the door of an education councillor and say: “Look, I’ve had it up to here with the programming, so how about changing the regulations?” That is the role of his or her union representative. (Teacher union, corporate union, civil servant, secondary public institution).

Subsequently, Table 3 presents a comparative synthesis of the findings from this study, facilitating a descriptive analysis of the results.

Comparative Discussion: Challenges of Teacher Associations in Chile and Spain

Although comparison is a challenge in education research processes, in both contexts studied, teachers’ associations—unions, trade unions, and new models—shared the implications of the historical role that traditional associations have played in the political arena. In this sense, the role of political parties challenges the sustainability of vindicative action at the micropolitical levels. In the case of Chile, teachers are required to build a new social force (Sisto et al., 2022) capable of reversing the image of moral and political ineffectiveness linked to traditional associations (Symeonidis & Stromquist, 2020). Meanwhile, Spanish teachers are vilified and associated with an image of social privilege, which is not always congruent with those working at the lower levels of the union hierarchy.

In this context, organized teachers have sought to build different strategies that distance themselves from political parties, despite the obviousness of their convictions and

militancy. The path taken by Chilean teachers has consisted on finding common ground, linked to the field of work and regulations of educational policies, as a sort of common adversary to fights against in governance. In doing so, they have managed to bring educational policies into dialog with the politicization of educational work. In contrast, the organized Spanish teaching profession has chosen the path of technical advice or assistance in the face of state regulations, creating distance from the understanding of the political implications of these regulations (Bellido de Luna Mayea, 2021).

This distinction between these phenomena of associationism is based on the position they find in the structure of participation institutionalized by the State (Weinstein & Zettelmeier, 2022), which, in the case of Spain is guaranteed inside processes of negotiation and participation in government, whereas in Chile is linked to educational dispute and protest. Chilean teachers must persevere in their inclusion in areas of negotiation with the central government to achieve a connection and establish a common goal, as seen in other territories (Duarte & Brewer, 2022). In this way, the relevance of Chilean Teachers’ Association as a valid interlocutor is evident (Matamoros Fernández & Álvarez Vallejos, 2022), along with the structuring of political and associative cadres (Ortiz-Mallegas & Torres-Sánchez, 2023). In this framework, the approach to the institutional is, moreover, a form of struggle to be visible in a governmental structure that has demonstrated both the inclusion and exclusion of teaching associations. This contrasts with the experience of participation among Spanish teachers, who seek

to distance themselves from the institutional aspect because it seems that this space has been co-opted by party political interests.

In this context, institutional space is paradoxically constructed around organized teacher action, not only because of the tension that this entails for organized teachers in both contexts (Matamoros Fernández & Álvarez Vallejos, 2022; Parcerisa & Verger, 2024), but also because of the possibilities that could be established to build union unity. In this scenario, Spanish liberated teachers revitalize the paradox of institutional change (Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021), as they understand that change occurs at this level, along with understanding their role in it, and that these spaces are delegitimised. This delegitimization may even lead to distrust among grassroots teachers, who perceive complicity between political parties and union entities (Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021). In contrast, the new associations appear to distance themselves from institutional ties and political party complicity distance themselves from institutional ties and political party complicity; instead, they are aimed to broad and open social movements, such as the green tides, assembly spaces, and 15M (Parcerisa et al., 2022). This differs from the Chilean case, where new associations are constructions of novelty in an effort to resignify institutional (trade union or professional) traditions.

On the other hand, in both contexts, organized teachers and their associations are challenged to politicize teaching work. In this area, the need to rescue the political component of work is critical to moving toward new activisms and associations (Han & Keefe, 2023). However, this is not an easy task, because not all associations have the same strength of enunciation and purpose to sustain this idea. For instance, Chilean teachers have managed to show glimpses of this capacity in school spaces; yet, to do so, they also require profound reflection on the political scope of their agency.

In contrast, Spanish teachers are confronted with their political and social history. The long partisan tradition of trade unionism and distrust of political parties makes the politicization of union and educational work complex and allows the consolidation of independent unions (Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021), which does not imply independence but rather a simple distancing from party politics. Moreover, these politics do not reduce the political aspect; on the contrary, it shows the absence of this component in their demands. This absence would be misunderstood in the Chilean organized teaching profession, given that the politicization of the workplace is an option to fight for and vindicate the meaning of their professionalization (Collao & Nieto, 2017).

Instead, a factor that both collectives continue to struggle with relates to the accommodation of the

teaching sector, even with the discrepancies in salaries and conditions of neoliberal policies in both contexts (Monarca & Sánchez-Urán, 2022; Sisto et al., 2022). The comfort and privilege of Spanish teachers noted by the interviewees and the lack of involvement of teachers from private institutions in the discussion of neoliberal policies, as noted in the interviews with Chilean teachers, seem to be two expressions of the same phenomenon associated with a change in the teaching workforce. This exhibits the implications of changes in post-industrial wage labor and conceptions of neoliberal professions (Duarte & Brewer, 2022); these changes have led not only to the fragmentation of their collective efforts and the individualization of work (Anderson & Cohen, 2015; Stevenson, 2015), but also to other forms of injustice and discomfort because of different wage labor (Adlerstein & Pardo, 2023). In this sense, if the working conditions have shifted toward neo-liberalization, so too have the demands and resistance that actors and organizations develop at the political level.

Finally, the results allow us to identify how new teacher trade unions and associations recall the crises of associations, the political institutionality of negotiation spaces, and the ongoing discussion on labor activism and local resistance (Moral-Martín & Brunet i Icart, 2021; Stacey et al., 2022). Regarding this challenge, the observation of the processes of politicization of labor and the learning that associations generate from this can be a topic of further exploration and new studies. Chilean teachers construct a discourse that situates public policies as the common enemy to be fought against. In contrast, the Spanish teachers' discourse does not seem to be articulated around a common point from which to organize. In this way, the impact of the neoliberalization of associations in the institutional spheres will continue to be studied in greater depth.

Conclusions

This comparative study between Chile and Spain provides valuable insights for countries facing similar challenges related to teachers' political participation. In both contexts, the crisis of traditional teachers' associations underscores the need to reconfigure union structures to address fragmentation and the erosion of trust in unions. In Chile, new social forces are emerging within a privatized education system, while in Spain, the technification of trade unionism is tied to efforts to achieve independence from political parties, creating tensions with grassroots teachers.

The findings suggest that organizational strategies must be adapted to the specific political and social contexts of each country. In Chile, privatization calls for more flexible and diverse organizational forms, whereas

in Spain, unions must focus on regaining trust lost due to decentralization and political divisions. These results are valuable for other countries experiencing union fragmentation or declining confidence in teachers' associations, as well as for the various comparative studies on teachers' new resistance and participation actions (Brown & Nikolai, 2022; Carvajal Diaz, 2019; Dobbins & Nikolai, 2019; Duarte & Brewer, 2022; Parcerisa et al., 2022), offering guidance on how to redesign strategies and better understand their role within governance structures and education systems.

In this context, for countries facing similar challenges, this study emphasizes the importance of politicizing teachers' work, recognizing that the ability to link labor demands with broader educational reforms is crucial. Moreover, integrating both micro- and macro-political dimensions—from the classroom to educational governance—can strengthen teacher associations and enhance their effectiveness in defending teachers' rights.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank the Research Support Network of the Universidad de Playa Ancha - agreement UPA 21992 - and the National Agency for Research and Development, in its program for the Strengthening of Doctoral Programs Call 2022-Number 86220041.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Ethics Statement

The authors declare that they have applied the ethical principles of the Code of Good Practice in Human Research of the University of Granada throughout the research process.

ORCID iDs

Sebastián Ortiz-Mallegas  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7877-3319>

Claudia Carrasco-Aguilar  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8768-2440>

Antonio Luzón-Trujillo  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4095-2319>

Mónica Torres-Sánchez  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8626-8512>

Data Availability Statement

Data sharing not applicable to this article as no datasets were generated or analyzed during the current study.

Note

1. A “liberated” teacher is a teacher who gives up working hours in educational institutions to take up duties in trade unions. They are therefore “released” from their duties.

References

- Adlerstein, C., & Pardo, M. (2023). Chilean early childhood teachers' discourses on professional associations building professionalism: Cohesions and tensions of an ecosystem. *Sage Open*, 13(2), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440231164283>
- Anderson, G., & Cohen, M. (2015). Redesigning the identities of teachers and leaders: A framework for studying new professionalism and educator resistance. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23, 85. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2086>
- Apple, M., & Apple, M. W. (2023). On the role of teacher unions in social justice. *Educational Policy*, 37(4), 1179–1188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08959048211049418>
- Bartlett, L., & Vavrus, F. (2017). *Rethinking case study research: A comparative approach*. Routledge.
- Bascia, N. (2016). *Teacher unions in public education: Politics, history, and the future*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bascia, N., & Maharaj, S. (2022). After the dust has settled: Enduring teacher unionism. *Critical Education*, 13(4), 5–19. <https://doi.org/10.14288/ce.v13i4.186622>
- Bellido de Luna Mayea, D. (2021). Despolitización del movimiento laboral chileno: Análisis desde la perspectiva de acción política como estrategia de revitalización sindical [Depoliticization of the Chilean labour movement: an analysis from the perspective of Political Action as a trade union revitalization strategy]. *Sociología del Trabajo*, 98(1), 85–96. <https://doi.org/10.5209/stra.70000>
- Boéri, J., & Giustini, D. (2024). Qualitative research in crisis: A narrative-practice methodology to delve into the discourse and action of the unheard in the COVID-19 pandemic. *Qualitative Research*, 24(2), 412–432. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941231155620>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589–597. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806>
- Brown, B., & Nikolai, R. (2022). The contestation of policies for schools during the covid-19 crisis: A comparison of teacher unions' positions in Germany and Australia. *Compare*, 54(4), 679–697. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2022.2124846>
- Carvajal Diaz, L. M. (2019). Sindicalismo docente y Movimientos de Renovación Pedagógica frente al neoliberalismo educativo: Los casos de España, Argentina y Chile [Teachers' unions and movements for pedagogical reform against educational

- neoliberalism: The cases of Spain, Argentina and Chile]. *Foro de Educación*, 17(26), 115–134. <https://doi.org/10.14516/fde.584>
- Cheng, A., Maranto, R., & Shakeel, M. D. (2021). Unionization, public school reform, and teacher professionalism. *Journal of Educational Change*, 22(1), 85–102. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-020-09391-2>
- Coley, J. S., & Schachle, J. L. (2023). Occupational activism and the new labor activism: Illustrations from the education sector and an agenda for future research. *Work and Occupations*, 50(3), 420–427. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07308884231162935>
- Collao, P., & Nieto, A. (2017). Sindicalismo, sindicatos, movimientos, acciones y organizaciones de los trabajadores [Trade unionism, unions, movements, actions and workers' organizations]. In A. Collado, J. Bonifacio, & G. Vommaro (Eds.), *Estudios sobre ciudadanía, movilización y conflicto social en la Argentina contemporánea* [Studies on citizenship, mobilization and social conflict in contemporary Argentina] (pp. 45–131). CLACSO.
- Daramola, E. J., Enoch-Stevens, T., Bridgeforth, J. C., & Nkansah-Amankra, A. (2024). "On a risky slope of democracy": Racialized logics embedded in community-school board interactions. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 46(3), 506–533. <https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737231175166>
- Dobbins, M., & Nikolai, R. (2019). The influence of teachers' unions on output- and competition-oriented school governance: Germany and France in comparison. *Zeitschrift Fur Pädagogik*, 65(4), 564–583.
- Duarte, B. J., & Brewer, C. A. (2022). "We're in compliance": Reconciling teachers' work as resistance to neoliberal policies. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 30, 105. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.30.6173>
- Falk, L., Dahlgren, A. & Dahlberg, J. (2024). ALLin4IPE- an international research study on interprofessional health professions education: a protocol for an ethnographic multiple-case study of practice architectures in sites of students' inter-professional clinical placements across four universities. *BMC Med Educ* 24(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12909-024-05902-4>
- Finger, L., & Gindin, J. (2015). From proposal to policy: Social movements and teachers' unions in Latin America. *Perspectives*, 45(1), 365–378. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-015-9355-0>
- Garg, N. (2024). Role of line managers in promoting DEI in higher education institutions: An autoethnographic case study. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 38(6), 1752–1765. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEM-03-2024-0158>
- Gavin, M. (2022). Raising teachers' voices: How teacher unions build grassroots intellectualism to resist neoliberal education reform. In K. Heggart, & S. Kolber (Eds.), *Empowering teachers and democratising schooling* (pp. 159–172). Springer.
- Gould-Yakovleva, O., & Liu, X. (2024). Mutualism as mutual trust: An ethnographic case study on an elementary-school teacher-team participation in a science PD program. *The Qualitative Report*, 29(4), 915–938. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2024.6440>
- Han, E. S., & Keefe, J. (2023). What teachers' unions do for teachers when collective bargaining is prohibited. *Labor Studies Journal*, 48(2), 183–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X231164188>
- Krantz, J., & Fritzén, L. (2022). Changes in the identity of the teaching profession: A study of a teacher union in Sweden from 1990 to 2017. *Journal of Educational Change*, 23(2), 451–471. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-021-09425-3>
- Liu, T., & Pertierra, A. C. (2024). Understanding "smaller-scale" platforms: An ethnographic case study of Chinese-owned multinational infotech enterprises. *Global Media and China*, 9(3), 402–417. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20594364241263664>
- Matamoros Fernández, C., & Álvarez Vallejos, R. (2022). Organizaciones sindicales en liceos técnicos profesionales. Entre la renovación y la postergación. Chile, 1983-1993 [Trade union organizations in vocational-technical schools. Between renewal and postponement. Chile. 1983-1993]. *Páginas: Revista digital de la escuela de historia*, 14(34), 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.35305/rp.v14i34.589>
- Mizala, A., & Schneider, B. (2019). Promoting quality education in Chile: The politics of reforming teacher careers. *Journal of Education Policy*, 35(4), 529–555. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2019.1585577>
- Monarca, H., & Sánchez-Urán, L. D. (2022). Procesos selectivos para el acceso al trabajo docente en España: Revisión crítica [Selective processes for access to teaching work in Spain: Critical review]. *Quaestio*, 24, 1–18. <https://periodicos.uniso.br/quaestio/article/view/4801>
- Moral-Martín, D., & Brunet i Icart, I. (2021). La necesidad de la revitalización sindical: Una oportunidad para otras propuestas organizativas, CIRIEC-España [The need for trade union revitalisation: An opportunity for other organisational proposals]. *Revista de Economía Pública, Social y Cooperativa*, 101(101), 227–254. <https://doi.org/10.7203/CIRIEC-E.101.16542>
- Msila, V. (2022). Teacher unions, schools and success: Opportunities and contradictions. *International Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Research*, 21(3), 263–280. <https://doi.org/10.26803/ijlter.21.3.14>
- Muñoz-Tamayo, V. (2018). La cuestión generacional en el discurso del gremialismo y la Unión Demócrata Independiente durante la dictadura de Pinochet [The generation issue in the "gremialista" discourse and the Unión Demócrata Independiente during Pinochet's dictatorship]. *Revista de Historia y Geografía*, 39(39), 99–119. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7369097>
- Oldham, S. (2020). Teaching labor unionism in schools: Towards economic and social justice. *Critical Education*, 11(6), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.14288/ce.v11i6.186477>
- Ortiz-Mallegas, S., & Torres-Sánchez, M. (2023). Participación política y militancia docente: Tensiones desde nuevos asociacionismos del profesorado chileno [Political participation and teacher militancy: tensions from new associations of Chilean teachers]. *Educação and Sociedade*, 44, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1590/ES.268925>
- Parcerisa, L., & Verger, A. (2024). 'Against imposition, we defend education': Teachers' movements against austerity and neoconservative reforms in the Spanish context.

- Globalisation Societies and Education*, 23(1), 242–258. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2024.2386405>
- Parcerisa, L., Villalobos, C., Santa Cruz, E., & Saura, G. (2022). Movimientos anti-estandarización en educación: Un Análisis Comparado de Chile, España y México [Anti-standardization movements in education: A comparative analysis in Chile, Spain and Mexico]. *Revista Izquierdas*, 51, 1–22.
- Peebles, M. C. (2022). La dimensión educativa de los sindicatos docentes. El caso de la Sección 22 del Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (SNTE) de Oaxaca (México) contra la Reforma Educativa (2012-2018). [The Educational dimension of teachers' unions. The case of section 22 of the national union of education workers (SNTE) of Oaxaca (Mexico) against the education reform (2012-2018)]. *Pensamiento palabra y obra*, 28(28), 4–19. <https://doi.org/10.17227/ppo.num28-17314>
- Phukrongpet, P., Wannachot, W., & Daovisan, H. (2024). Stuck in labor rights? Exploring social protection for hairdressers in northeast Thailand: An ethnographic case study. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, 9(4), 521–533. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41134-024-00328-w>
- Ramos, F. F. (2023). Teacher activists' praxis in the movement against privatization and school closures in Oakland. *Critical Studies in Education*, 64(2), 118–133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2022.2039737>
- Reichert, F., Torney-Purta, J., & Liang, W. (2020). Teachers' organizational participation: Profiles in 12 countries and correlates in teaching-related practices. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 48(4), 552–582. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2020.1795764>
- Riveras-Vargas, P., Miño-Puigcercís, R., Passeron, E., & Jacovkis, J. (2022). Movimientos sociales, activismos y resistencias desde la escuela [Social movements, activism and resistance from school]. *Revistas Izquierdas*, 51(1), 1–12.
- Ross-Schneider, B. (2022). Teacher unions, political machines, and the thorny politics of education reform in Latin America. *Política Y Sociedad*, 50(1), 84–116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00323292211002788>
- Santori, D., & Holloway, J. (2023). Knowledge-based resistance: The role of professional organisations in the struggle against statutory assessments in England. *Pedagogy Culture and Society*, 33(2), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2023.2254782>
- Simons, H. (2009). *Case study research in practice*. Sage Publications, Ltd.
- Sisto, V., Núñez-Parra, L., López-Barraza, A., & Ramírez-Casas del Valle, L. (2022). The rebellion of the bases against the standardization of pedagogical work: The case of the mobilization against the teaching career law in Chile. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 30, 138. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.30.6460>
- Stacey, M., Gavin, M., Gerrard, J., Hogan, A., & Holloway, J. (2022). Teachers and educational policy: Markets, populism, and im/possibilities for resistance. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 30, 93. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.30.7407>
- Stevenson, H. (2015). Teacher unionism in changing times: Is this the real “new unionism”? *Journal of School Choice*, 9(4), 604–625. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2015.1080054>
- Symeonidis, V., & Stromquist, N. (2020). Teacher status and the role of teacher unions in the context of new professionalism. *Studia Paedagogica*, 25(2), 23–45. <https://doi.org/10.5817/SP2020-2-2>
- Weinstein, J., & Zettelmeier, W. (2022). Les syndicats d'enseignants: In acteur éducatif et sociopolitique en recul ou en renouveau? [Teachers' unions: Retreating or reviving educational and sociopolitical actors?]. *Revue Internationale d'Éducation de Sèvres*, 91(91), 45–54. <https://doi.org/10.4000/ries.13311>
- Willis, A., & Louth, S. (2024). Don't stand up in a hammock: Advice from early career teachers in remote, regional, and rural locations. *Australian and International Journal of Rural Education*, 34(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.47381/aijre.v34i1.469>