

POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND PARTICIPATION  
AMONG HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS  
IN NEWFOUNDLAND

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND PARTICIPATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL  
TEACHERS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

BY

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## PREFACE

My familiarity with teachers' role in Ghana motivated me to embark on this study. In Ghana, teachers are a major force to reckon with in both community and national public affairs. Being among the few educated people in the communities, they often play a leading role in community and national political activities. In Newfoundland, I expected to find similar trends exhibited by teachers. I also expected Newfoundland teachers to participate at a higher rate in political activities than the general public. This is due to the fact that in Newfoundland, teachers seem to be increasingly involved in higher levels of political activities, perhaps more so than those in most other Canadian provinces.

It is also important to learn teachers' perceptions of restrictions on their political activities. There has been studies which show that teachers feel their political lives are restricted by the views and actions of others. This study will attempt to show whether this fear of objections to their activities really exists, and, if so, whether it has any effect on their participation in politics.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first comprehensive study in Newfoundland, if not Canada, of teachers' participation in political activities, their perception of objections and how this affects their participation rates. I therefore hope that it will add to our understanding of the political life of Newfoundland teachers,

just as has been done in numerous United States studies.

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## ABSTRACT

Newfoundland teachers may be seen to occupy a distinctive and potentially influential position in Newfoundland society. In spite of this potential central role, there is a traditional belief that teachers, like clergymen, are supposed to refrain from active political activities. In Newfoundland, where the educational system is denominationally controlled, teachers role might be expected to come under scrutiny not only from people in the community or government officials, but, also from members of the school board and clergymen. In the light of the above, this study attempted to learn;

1. The extent to which high school teachers participate in political activities compared with the general public in Newfoundland;
2. Teachers' perception of restrictions placed on their political activities and the extent to which this affects their participation rates.

In measuring political participation, the study adopts a multidimensional conceptualization of political participation -- voting, campaigning, particularized contacting and community activities.

Data used for this study were primarily collected by a province-wide mail survey of 273 high school teachers administered in May and June 1983. The questionnaire focused on teacher participation and related attitudes. To validate the more quantitative survey findings, informal interviews were conducted and information was gathered from teachers in some Newfoundland towns across the province.

Principal findings were that:

1. Newfoundland high school teachers participate more actively than the general public in voting, party and campaign work, and particularized contacting activities. When we compare their participation rate with that of the general public with university education, we find that teachers report higher levels of participation in most activities.
2. Considering the variations in teacher participation, male high school teachers and older teachers participate more than their counterparts.
3. Most teachers do not perceive serious objections to their participation in partisan political activity. Discussing controversial political issues in class and striking were seen as more likely to attract disapproval, especially from school boards, according to teachers.
4. The perception that a teacher's action might be objected to by school board members or people in the community does not inhibit participation. Rather, those who perceive serious objections to their actions tend to participate more.
6. While the perception of objections to a teacher's activity does not lower his participation rate, interest in politics or apathy has a great impact on teachers' participation. Teachers with low interest in politics participate less than those with high interest.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. THE PROBLEM: WHAT POLITICAL ROLE FOR TEACHERS?

The aim of this study is to describe and explain the patterns of political participation among Newfoundland high school teachers.

Scattered evidence suggests that, since 1949, teachers have been a critical factor in Newfoundland politics. For example, teachers were one of the groups that the Progressive Conservative Party was able to mobilize in the late 1960's and early 1970's to defeat the Liberal government headed by Premier Smallwood. (Overton, 1979:236-239) Another manifestation of their impact on Newfoundland politics can be seen in the major role they played in the reorganization of the New Democratic Party. (236-239)

— A recent study by McCorquodale (1978) showed the professional representation of the Members of the Newfoundland House of Assembly. In the 1949-1968 period, 37 percent of the Members were professionals, 36 percent were proprietor-managers and 11 percent were teachers. In 1976, the percentage of professionals dropped to 14 percent, proprietors-managers to 21 percent and teachers increased to 21 percent. In 1983, teachers were the largest single professional class in the House of Assembly: 33 percent of the members were teachers, 19 percent

managers and 32 percent professionals. Among the "professional" category are 5 lawyers, 2 broadcasters, 4 medical doctors, 1 surveyor, 2 engineers and 1 funeral director. (Table 1.1)

Table 1.1: Principal Occupations of the members of the Newfoundland House of Assembly: 1949-1968, 1976 and 1983.

Occupations	1949-1968	1976	1983
Professionals	37%	14%	32%
Proprietor-Managers	36	23	19
Teachers	11	21	33
Other	15	21	6
Unknown	—	21	10
Total	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(72)	(34)	(52)

Source: McCorquodale (1978, 162) and Canadian Parliamentary Guide (1983)

The traditional belief that teachers, like clergymen, were supposed to live a moral life, to abstain from controversial social and political issues and to support the social order both in the school and community seems not to hold in contemporary Newfoundland. They seem to be exerting their influence in all sectors of public life. However, these are only impressions, and may not be representative of the full range of teachers' involvement in politics. Two issues need closer investigation. First, how and to what degree do contemporary teachers participate in political activities? Are they more or less active than comparable groups in Newfoundland society? Secondly, do

the above cited "traditional" constraints on teachers have any bearing on their behaviour. How vigorously can they exercise their political interests without incurring the displeasure of school boards, churches or the community?

The significance of these questions may partly be seen in light of the teacher's role in the political socialization process. According to Almond and Verba.

The stability of regimes and the viability of their basic political practices depend upon the widespread acceptance of values which support them. The role of the prevailing political culture is thus more basic to the operation of political systems (1963:xiii).

It is important to every nation, therefore; to formalize the transmission of such cultural attributes and their attendant values. Basic political orientations, most research has revealed, are developed during the childhood and adolescence. One of the most important agencies of socialization is formal education.

Classical political theorists like Plato and Rousseau have held the view that "education is at the heart of politics: depending on the nature of civic training, a body politic would remain stable or would undergo change." (Greenstein, 1965:2) There are different shades of opinion about the influence of the school in the development of political attitudes, skills and cognitions. This study will not enter the debate concerning which socializing agents are most effective. It does assume, however, that the adherence to the democratic creed, the "good citizen" role and political trust are the attributes that are typically

transmitted by the teacher to the student. The teacher, therefore, is not apolitical. The teacher in the classroom becomes an important agent in the development of the students' political values and level of politicization.

One might ask, are the political practices of the teacher consistent with the professional values? The teacher can serve as a good example of a political activist to his students. He has been selectively recruited, trained and placed in a position where he is identified as a part of the intellectual middle-class. Considering their responsibility as agents for the promotion of citizenship and the democratic process, the teachers might have an added reason to display higher rates of political participation than those of the general electorate. According to Morgan,

... a teacher is legally obligated to perform only those duties specifically set forth or implied in his written contract. However, it is generally recognized that in fulfilling his professional obligations a teacher has both the right and the duty to take part in community activities. While this is an obligation of every citizen in a democracy, the teacher because of his training and background, often has a unique contribution to make. He frequently finds that identifying himself with the community through such participation is an enriching experience contributing to his professional growth, as well as being an important factor in developing community relations. (Morgan, 1960:313)

Similar views have been expressed by Brookover and Gottlieb. Quoting from Greenhoe, they write that,

... teachers should be encouraged to participate in community affairs far more than they are now inclined to do ... and, such participation would do much toward changing the general conception of teachers' as academic and impractical persons who dwell apart from the world of men. (quoted in Brookover and Gottlieb, 1966:445)

Brookover and Gottlieb, however, state that in spite of the emphasis placed on teacher participation, teachers are either not encouraged to participate or are prevented from participating in many community activities. They indicate further that,

though educators and laymen believe that teachers should take part in community affairs, they justify all sorts of restrictions on teachers' participation on the basis that it will interfere with teaching effectiveness. (p. 446)

Active participation by teachers in the community is significant for the proper functioning of the political system. It will, also, increase the extent to which teachers are able to influence governmental decisions. The more actively they participate the more likely governmental officials and policy makers will be responsible to their demands on personal or community problems. Verba and Nie state that:

Participatory acts are . . . the major means by which citizen preferences are communicated to the government, and participation has a highly valued status in democratic theory . . . (1972:284)

## 2. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study has been restricted to teachers working at the high school level of the Newfoundland education system in 1983. My principal source of data is a mail survey conducted in May and June of that year. The nature of the sampling technique (described in Appendix A) assures me of a fair representation of high school teachers from every part of the province. While the primary aim is to describe and analyse Newfoundland patterns, the study has been designed also to permit comparison with similar studies done in other parts of Canada,



United States and Britain. It will also be worthwhile to compare the results of Baksh and Singh's 1979 Newfoundland study which dwelt mostly on elementary school teachers.

In the light of the above discussion, this study will address the following questions:

1. To what extent do high school teachers in Newfoundland participate in voting, campaigning, contacting and community activities compared with the general public in Newfoundland?
2. To what extent do sex, age, community size, religious denomination of school and principal teaching subject correlate with participation rates?
3. What is the participation rate of teachers in the Newfoundland Teachers Association (NTA) and other community organizations like civic groups, special interest groups and religious organizations?
4. Do teachers perceive any restrictions or objections from members of the school board, clergymen, school principals and people in the community to their taking part in partisan politics?
5. To what extent does the perception of such objections to a teacher's activity affect his/her participation rate?

### 3. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY IN NEWFOUNDLAND

The initial impetus for the study was provided by the realization that empirical research carried out in the area of political participation of Newfoundland teachers is lacking. There has been virtually no significant work done, in spite of the increasing role of the teachers in Newfoundland politics.

Among the few studies carried out in Newfoundland which touch on teachers' attitude and political participation, mention must be made of Baksh and Singh (1979). They conducted research into "Teachers Perception of some of the Realities they Encounter as Teachers Living in Newfoundland." Martin (1980), also presented a research paper on "The Potential of Offshore Oil Development on Education at the Small Community Levels with Special Reference to the Teacher in the Small Community." Baksh, Singh and Martin do not touch specifically on political participation of teachers, but they raise many interesting questions which need pursuing. Although Martin, for instance, does not mention political participation per se, his subsequent analysis of the teachers' place in the small community is of particular interest to this study.

Tom Lafosse, a former president of the Newfoundland Teachers Association (NTA), 1977, in a policy statement during his term of office stated that School Boards were regulating the lives of teachers through the introduction of by-laws and individual contracts. The attempts by School Boards to give themselves authority to dismiss teachers for a variety of denominationally oriented issues had become common, he said. Stapleton (1976) points out that teachers are not only accountable for their behaviour, either in the classroom or outside the classroom to their local School Boards but, they are also accountable to the Department of Education and Denominational Educational Committees.

It is therefore, important to learn how teachers function politically under circumstances where there are many potential overseers of their actions. Which of the various agents do the teachers actually perceive to be a "threat" to their activities, and do these perceptions actually constrain them?

#### 4. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AMONG TEACHERS

Richey, in his book, Preparing for a Career in Education, (1979), states that in the 1968 U. S. national election, approximately 90 percent of all teachers voted as compared to a national average of 61 percent. However, only a small percentage of teachers were ever candidates for public office. In the 1966 U.S. National Education Survey, to the question,

In your opinion should teachers work as members of political parties in national elections?

50 percent reported affirmative with 3 percent opposing. Among men, 60 percent endorsed the idea while 47 percent of the women did so. However, only 3 percent of the total teacher sample had been candidates for public office. (National Education Association, 1967:42). In view of the findings, it is apparent that there is a difference between what American teachers felt they should do regarding political participation and what they actually did.

In studying teacher participation in community affairs, Carson et al. (1967), revealed some interesting findings about school teachers in the United States. According to the authors,

Full participation in community activities, considered to be both a right and duty by people in most walks of life, is not regarded as appropriate in any area by a majority of the teachers. (p. 23)

The same study reported that many of the teachers showed interest in participating in recreational activities and only a small minority expressed interest in participating in a more political activity. Carson and his associates also pointed out that in most community affairs outside the field of education, slightly larger proportions of men than women favour maximum participation.

Brookover and Erickson (1975) suggest that American teachers today can no longer be regarded as socially and politically passive and dominated. They note that teachers are becoming increasingly active and that more and more teachers are involving themselves actively in political party activities. However, they state that the apparent politicization of the teachers should be regarded with caution, for, during the period 1961-1971, there has been a marked decrease in teachers involvement in active politics. They support this with a 1972 survey by the U.S. National Education Association. This survey showed that teachers' membership in political party organizations dropped from 31 percent in 1961 to 22 percent in 1966, and 13 percent in 1971.

Membership in organizations, some of which are basically political in nature, presents interesting and revealing information about political roles of teachers. In the NEA 1966 study, church activities elicited the highest rate of participation. The trend is just opposite with regard to membership in political parties: only 22 percent held some

type of membership, of which 1.4 percent reported very active membership. The United States study came to the conclusion that while, in general, the percentage of teachers who were politically involved was higher than that of the national electorate, one would expect them to be higher yet. The reason for the low involvement might therefore be due to either apathy or social constraints.

The final aspect of teachers' political behaviour which has generated much discussion is the incidence of restriction on their activities. In the 1966 NEA study, 43 percent of the teachers felt that the community in which they lived did not place pressure or restrictions on them. But an equal proportion felt there were some pressures on their activities. In a 1963 study by the same Association, the majority of the teachers felt some constraints against taking sides on political issues and participating in political activities. They perceived these sanctions as being initiated more from within the educational system than from the community. Beeman writes that,

One cannot talk to teachers very long without getting the impression that they believe that their personal lives are restricted by the community. Many teachers feel that they cannot do many of the things other people in the community do without fear of reprimand or even the loss of their jobs. (1956:29)

Harmon Zeigler's study of the political behaviour of high school teachers in Oregon (1966), supports the view expressed above. His study aimed at learning who teachers believed would threaten them if they undertook controversial courses of action. In pursuing this, teachers were asked to evaluate whether or not a given group or individuals

would approve or disapprove of an action. Such action ranged from going on strike to speaking in class in favour of the United Nations. Zeigler came to the conclusion that teachers perceive sanctions as originating directly from within the educational system more than from the community. He states, however, that these perceptions might not be accurate because,

The fact that teachers are, in effect, buffered in their contact with the community by the administration might cause them to look upon the administration as a direct source of sanctions whereas in reality the administration might merely be transmitting sanctions which originated from within the community. (p. 140)

In comparing British teachers to American teachers, Hoyle states that

while there are no pressures upon British teachers to eschew membership in political parties--except those of the extreme right and left wing--they are expected to avoid introducing political opinions into their school work. This imposes some strain upon teachers for whom political convictions are part of a general set of attitudes towards institutions and events. (Hoyle, 1970: 28)

Hoyle also believes that the American teacher is much more susceptible to community controls than his British counterpart. He concludes that "the teacher in Britain has a relatively high degree of insulation from the local community. This serves to protect him from undue parental pressures." (p. 79)

A study by Baksh and Singh (1979), which describes Newfoundland elementary school teachers' perceptions of some of the realities they encounter as teachers living in Newfoundland communities arrived at

some interesting conclusions concerning teachers' involvement in the community. For example:

... teachers in small communities--regardless of the size of their school--are more inclined than those in large one to perceive themselves as being expected to show substantial amount of leadership. . . . among teachers in small communities, 31 percent in small and 34 percent in large schools regard themselves as being expected to show a high degree of leadership whereas only 13 percent of teachers in large communities report such a view. (Baksh and Singh, 1979:41)

To measure the extent to which teachers perceive community pressures on their activities, the writers posed this question:

What have you enjoyed least about living in the community in which you hold your present teaching position? (p. 55)

A majority of the teachers felt that people in the community did not respect their privacy. Among the comments the writers received from the teachers were:

"I have the feeling that my life is open to microscopic examination."

"You are always being checked on. You have to justify everything you do."

The writers conclude that teachers in both small and urban communities perceive some sort of restrictions on their activities.

There have been no systematic studies of teacher participation or attitudes in Canada; hence my heavy reliance on materials from the United States. The few works which exist describe teacher participation in their professional organizations. For instance, E.J. Ingran, reporting on a teacher participation in the Alberta Teachers Association (ATA) study writes that:

Members of the ATA were highly committed to the Association even though they did not always participate very actively in it . . . Member participation in the political or governmental activities of the Association was considerably lower than in the professional development or educational activities. (1966:21)

He observed that teachers who had held offices in both the local and provincial Associations participate more actively in the Association than the rank-and-file.

##### 5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Political participation is here defined as "those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take." (Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978:46). This definition involves both electoral and nonelectoral behaviour. It indicates a wide variety of ways in which individuals or citizens participate in politics. My study follows the conceptualization developed by Verba, Nie and Kim (1978); Verba and Nie (1972) and Welch (1975). These scholars considered political participation as a multidimensional activity: that is, active participants in one kind of activity may be inactive in another. They specified the distinctions among the activists in terms of four modes of political activity--voting, campaigning, communal activities and particularized or citizen-initiated contacting.

"Voting," according to Verba, Nie and Kim, "is the most frequent citizen activity. It exerts influence over leaders through generalized



pressure . . . And voting differs from other political acts in that it requires relatively little initiative." (p. 53) Voting is part of the electoral process and it is very important for the proper functioning of the democratic process. As Cambell et al. posit, "the holders of elective or appointive office in democratic government are guides in many of their actions by calculus of electoral effect." (Cambell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1967:4)

Campaign activity, like voting, occurs within the electoral process. Here, the citizen may perform many functions, such as working for a candidate, wearing campaign buttons or attending campaign events. The citizen "can increase his influence over the election outcome beyond the vote allocated to him and it can communicate more information about the participants preferences." (Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978:53)

The next form of participation, communal or cooperative activity, occurs when a citizen cooperates with others--either in informal groups or formal organizations to solve a community problem. This activity is normally outside the electoral process. It can be performed either by an individual or an individual working as a member of a group. The influence an individual wields in a particular community is important in determining how effective the person can mobilize community energies to achieve the goals being sought. The amount of pressure, therefore, depends on the influence of the participating individual or group.

The last mode of activity to be discussed here, is particularized contacting or, as Verba and Nie call it, "Citizen-initiated contacts."

In this mode of activity,

the individual participant takes the initiative in contacting a government official and, most important, he decides what to contact about. . . . Such activity requires quite a bit of initiative on the part of the contactor. (p. 52)

An individual may contact a government official or office about a personal or family problem or a community problem, but Verba and Nie restrict the dimension to the former.

Another mode, professional organization activity, will also be dealt with in this study. Member involvement in professional organizations often includes active engagement in the many affairs-- political, economic and professional--of the organization and the potential engagement in, or support of the organization, its activities and goals. In this study, professional organization activity is measured by the amount of time a member spends in taking part in the affairs and activities of the association. It will, also, be regarded as the extent to which members support the leadership, program and policies of the association. Individual participation in the organization will generally depend on the degree of participation regarding differences in personal characteristics. P.M. Blau and W.R. Scott in Formal Organizations (1962) have provided a detailed analysis of participation in professional organizations.

The five modes of activity are different in relation to the type of influence each exerts, the scope of its potential outcome and the extent of initiative required to take part. The conditions that

may lead to participation may differ from one mode of activity to another. According to Verba, Nie and Kim, "interest, motivation, resources and opportunities may lead to different kinds of activity, or perhaps some groups may be blocked from one mode or another." (1978:5-17). As an analytical tool for describing and explaining the pattern of teachers' political behaviour, these factors--opportunity, resources and motivation--will be used in this study.

Any individual who wants to participate in any political activity should not be restricted in any way. There should not be any barriers, either legal or institutional in the person's way to participate in politics. In Newfoundland, as in any part of Canada, there are virtually no legal or formal restrictions on citizen participation. Everyone has an equal legal opportunity to be an active participant. (Mishler, 1979:24-28) Nevertheless, there still exists informal or institutional constraints on effective participation. The institutional constraint can take the form of community pressures on individual behaviour, restrictions on one's activities at the place of work and the fear of being reprimanded for performing an action be it social or political. On the whole, opportunity to participate actively may depend on how seriously these restrictions are viewed by the individual.

The second category of explanatory variables to be dealt with in this analysis are political resources indicated by socio-economic status. The relationship between socio-economic status and political activity have been found to be very high in most studies (Verba, Nie

and Kim, 1978; Verba and Nie, 1972; Mishler, 1979). According to Mishler:

occupation and social status substantially determines the resources available for government activity. . . . Citizens with higher status occupations are more likely to be viewed as opinion leaders in the community, to feel they have a stake in the political system and to know and be known by the public officials and political decision-makers. (Mishler, 1978:88)

The above statement presupposes that those in the lower status tend to participate less in politics all things being equal.

I consider income, occupation and education to represent the socio-economic resources that an individual has available to him. "The primary advantage of wealth," Mishler points out "is found at the upper levels of the political spectrum. It facilitates communication with political parties and public officials and increases opportunities for full time political work." (Mishler, 1979:97) The wealthy can, therefore, participate more actively in the full panoply of political activities. They can manage to contribute money to political campaigns, and they are also given the "VIP" positions in their parties. The last component of this dimension, education, is described by Mishler as a prime requisite of democratic rule. He is among many scholars who hold the view that the more one rises on the educational ladder, the more likely it is for one to be an active participant. Thus, they believe that the levels of political involvement increase with education and that "political participation is predominantly the activity of the wealthier, better educated citizens with higher status occupations." (Verba and Nie, 1972:150)

Motivation, according to Mishler:

... is the most important explanation of participation in Canada ... this, either explains citizen participation as a function of individual attitudes and beliefs, or ... it attempts to measure motivations indirectly by focusing on citizens' social and economic backgrounds, and general life experience. (p. 66)

This presupposes that an individual might participate in politics independently of the opportunities available and the resources he possesses. He might decide to participate in politics because he wants to. In other words, if he does not want to participate, it does not make much difference how many opportunities are available or how large a store of resources he has. Another dimension of this factor is the belief that participation will make a difference. In this instance, the citizen knows, trusts and believes that he can influence the government in a particular direction. Motivation—one's personal interest in politics, a sense of civic obligation and a strong belief in the political system—is a very important factor for citizen participation.

Finally, it can be seen, that where opportunities are abundant, only moderately strong motives and a few simple resources may be necessary to trigger participation. People with a generous supply of political resources might temporarily be stopped by scarcity of opportunities, but in the long run they will create them. And the fanatic whose motives are exceptionally strong may find some way to get into the game even if he is relatively resourceless. (Barber, 1972 and Mishler, 1979)

This study regards high school teachers in Newfoundland as potentially possessing all the three attributes discussed above -- opportunities, resources and motivation. Verba and Nie call people with these attributes "complete activists." They operationalize this concept as "those from the upper status groups who are high in psychological involvement, skill and competence, involvement in conflict cleavage and in sense of civic contribution." (1972:84-93) To Verba and Nie's operationalization, one could add the following: The complete activists can be described as active members of political parties, interest groups and community or voluntary associations operating outside the general governmental process, yet exercising influence on the political system.

Teachers have been referred to here as potential complete activists, whom we might expect to participate relatively actively in all modes of political activities. However, social constraints, or informal restrictions might deter a teacher from participating more actively. These restrictions might kill motivation or restrict opportunities for participation in spite of their higher education. These might include restrictions related to sex, place of residence, age and the denominational affiliation of the school in which one teaches.

Following the conceptual framework described above, this study has been designed to provide measures from the following groups of variables:

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Dependent Variables</u>
1. Opportunities (context)	Political Participation
sex	1. Voting
age	2. Campaign Activity
community size	3. Communal Activity
denominational affiliation of school	4. Particularized Contacting
perceived constraints	5. Professional and organizational activity
2. Resources:	
education	
3. Motivation:	
Political Interest	
Perceived constraints from the community and educational or religious authorities	

#### 6. SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

This section provides a brief description of the methodology adopted in this study. A detailed account is given in Appendix A. The primary data for the study were collected by a province-wide mail survey administered in May, 1983. This will be referred to as "the 1983 Teacher Survey." Questionnaires were mailed to 442 high school teachers and 273 were returned. The mail survey was supplemented by informal exploratory interviews and observations across the province. I attended six Newfoundland Teachers' Association (NTA) meetings in St. John's, Grand Falls, Stephenville and Corner Brook. (See Appendix F) I joined teachers in picketing and demonstrations associated with the strike-lockout of 1983 in some of the places I visited. This enabled me to get an

immediate feedback and to obtain more information. This information was aimed at validating the more quantitative survey findings.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Chapter II will be addressed to the political role of school teachers in the history of Newfoundland. Special attention will be given to teachers' status and participation in the community. The third Chapter will provide an empirical analysis of the degree of teacher participation in political activities. Findings from the 1983 Teacher Survey will be compared to those from the 1979-1982 Newfoundland Election Study, the 1973 Attitudes towards Local Government in Newfoundland study, and to other studies in the U.S., Britain and other parts of Canada. The fourth Chapter will describe teachers participation in various organizations and in the NTA.

Finally, in Chapter V the study will describe the survey results on perceptions of restrictions. Teachers were asked whether any of the following--people in the community, members of the school board, clergymen or school principals--would object to their taking part in the following activities--taking part in political party organization and campaign, discussing controversial political issues in class and going on strike over contract issues. My analysis will attempt to show whether the perception of such restrictions by teachers affects their level of participation.



## CHAPTER II

### TEACHERS AND POLITICS IN NEWFOUNDLAND: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 1. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Historical accounts of involvement of teachers in Newfoundland politics are very scanty. The few publications that exist emphasise teachers' involvement in rural community affairs, saying little about their roles in the urban areas. The most extensive publication on teacher activities in Newfoundland prior to confederation in 1949 is Philip McCann's Blackboard and Briefcase. (1982) This book is a collection of interviews with retired teachers throughout the province. Only a few of these teachers described the roles they played in the various communities. An effort has been made to sift through the McCann accounts and select those which bear on this analysis. Due to the virtual non-existence of secondary materials on this topic, discussion in this chapter will be based mainly on interviews with retired teachers conducted in Corner Brook, Grand Falls, Bay Roberts, St. John's, Clarenville and Stephenville. In all, sixteen retired teachers were interviewed and some of their views will be presented to supplement the written accounts. (See Appendix F)

#### 2. THE TEACHER AND THE COMMUNITY: TRADITIONAL ROLES

The education system in Newfoundland by the 1930's and 1960's was jointly financed by the churches and the government. Both bodies during this period initiated programs and policies with the aim of modernizing

the education system, which was still widely based on the one or two-room all-grade school. Teachers played a major role in this modernizing effort. They were " . . . priceless in the days when the ignorance of the fisherman was described as 'barbarous'." (Hickman, 1941:4) The experience of Miss Bradley at Random Island and Mary Gosse at Bay D'Espoir (McCann: 1981), go to show the leading role some of the teachers played in rural Newfoundland communities in the face of great adversity.

In addition to their determination to ensure that education was well established on the island, the teachers also played a great role in the communities. The teacher was often a leader in the community, a surrogate clergyman, letter-writer and chief counsellor. He played this role especially in the rural areas where he was often one of the few educated persons. Martin (1980) points out that,

to put the teacher in the small rural community in perspective vis-a-vis other community members, it can be noted that the teacher is one of the groups of people in the community if not the only group, with full time employment . . . . They may be seen as a linkage to the outside, while maintaining a local identity. They have in the local vernacular, "been away," gained a high level of formal education, and as a result are given a degree of prestige. (Martin, 1980:9-10)

Martin writes further that,

in the local communities, the teacher is on contre-stage and can have a leading role in planning and developing the social, economic, political and cultural dimensions. (p. 12)

There is no gainsaying the fact that teachers played a very important role due to their education and due also to the fact that the community members held them in high esteem. Kirby, for example, writes that "I

was a master of the Lodge, lay-reader in church, superintendent of Sunday School and every other job involving leadership in the community." (Kirby, 1982:148). He continues that,

everything in this world was relative; the teacher was a white-collar worker and most of the people were fishermen. The teacher got a regular salary; fishermen depended on whether the fish came in or not, and the teacher was a bit better educated. You tipped your hat when you saw a teacher.

The teacher was revered by the people in the community and the community members saw him as an individual who should take the lead in getting things done. The teacher also perceived the community as expecting him to exercise a great deal of leadership and on most occasions he lived up to these ideals. A retired male teacher who was interviewed on this issue said the following:

I was involved in most of the organizations, which were few. Few other people showed any interest and the general public depended on teachers to carry out the community activities. The church was the centre of attention in many of the committees in the communities. I was usually expected to be a chairperson or the president of these groups. Also, I was expected to be a teacher in Sunday Schools and my presence or absence at such occasions was noted by members of the community. So, one assumed that the public expects that as a teacher, you will not only be a leader, but, that you will show by your attendance that you supported the traditional life of the community.

Another retired teacher was asked whether she was approached by members of the community for advice on questions of local or provincial importance.

I don't think I sensed very often that the people in the community came to me for advice. I sometimes sensed that they raised political issues for discussion and I have been asked such questions as: "What do you think?" But I did not get the impression that they were asking me to tell them how to vote. I got the impression that they

would like me to clarify as best as I could the issues they were talking about, whether it was welfare, roads or fishery.

What can be gleaned from the responses received from the interviews is that much was expected from the teachers in the communities. They were not only expected to be church-goers, but were seen, also, as influential members in the communities who should take the lead in forming community organizations and assisting in their proper functioning. Sometimes they even acted as doctors, giving penicillin shots, taking temperatures, dressing wounds and giving advice on health care. (Gosse, 1982:298) Apart from this they also perform priestly functions, baptizing babies and taking charge of funeral ceremonies. Referring to her days as a teacher in Elliotts Cove, Mary Gosse writes, "I didn't have a clue but since I was the teacher, it was my responsibility." (p. 298)

As could be expected, the Newfoundland teacher was no "sociological stranger." In other words, he interacted freely with the people in the communities he was living. He took part in most community activities and was many a time accepted as a son or daughter of the land, even though he hailed from outside the community in which he was teaching. In this role he differed from the British teacher who regarded himself as middle-class and so refrained from mingling with the ordinary people in the community. (Hoyle, 1969)

As this juncture, it is fair to suggest, that not only did teachers help in laying a sound foundation for the school system in

Newfoundland (a clear manifestation being the drop in the illiteracy rate from 47.6 percent in 1891 to 16.3 percent in 1920) but, they also, helped in developing the communities, taking the lead in most community activities.

### 3. THE 1950's AND 1960's

There was a dramatic change in teachers' status and roles in Newfoundland after the colony entered confederation with Canada in 1949. In 1949, the Newfoundland House of Assembly was formally revived. Of the 24 representatives elected, three were teachers by profession. Among them was Dr. A. Frecker, District of Placentia East, who was Minister of Education from 1959 to 1964. Another educator who came into the limelight during the 1950's and 1960's was Dr. (now Senator) Fred Rowe. In 1949, he was appointed the Deputy Minister of Public Welfare and between 1952 and 1971 held seven different portfolios in the Liberal government. Ralph Andrews, another teacher was Deputy Minister of Public Welfare in 1952. (Andrews, 1982:57)

By 1956, the number of schools and teachers had increased to about 1,200 and 3,730 respectively. Confederation also changed the vicissitudes of the teaching profession and enhanced the teacher's position in the province. Teachers, earning a salary range of between \$2,400 and \$7,000 per annum between 1952 and 1955, were among the highest income earners in the province; urban or rural. This can be appreciated better when we compare a Deputy Minister's salary to the teacher's. In the same period (1952 - 1955), a Deputy Minister and an Assistant Deputy Minister were

receiving between \$4,000 - \$5,000 and \$3,200 - \$3,800 respectively (Newfoundland Government: Estimates, 1950-59). The teachers, thus, continued to be one of the groups in the communities with the highest education and income, thereby commanding much influence among the people. Their activities still encompassed the day to day traditional affairs. They continued to hold the position as,

source persons for those needing information on government or about other agencies outside of the community. Letter-writing for local people, preparing government forms, and even making wills was an accepted part of being a teacher. (Martin, 1980:9)

Other areas where the teachers' influence was felt after 1949 were their activities in the electoral process and the social activities fostered by the new provincial government. When regular elections resumed after 1949, teachers in many towns and villages were appointed as enumerators who prepared lists of electors in the various polling divisions. During federal and provincial elections, teachers were employed as returning officers, election clerks, deputy returning officers and poll clerks. Another manifestation of their importance in the various communities was the role they played during ceremonial occasions. They were responsible for arranging visits of government officials and presenting problems to the appropriate government departments for redress.

When the Smallwood government decided to embark on a program to develop the rural districts in Newfoundland, teachers formed an integral part of the programme. The government's plan included the training of local leaders who were to man the new openings in the provincial sectors. Teachers' services were utilized in establishing 4-H Clubs across the province to help achieve the government's aims. (Interim Report, Task

Force on Education, 1956). The government recognized that the success of its rural and urban program rested in a large measure on the understanding and active co-operation of teachers and community leaders. (Department of Education, 1956:163)

By 1969, teachers still commanded a lot of influence, respect and power in Newfoundland communities. It is interesting to note that despite their leading role in the communities, only a few ventured into partisan politics. Instead, their activities were mostly confined to the community level. In 1966, for example, only two persons elected to the Provincial Assembly were teachers by profession, and only two educators were among the candidates. (Report, Provincial General Election, 1966) To understand this phenomenon properly, some ex-teachers were asked to recount some of their experiences with partisan politics.

Most of the ex-teachers interviewed said they did not have any interest in taking active part in partisan politics. The reason often given was that they did not want anything to interfere with their classroom activities. Many also felt that their activities outside the school environment were censored by the people in the community. One teacher was asked whether he experienced any pressures or restrictions from the people in the community regarding his activities outside the school, he replied that,

I don't think my participation in groups or organizations outside the school ever received any criticisms from the people in the community. Rather, my involvement in the organizations enabled me to know many parents much better.

It is clear from the above statement that the teacher felt no constraint, on his activities outside the school. Instead he saw his activities as complementing his classroom work. Another ex-teacher, however, saw things differently. He stated thus,

I felt that it was sometimes inadvisable for me, a teacher to be very vocal about my political inclinations, simply because I was expected to be a teacher to a broad spectrum, probably to children who came from homes which included a broad spectrum of political affiliations. If I were to be identified in that classroom as belonging to "Party A," then I might not get along as well with students who came from homes where the parents were affiliated to "Party B." I felt I needed to be seen, at least, as a fairly neutral person in the community.

Such opinions like the one above were echoed by most of the teachers who were interviewed. This, according to them, explained why many refrained from participating actively in partisan politics. This is not surprising, for if one were to indicate different party preferences to his co-villagers there is a high probability that one's credibility would come under suspicion. In some cases too, the teachers felt their activities were censored by the various School Boards. According to a teacher who preferred to remain anonymous, the School Boards expected them to stay away from partisan politics and concentrate on the teaching profession. The members of the School Boards, according to this teacher, felt it was professionally unhealthy for any teacher to be politically active. Thus, a teacher either stayed in the profession and ignored partisan politics or quit the profession. A case in point was when one female teacher, Mrs. Grace Sparkes was dismissed from the teaching field when she decided to stand for the 1951 Newfoundland



Provincial elections. Below is an excerpt from an article she wrote in the St. John's Evening Telegram about the event:

As a teacher in 1951, I felt that there were larger issues at stake than remaining quiet and allowing one district to go without a vote. So, I, expecting that I would be fired and still knowing that I had to stand for what I believed to be right, offered myself as a candidate for the Conservative Party. I had asked a month before that the chairman of the School Board in which I was teaching to take my case before the Board and get a ruling on it. He ignored my written request and did nothing. The night before I was announced as a candidate, I took a letter to his home. I stated in that letter my position, my expectations and suggested that if my stand embarrassed the Board in any way they could accept my resignation. They accepted my resignation. They accepted my resignation with pleasure. (Sparkes, 1971:7)

When Mrs. Sparkes was contacted in March, 1983, she told the interviewer that her own experience should be taken as an example of what happened to teachers during the 1950's and the 1960's. According to her, most teachers feared reprisals from the School Boards, hence, never ventured into partisan politics. She explained further that the situation was even worse for female teachers. It was unheard of to hear of a female teacher taking part in active political organizations. These reasons offered by the teachers shed some light into their activities outside the "safe" environment (some teachers said the pressures they received from the community members on their classroom activities were equally severe) of their classroom.

I have attempted in this chapter to give a brief account of the teachers' role in Newfoundland communities in decades prior to the present one. As one of the groups with the highest education and income in the

communities, they wielded much influence and power and they played a major role in the development of the communities in which they were domiciled. But their involvement in partisan politics and affairs beyond the community was often seen to be constrained by community and School Board attitudes. The next chapter provides an empirical data on contemporary high school teachers' participation in the political process in Newfoundland.

## CHAPTER III

### DIMENSIONS, LEVELS AND VARIATIONS IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents data on the participation of high school teachers in the political process in Newfoundland. Attention will be focused on:

1. Levels of political participation among Newfoundland high school teachers, compared with those of the general public in Newfoundland.
2. Variations in participation among teachers by sex, age, community size, denomination of school and subject of speciality.

The teacher performs various activities in the school and the community he lives in. These activities can be divided into three general categories, relative to the teacher's professional role:

1. Primary: Involvement in school functions as a teacher,
2. Peripheral: Extracurricular activities connected with the school but not directly a part of its major functions.
3. Secondary: These include a wide range of community activities.
  - a) Participation in community clubs or organizations, such as Boy Scouts, YMCA and church groups.
  - b) Participation in various modes of political activities:
    1. Voting in elections.
    2. Campaigning for political parties and candidates.
    3. Forming or joining civic or voluntary groups to solve community problems.

It is secondary activities, and precisely, those mentioned in sub-section 3b which will be dealt with in this chapter.

Among the issues in teacher political participation are those pertaining to the question of whether the teacher should be an active and full participant in community life. The teacher may be expected to take active part in politics by virtue of his education, training and knowledge. The Newfoundland Teachers' Association (NTA), and the World Confederation of Organization of the Teaching Profession (W.C.O.T.P.) have come out variously to encourage teachers to . . .

- a) seek every possible avenue of making representations to all political parties and groups,
- b) consider supporting, at all levels of the political system, candidates willing to further the advancement of education in keeping with the policies of teachers' organizations, and
- c) work for the development of appropriate structures to enable them to participate in decision-making and consequent implementation at all levels of society. (W.C.O.T.P., 1975; NTA, 1983; Appendix)

This chapter presents empirical data bearing upon the issues raised in the above discussion and tries to illuminate the question with actual reported participation among high school teachers in Newfoundland.

Among the kinds of evidence that a teacher might present to show that he is politically involved or active are the following:

1. General interest in politics and public affairs.
2. Involvement in political communication, through mass media and discussion.
3. Overt political activity:

- a) Voting in elections.
- b) Participating in campaign activities.
- c) Being an active member in the community.
- d) Contacting public officials about problems.

In portraying overall levels of involvement on each of these dimensions, I will place teacher patterns in perspective by comparing them with those for the general public in Newfoundland. The comparison data comes from two province-wide surveys which included identical questions to those asked in the teacher survey. The first of these is the Newfoundland Elections Study, 1979 - 1982 (NES), conducted by the Memorial University of Newfoundland Department of Political Science. This study included three waves of questionnaires mailed to a random sample of registered voters throughout the province in July 1979 (completed N=1, 586), March 1980 (N=1, 620) and May 1982 (N=662). Although the return rates for these questionnaires were as low as 25 percent in the first two waves, all these waves closely match population voting and census parameters. "On the whole, the surveys can be considered to represent accurately the views of all voters in the Province." (Graesser, 1980; Graesser, 1982)

The second source of comparison data is a survey entitled Attitudes toward Local Government in Newfoundland (ALGN), conducted in 1973 for the Royal Commission on Municipal Government in Newfoundland and Labrador. The survey was conducted by the Survey Research Centre of the Institute of Behavioural Research, York University, under the direction of Professor Mark Graesser, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Registered voters in the Island of Newfoundland excluding St. John's and

Corner Brook were represented by a complex probability sample of 1,320 completed interviews (weighed to 1,386 in analysis). Although the ALGN study is ten years old and excludes major portions of the population, it has the most complete set of data on civic participation collected in Newfoundland to date. The 1973 study may understate more recent levels of participation, but there is no reason to expect differences to be great. No major differences appear for similar variables also measured in the 1979-82 surveys. (Graesser, 1974; Royal Commission on Municipal Government, 1974, Chapter 4)

All data from comparison surveys were obtained from codebooks or compiled from the original datasets in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Political Science Data Library by the present author specifically for this study. In all tables, the sources of data will be referred to by study and question or variable number. "NTS" refers to the author's 1983 Newfoundland Teachers' Study.

## 2. LEVELS OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

### 2.1 General Political Interest

People who have a high interest in politics are more likely to be active participants. According to Clarke *et al.*, "those with high interest in politics are more likely to pay attention to stories, programs, and advertisements about election campaigns." (Clarke *et al.*, 1980:193) They stress that political interest is very important in affecting "levels of attention to and conceptualization of politics." Their evidence shows that

... those respondents with much interest are more likely to be oriented toward issues, to pay attention to the electoral campaign, to collect information from several media sources, and to have been the recipients of visits and literature. (p. 200)

We should expect most of the high school teachers to report a great deal of interest in politics. Results presented in Table 3.1 seem to bear this out, inasmuch as 51 percent of the high school teachers expressed "a good deal of interest" in politics and only 11.5 percent "not much interest." Compared with the general public, the teachers seem to have a higher interest in politics. In the 1980 study 32.6 percent of the general electorate and 42 percent of those with university education said they have "a good deal of interest" in politics. This finding is very important to this study, because with the comparatively

Table 3.1: Interest in politics among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

	High school Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld. Public those with Univ. Education*
Good deal of interest in politics	51.1%	32.6%	42.0%
Some interest	37.7	53.3	49.0
Not much interest	11.5	14.1	8.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(270)	(837)	(174)
*Attended or graduated from university			

Sources: NTS (Q. 1); NES, 1980 (V1)

high level of interest reported by the high school teachers, one would expect them to participate at a higher rate as well.

When asked to indicate what level of public affairs interested them most, the great majority of the teachers said they were interested in all levels of national and provincial public affairs rather than any one level. (Table 3.1) Only 6.4 percent declared they had no interest in any level of public affairs, and 2.2 percent said they were primarily interested in "local and community" public affairs.

This pattern contrasts sharply with that of the general public, among whom nearly 40 percent were primarily concerned with local affairs.

Table 3.2: Focus of political interest among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

	High School Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld. Public with Univ. Education*
Level of interest			
National affairs	10.3%	5.0%	9.8%
Provincial affairs	5.9	16.2	18.0
Local and Community affairs	2.2	39.6	13.4
National and Prov. affairs	36.6	3.2	6.5
Provincial and Local affairs	8.1	7.6	12.2
All equally	36.6	26.8	40.1
None interest me at all	6.4	1.5	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(273)	(1238)	(84)

\*Attended or graduated from university

Sources: NTS (Q.2); ALGN:73 (Q.20)



Among their university educated counterparts, the interest profile more closely resembles that of teachers, but they are still more biased toward local (13 percent) or local and provincial affairs (12 percent) than teachers (10 percent for those two categories combined). One can say that the teachers are generally more "outward looking," being interested in "national and Provincial" affairs, and the general public, including those with university education are, on the other hand, more "parochial," in that they are interested in "local and community" public affairs.

## 2.2 News media Attention and Political Discussion

Political information may contribute towards (or arise from) one's decision to participate in politics. Political information, according to Mishler,

increases motivation by heightening the individual's sensitivity to political messages in the environment, enabling him to understand a wider range of messages of greater subtlety and complexity. Information increases opportunity, as well. Citizens who understand the political process and how it operates are more likely to know where and how to take part in the political process. Finally, information enhances the quality of participation. It increases the likelihood that choices will be made rationally and is a fundamental pre-requisite of democratic citizenship. (Mishler, 1979:69)

Attention to news on the television, radio and newspapers is the primary means of obtaining such information. As high school teachers are among the opinion leaders, their knowledge in public affairs is important to their role. They are often placed in situations where they have to explain the public events and policies to both students and others in their community.

In the light of the above, two items were included in the survey to measure, firstly, whether teachers followed news of affairs outside their communities on the radio or television, and secondly, the extent to which they discuss politics outside their homes. Results are presented in Tables 3.3 and 3.4.

Table 3.3: Frequency of news media attention among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

	High school Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld: Public, those with Univ. Education*
How often do you follow news of affairs on the radio or television outside your community . . .			
Follow news every day	88.2%	68.5%	86.9%
Time to time	10.7	21.6	8.9
Almost never	0.7	7.0	4.1
Never	0.4	2.8	0.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(271)	(1378)	(85)
*Attended or graduated from university			

Sources: NTS (Q.4); ALGN:73 (Q.55)

Table 3.3 shows that in response to the question on the extent to how they followed news of affairs on the radio or television, 88.2 percent of the teachers indicated they followed news on the media "every day," and only 12.8 percent "time to time," or less often. The former figure is about 20 percent higher than that reported for the general public in

1973, but similar to the university educated group. Members of the general public with university education, like the teachers, are more likely to follow news daily. There is, therefore, further reason to expect teachers to participate more in politics than the general public in Newfoundland, as there is a high relationship between political information and participation.

Table 3.4: Frequency of political discussion among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

	High School Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld. Public with Univ. Education*
How often do you spend time discussing Politics with others outside your home?			
Frequently	28.8%	26.1%	37.4%
Sometimes	57.7	51.4	54.4
Almost never	13.3	10.2	7.5
Never	0.4	12.2	0.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(271)	(1498)	(294)
*Attended or graduated from university			

Sources: NTS (Q.3); NES:79 (Q. V10)

In Table 3.4, teachers seem to discuss politics more frequently than the general public, but less than members of the general public with university education. About 29 percent of teachers report "frequently" discussing politics outside their homes, compared with 26

percent and 37 percent of the two comparison groups.

### 2.3 OVERT POLITICAL ACTIVITY

In this section, discussion will concentrate on teachers' participation in various modes of political activity:

1. Voting
2. Campaigning
3. Contacting officials about problems
4. Community activities

Using composite indices of each mode, teachers' levels of activity will be compared with those of the general public in Newfoundland, and with those reported in other high school teacher studies in the United States. These modes of political activity have been well treated conceptually and empirically by Verba and Nie (1972) and Verba, Nie and Kim (1978). This study will follow the methods used by those writers in examining high school teachers' participation in Newfoundland.

#### 2.3.1 Voting

Voting is an activity which is regularly performed by most citizens. Little initiative is required to vote and it is an "easy" mode of activity when compared with other activities like campaigning and citizen-initiated contacts. As Mishler says, "Voting has preoccupied social scientists because it is the most visible and most easily measured form of participation." (Mishler, 1979:39) Clarke et al. point out that most Canadians score high on voting scales. In Political Choice in Canada, they show that 60 percent Canadians "often" vote in federal elections and 53 percent in provincial elections. (Clarke et al., 1980: 66).

Table 3.5 shows the voting pattern reported by high school teachers in the survey. 78 percent said they voted in all of the four most recent elections -- 1983 provincial, 1980 federal, 1979 provincial and 1979 federal. Only 5.5 percent did not vote in any of the elections. The 78 percent who reported voting in all four elections is consistent with results in a United States teacher study conducted by the United States National Education Association. (National Education Association, 1967) In that study, 80 percent of the respondents said they "always" vote in national and state elections.

Table 3.5: Voting frequency among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

Number of times voted 1979-82*	High school Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld. Public with Univ. Education**
Did not vote	5.5%	2.7%	0%
Voted one time	7.3	4.3	3.2
Voted two times	5.1	6.7	7.4
Voted three times	4.0	17.8	15.8
Voted four times	78.0	68.5	73.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(273)	(445)	(142)

\* 1979 and 1982 provincial; 1979 and 1980 federal elections.

\*\* Attended or graduated from university

Sources: NTS (Q.5); NES, 1979-1982 (Q. V47, V214, V218, V311)

When the teachers' voting frequency is compared to that of the general public, we find little overall difference. In the 1982 Newfoundland

Election Study, 68.5 percent-overall reported voting in all of the above elections, as did 73.7 percent of the university educated stratum. While the teachers report universal voting at higher rates, they fall behind the general public in the proportion voting 3 or 4 times: 82 percent for teachers versus 86 and 90 percent of the other groups. Teachers include a larger minority who rarely or never vote.

The results reported here should, however, be analysed with care as survey estimates of voter turnout tend to be inflated, as self-reported frequencies reflect rates of participation which are higher than official turnout statistics. This should therefore be a guide-line as the table above is reviewed. Notwithstanding this observation, it appears most high school teachers in this study have confidence in the electoral system, as manifested in their voting habits, and this attitude may provide a model for the students they teach.

### 2.3.2 Campaign and Partisan Activity

As was pointed out in the last section, campaign activity requires more initiative on the part of citizens than voting. Political candidates often depend on hard working campaign activists in elections. This is a more difficult activity because the citizen has to know the issues at stake and be able to communicate these to the electorate. A campaign worker may even involve developing the policy positions and strategy of a candidate or party group.

Two items in the survey were intended to measure the extent to which teachers participate in campaign and party related activities in

Newfoundland. These are reported in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Campaign activity and party membership among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

	High school Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld. Public with Univ. Education*
Ever attended campaign rally or meeting	42.2%	38.2%	37.2%
(N)	(114)	(637)	(121)
Ever worked for a candidate in an election	38.0	17.3	21.4
(N)	(104)	(637)	(121)
"Very" or "fairly active" member of political party organization	10.0	n.a.	n.a.
(N)	(20)		
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*Attended or graduated from university

Sources: NTS (Q. 8, 9, 13f); NES, 1979-1980 (Q. V11, V13, V40, V41)

The items provided in the survey asked teachers to indicate whether they had "worked for a political candidate" in an election campaign, attended any "political rally or meeting," and the extent to which they considered themselves members of a political party. 42 percent of the teachers indicated they had attended a campaign rally or meeting. In this "spectator" activity, there was no significant difference between their participation rate and that of the general public as can be seen in Table 3.6. 38 percent of the high school teachers said they had

worked for a candidate in an election campaign, approximately double the 17 and 21 percent of the general public and those with university education respectively. One-tenth of all teachers reported "active" membership in a party organization. An identical question was not included in the other surveys, but in the 1973 ALGN study less than 1 percent of the public mentioned political groups among clubs or associations to which they belonged. (ALGN, p. 18)

### 2.3.3 Community Activities

Here, I am concerned with the extent to which teachers participate in "civic" community activities. Indicators included in the study to measure this form of activity were whether they had been members of their municipal council, and a question asking teachers subjectively to indicate their activity rate in the community. (See Table 3.7) 15.5 percent of the teachers surveyed said they had at one time or another been members of municipal councils. In 1973 3.3 percent of the general public reported they were presently members of municipal councils and 10.0 percent of those with university education also said they were members of "municipal councils." Although the difference in question wording may exaggerate the differences, the high school teachers are more involved in community activities if it is defined in terms of membership in municipal councils. They may also be somewhat more likely to be members of municipal councils than members of the general public with university education.

To the other question, 17.3 percent of teachers considered themselves as "leaders" in their communities and 44.7 percent reported they



were "active members" in the community. A leader here means a person "who takes the lead in getting things done in the community." In the

Table 3.7: Community civic activity among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

	High school Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld. Public with Univ. Education*
Membership in municipal councils	15.5% (ever)	3.3% (presently)	10.0%
People have different ideas of just how they fit into affairs of their community. Which of these four ways describes yourself?			
A person who takes a lead in getting things done in community affairs	17.3%	11.2%	8.2%
A person who is active in community affairs, but not one of the leaders	44.7	30.2	35.8
A person who is part of the community but keeps much out of community affairs	31.2	50.7	46.9
A person who is not really part of the community at all	6.8	7.9	9.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(266)	(1327)	(85)

\*Attended or graduated from university

Source: NTS (Q. 10, 11); ALGN:73 (Q. 15, 17)

general public responses, 11.2 percent considered themselves as leaders in the community and 30.2 percent said they were just active members. When education was controlled for, 8.2 percent of those with university education said they were leaders in the community and 35.8 percent considered themselves as active members in the community.

One can conclude from these data that the teachers participate in community activities at rates higher than the general public. It is very important to understand this in terms of teachers' potential place in the power structure of the community. Teachers being a group with relatively high education may tend to take the lead in decision-making in their community. We cannot determine from this survey which kinds of policies or community decisions teachers feel they are more influential in. All we can say at this juncture is that they are more likely to participate in community affairs than the general public.

#### 2.3.4 Particularized Contacting

The final mode of activity to be considered in this section is particularized contacting or citizen-initiated contacts. This usually involves the citizen contacting government officials or offices about personal or group problems. The "structure of citizen-initiated contacts," says Verba and Nie, "may represent an important means of achieving instrumental goals from the government, goals that are close to the most salient problems felt by the individual." (Verba and Nie, 1972:112).

Unlike voting, citizen-initiated contacting is not a common phenomenon because access to public officials or offices is often obstructed by distance and bureaucratic obstacles. Due to these difficulties, this form of activity requires special effort and initiative on the part of the individual. But it is an important and essential function if individuals are to have their peculiar problems addressed by the government. Verba and Nie again point out that,

because governmental policies are always quite general, their application to a specific individual in a specific situation involves particular adjustments or decisions made by low-level government officials. In so far as this is the case, the ability of the citizen to make himself heard on such a matter -- by contacting the officials -- represents an important aspect of citizen control. (P. 113)

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had ever contacted any public official or office about a problem.

Over half of the respondents said they have contacted an official about a problem and the majority of these said they contacted a member of the House of Assembly. This finding is consistent with what we have already reported about the traditional role of teachers in Newfoundland. They take initiative in their communities in presenting the views of the community to the public officials for action. Again, when a comparison is made between the teachers and the general public, we find a large difference between the two patterns. Only 20.6 percent of the respondents in the 1974 Study said they had ever contacted any public official. When the teachers' responses are compared with those with university education, the teachers still tend to participate more than the general public. Only

Table 3.8: Contacting public officials among teachers compared with the general public in Newfoundland.

Activity	High school Teachers	Nfld. Public	Nfld. Public with Univ. Education*
Have you contacted any M.H.A., M.P., or some other official or office about some problem?			
Yes	54.2%	20.6%	29.9%
No	45.6	79.4	70.1
(N)	(272)	(1238)	(85)
Whom did you contact? (Most recently)			
M.P.	14.2	28.0	28.3
M.H.A.	45.3	46.9	53.4
M.P. and M.H.A.	11.5	--	--
Provincial official contacted locally	3.4	5.3	--
Provincial official contacted in St. John's	5.4	7.1	9.3
Other (eg. Provincial and Federal officials)	20.2	13.7	8.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(148)	(285)	(18)

\*Attended or graduated from university

Sources: NTS (12); ALGN:73 (Q. 16, 16a)

29.2 percent of those with university education said they had contacted a public official about a problem.

#### 2.4 Levels of Involvement: SUMMARY AND GENERAL IMPLICATIONS

The data provided in this chapter provide evidence that high school teachers in Newfoundland have higher than average interest in politics. They tend to be more concerned with "provincial and national" public affairs whereas the general public are more interested in "local and community" public affairs. It has been revealed that they follow news of affairs on the media more than do the general public, but no more than the general public with university education.

Evidence provided also shows that high school teachers in Newfoundland are regular voters in provincial and federal elections. Most of them reported voting in the 1979 Provincial, 1979 Federal, 1980 Federal and 1982 Provincial elections, although 13 percent had voted no more than once. This finding is consistent with other teacher studies in the United States (1963, 1966 and 1972), which reveal that teacher participation in voting activities is generally very high. In this mode of participation there is little difference between the rate teachers vote in elections and that of the general public in Newfoundland.

Compared with the general public, teachers are more likely to work for candidates in election campaigns. Their level of participation in this activity is significantly higher than that of the general public in Newfoundland. However, there is no significant difference between teachers and the general public in the rate they attend campaign meetings and rallies. In contacting activity, teachers, again, participate more than the general public. A majority of them indicated they contacted a Member of

Parliament or Member of the House of Assembly about a problem. They are also more likely than the general public to regard themselves as leaders or activists in the community.

Concluding, we find that teachers report high participation in voting, campaigning, contacting, and community activities, and compared with the general public teachers report higher participation in campaigning, contacting and community activities.

We not turn to variations within the teacher stratum. We shall consider the effects sex, age, community size, denomination of school and the subject speciality have on teacher participation.

### 3. VARIATIONS IN PARTICIPATION

In this section, each of the four modes of activity -- voting, campaigning, contacting and community activities has been measured with a composite index combining the items reported above. (Refer to Appendix E for detailed explanation of index construction). I will analyse the differences in teacher participation using the four indices of participation. Differences in the proportions who scored "high" on each mode of participation will be reported.

#### 3.1 Participation and Sex

Most studies have shown that men are more likely to participate in politics than women. Verba, Nie and Kim (1978), found that men participate more than women in all modes of political activity in the seven countries they surveyed. They write that the gap between men and women

increases when one moves from relatively easy political acts of voting to the more difficult acts like campaigning, communal activities and citizen-initiated contacting. Another major finding of their study was that:

Even if men and women had similar levels of education and both groups converted education into activity at the same rate . . . a participation gap would remain: at every level of education, there is a substantial gap in every nation. (Verba et al., 1978:244)

According to them:

Education does reduce the gap between sexes in relation to voting [but] when it comes to overall activity, education does not reduce the gap. Except in the United States, upper-educated women do not "catch up" to upper-educated men. (245)

The writers again offer a plausible reason for this difference between the political activities of men and women. According to them, women participate less in politics either because of "apathy" or "inhibition." (237) They suggest that ". . . women do not care about political matters and, therefore, abstain from politics. They concede to men the right to dominate political life. Another explanation is that women are inhibited from taking part in political life." (254) (This latter issue will be taken up in a subsequent chapter when teachers' perception of sanctions is discussed in greater detail.)

In spite of the very convincing findings by Verba et al., there exist studies which show that sex is not an influential or crucial determinant of levels of participation among teachers. Because teachers, both males and females, are of similar level of educational resources, the pattern revealed by Verba et al. should be expected to recur. Instead

the American teacher studies have shown consistently that there are no substantial differences in participation between male and female teachers. Notable among such teacher studies is Carson et al.:

... the difference between the sexes are not great. It does not appear, therefore, that the sex of the teacher is the crucial factor in participation patterns and aspirations. Rather, the situation is probably one in which involvement and expectations are profoundly affected by the fact that teachers of both sexes have attitudes and behavioural habits that are usually characteristic of women. (Carson et al., 1976:55)

The main argument offered by the teacher studies which found no difference between men and women teachers and participation is that teaching is traditionally, a feminine job and so the "assimilation of the teacher to the female character ideal, produces attitudes and behaviour among men that are not markedly different from those of women."

(p.1) So, the male teacher, in other words, adopts all the feminine characteristics associated with the teaching profession and this influence how he approaches social and political issues. The data Carson et al. presented in their study tend to substantiate such a contention. They found that there was no "significant" difference between male and female teacher participation in community affairs. For instance, 17.2 percent males and 15.3 percent females indicated maximum participation in city budget elections, and 20.2 percent males and 20.7 percent females favored maximum participation in zoning ordinances. (p. 27) They conclude that:

The literature on social participation leads us to expect males to be much more in favor of full participation than are females. The figures in Table 14 reported participation levels do not substantiate such a conclusion. (p. 27)



Two models have been considered in this section and these are going to act as a guideline in analysing the Newfoundland high school teacher survey on the relationship between male and female teachers and political participation. These models are:

1. That men are more likely to participate in politics than women even if they were of similar educational standards; and that women feel either apathetic or inhibited hence, their low participation rate in politics

or

2. That on the contrary, there is no substantial difference between the rate of political participation among men and women.

Table 3.9: The extent of political participation by sex among teachers and the university educated public in Newfoundland.

Percent scoring "high"

	High school Teachers		General Public with Univ. Education*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Voting	82	62	79	79
Campaigning	28	19	18	12
Contacting	59	38	43	6
Community activity	9	6	13	0
Overall Participation	30	11	(not compiled)	
(N - Minimum)	(215)	(55)	NES (108)	(12)
			ALGN (54)	(31)

\*The percentages for the general public with university education were taken from -- Voting and campaigning: NES:79-80, and contacting and community activities. ALGN:73 (Q 15, 16, 17)

In the above table, male teachers are higher on all four modes of political activity. In voting activity, 82 percent of male teachers reported active

participation compared with 62 percent of female teachers. Male teachers, again, reported active participation in campaigning -- 28 percent, contacting -- 59 percent and community activities -- 9 percent. The percentage scores for females in the same activities were 19, 38 and 6 percent, respectively. When we compare the findings in the teacher study with that of the general public in Newfoundland with university education, as has been shown in Table 3.8, we find that similar trends appear in campaigning, contacting and community activities. Like the teacher study, males reported higher participation in all three activities than females.

This relationship confirms the Verba et al. model which proposes that males report higher participation than females even if both had comparable educational resources. This finding, of course, is inconsistent with those of Carson and others. Male high school teachers in Newfoundland participate more in politics than their female counterparts. Whether the low female participation can be attributed to apathy, or to inhibition due to restrictions on their political activities, is a matter which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

### 3.2 Participation and Age

In this section, I am going to consider the way participation is affected by the stage of life of the high school teacher. According to Verba and Nie,

in the early years after a citizen reaches voting age, participation rates are generally low. Then they rise during middle ages and decline in later years. (Verba and Nie, 1972:138)

They call this process "the gradual learning model of political activity."

In a five-nation study (1974) by the same authors, the youngest and the oldest age strata were found to be less active in politics, even when they corrected for differences in educational levels. In their 1972 study, a somewhat similar method was used in finding the relationship between participation and age. Participation scores at various age levels were corrected for two status variables -- income and education. They found that there was a downturn in both overall and voting participation rates among the older group even when education and income were adjusted. (Verba and Nie, 1972:144) The fall in voting participation was, however, not as sharp as that of overall participation.

It should be pointed out that apart from voting, and overall participation neither of the studies cited above distinguished modes of political activity in relation to age. Using a 1974 Canadian survey, Mishler (1979), revealed an interesting relationship between the modes of political activity and age. He showed that younger citizens are among the most active voting and campaign participants, but that middle-aged citizens tended to communicate more with public officials and participate more in community activities. (Mishler, 1979:102-103)

We might initially expect that among Newfoundland high school teachers, participation follows similar trends reported in the studies above: low among the younger generation, reaching its peak period when the citizen is in mid-life and declining when citizens are over sixty. It should be noted that in the present study only five teachers are in

the last group (1.9 percent). This tiny group is therefore included in the 41-72 age stratum, most of whom are in the middle age bracket. In Table 3.10, we see that teacher participation in all modes of activity generally increases with age. Teachers in the 20-25 age stratum reported the lowest voting activity -- 55 percent, and those in the 31-35 and 41-72 reported the highest participation rate. A stronger relationship between participation and age appeared in the other three modes of activities. In campaign activity, teacher participation was highest among those who are 31 years and over. The 12 percent reported by teachers in the 26-30 group is the lowest. Teachers in this group (26-30) again reported the lowest participation rate in particularized contacting activity. Participation was again highest among those in the middle-aged group. In community activities, participation increases with an increase in age. There was no score for those in the 20-25 age group and 2 percent of those in the 26-30 group reported very active participation in community activities.

When one considers overall political participation, high school teachers in the 20-25 and 26-30 strata reported the lowest participation. Those in the 31-35 age group reported 29 percent participation, 36-40 37 percent participation, and middle-aged 42 percent participation.

Two observations can be made here. Firstly, the lower participation rate reported by younger teachers in Newfoundland is consistent with the Verba and Nie study. Like their findings, teacher participation increases with age and reaches its apogee in the mostly middle-aged group. That

Table 3.10: The extent of political participation by age among teachers in Newfoundland.

Percent scoring "high"

	20 - 25	26 - 30	31 - 35	36 - 40	41 - 72	Gamma
Voting	55%	77%	86%	79%	84%	.17
Campaigning	18	12	24	39	40	.22
Contacting	55	42	47	62	72	.28
Community Activity	0	2	13	12	14	.34
Overall Participation	9	9	29	37	42	.30
(N)	(22)	(65)	(55)	(77)	(43)	

is, participation is highest among the middle-aged teachers and there is no downturn as predicted from Verba and Nie. This is probably because we lack an old-age bracket to show such a downturn in participation rate as shown by Verba and Nie. Secondly, these results may arise from several causes. Perhaps the relationship that appears is due to the fact that some teachers have fewer inhibitions than others. The low participation reported by the younger teachers might be attributed to the insecurities these teachers face in their work places. They are more often new to the job and the community, and so tend to be cautious in their actions. As the teacher grows older, gains experience and gets to know the community better, his initial insecurity is eased and his aspirations rise, making him take a more positive outlook towards community affairs and political participation in general.

Another explanation might be that younger teachers are more likely to perceive constraints on their political activities. This perception of constraints, if it really exists, might discourage younger teachers from active political participation. A previous Newfoundland study found younger elementary school teachers to be more conscious of pressures from people in their communities. (Baksh and Singh, 1979: 69-70) The question of such constraints on teachers activities is discussed in Chapter 5. So far, in this section, we have found that the younger the teacher the lower his participation rate, and we have assumed that perhaps, the higher participation rate reported by older teachers might be due to the fact that they have remained in the profession for a longer time and so know all the ropes. Secondly, we have suggested that the participation rate reported here might be influenced by the fact that younger teachers are more afraid of pressures on their activities and so tend to shy away from active participation.

### 3.3 Participation and Community Size

In this section, I will attempt to find out whether the size of community a high school teacher lives in has any influence on the extent to which the teacher participates in politics. There are two plausible models -- the mobilization model and the decline-of-community model -- which provide an understanding of the relationship between participation and community size, but lead to opposite predicted relationships. The two models have been introduced and tested by Verba and Nie (1972, Chapter 13) and Verba, Nie and Kim. (1978, Chapter 13).

According to the mobilization model, people in urban communities participate more actively in politics than those in rural communities. Urbanization creates among citizens ties to the national scene, exposes citizens more to political communication, leads to greater awareness of social and political needs, and "develops the personality traits compatible with political activity." On the other hand, social constraints may be more salient in smaller communities. Generally, a cross-section of high school teachers informally interviewed in Corner Brook, St. John's, Milltown, Grand Falls, Bay Roberts and Clarendville expressed a viewpoint which tends to support the mobilization model. A teacher who has taught in both urban and rural Newfoundland for over 28 years offered the following information when she was interviewed:

Today teachers play more of an "academic" role in rural communities -- perhaps, because the issues of the time demand a different kind of leadership. It is perhaps more academic in the sense that people generally are better informed and larger numbers usually get involved. Teachers, perhaps, are becoming co-leaders with others, many of whom got their sense of concern from the teacher. Furthermore, in the rural communities, I have to be very cautious of anything I say or do. My activities, both social and political are censored by the parents. How then can I be politically active when people in my community keep on bringing down rules on how I should behave. I did not experience this in the urban areas I taught. There I could do "anything" I wished without looking over my shoulder to see whether anybody was observing me.

The above statement echoes the replies given by most of the teachers interviewed. Jennings and Zeiglers' study on political expressivism among high school teachers came to a similar conclusion: the more urban the environment, the more expressive the orientation of the teacher.

(Jennings and Zeigler, 1974:441) They found that small town American teachers were generally reluctant to express values or ideas in the community.

The second model, the decline-of-community model, foretells a higher participation among small community residents. The decline-of-community model, according to Verba and Nie,

predicts the decline of participation as one moves from the smallness and intimacy of town or village to the massive impersonality of the city. In the small town, the community is manageable size. Citizens can know the ropes of politics, know whom to contact, know each other so that they can form political groups. (Verba and Nie, 1972:231)

So far, I have discussed two ways in which community size might affect citizen participation in politics. The mobilization model predicts higher participation among urban dwellers, and decline-of-community model sees higher participation rate among people living in smaller sized communities.

In Table 3.11, size of community shows virtually no relationship with campaign activity, particularized contacting and overall participation. Voting rates increase slightly as population increases. In the only notable relationships, teachers living in smaller communities (under 10,000 population) participate more in community activities than those in urban communities. In campaigning, St. John's teachers also tend to participate much less than others. This is matched by the low overall participation percentage in St. John's compared with small towns.



Table 3.11: The extent of political participation by size of community among teachers in Newfoundland.

Percent scoring "high"

	Below 1000	1000- 2499	2500- 4999	5000- 9999	10,000- 29,999	St. John's	Gamma
Voting	75	77	75	81	85	77	.11
Campaigning	29	31	17	30	36	8	-.07
Contacting	50	55	60	58	51	54	.02
Community Activity	8	16	8	7	3	0	-.25
Overall Participation	33	32	19	25	26	8	-.00
(N)	(48)	(62)	(48)	(57)	(39)	(13)	

It is very difficult to reject or conform the hypotheses postulated earlier about the relationship between one's place of residence and political participation. Participation in some modes of activities -- community activity and overall participation -- tend to confirm the decline-of-community hypothesis whereas the others support neither model. In general, size of community in itself seems to have little effect on teacher participation.

### 3.4 Participation and the Denominational Affiliation of School

Another pattern to be examined is the relationship between the denominational affiliation of the school in which a teacher works and political participation. The main objective is to learn the degree of which teachers in the various denominational schools participate in the political process. This issue had become important because during the 1983

teachers' "strike," some School Boards forbade the teachers in their employment to participate. Some teachers acceded to the instructions of their employers and refused to join the teachers' strike. Notable among the teachers who failed to join the strike were Pentecostal teachers. This led to the NTA call for picketing at Pentecostal schools. This study will attempt to show whether this incident reflects a more general difference between Pentecostals and teachers in the two larger denominational categories.

Table 3.12: The extent of political participation by the denominational affiliation of school.

Percent scoring "high"

Activity	Roman Catholic	Integrated	Pentecostal
Voting	81	79	61
Campaigning	31	27	12
Contacting	58	55	34
Community activity	6	10	12
Overall Participation	27	26	19
(N)	(105)	(137)	(26)

Table 3.12 shows that teachers in Roman Catholic and integrated schools tend to report higher participation rate when participation is defined in terms of voting, campaigning and contacting activities. In voting activity, Roman Catholic (R.C.) teachers reported 81 percent participation, Integrated school teachers scored 79 percent and Pentecostal

school teachers, 61 percent. In campaigning activity, R.C. teachers indicated they were more active than the rest. R.C. teachers, again, tend to participate in contacting activity (58 percent) more than the other teachers. In this mode of activity, Integrated and Pentecostal school teachers reported 55 and 34 percent participation respectively. The pattern reverses when we turn to participation in the community mode of activity. Here, Pentecostal teachers are more likely to participate in community activities more than do the other teachers, possibly due to their involvement in religious organizations. The actual proportions were, 6 percent for R.C. teachers, 10 percent for Integrated school teachers and 12 percent for Pentecostal school teachers.

The findings reported here brings into focus again the question of restrictions on teacher activity. On reason which can be advanced for the low rate of participation in some modes by the Pentecostal teachers might be that they perceive more restrictions on their activities by their employers or others. This would seem to apply most to partisan campaigning. To understand this phenomenon better, Chapter 5 will attempt to examine teachers' perception of pressures or restrictions on their political activity. We will then be in a position to know whether Pentecostal teachers participated lower than the other teachers because of the fear of restrictions on their activities.

### 3.5 Participation and Teaching Specialization

I expected to find a relationship between the subject one teaches and political participation. That is, social studies teachers were expected to participate more in politics than those teaching other subjects.

The data confirm this view. Social studies teachers tend to participate more in all modes of activity than those teaching other subjects. The relationship can be seen in Table 3.13. Among teachers of other subjects, Arts teachers' participation also tended to be above average, while science teachers were at the bottom of the distribution on most indices of participation.)

Table 3.13: The extent of political participation by primary subject taught.

Percent scoring "high"

	Social Studies	Other Subjects
Voting	86	74
Campaigning	37	22
Contacting	13	7
Community Activity	65	50
Overall Participation	35	22
(N)	(86)	(183)

### 3.6 Variations in Participation among Teachers: Summary and Implications

The findings, so far, have shown a strong relationship between participation and sex, age, denomination of school and teaching speciality. For participation and sex, male teachers reported a more active participation in all modes of political activity. It has also been shown that participation among teachers increases with age. Those in the middle-age group are more active than the rest. Pentecostal teachers were the least active in voting, campaigning and contacting activities. However,

they were the most active group in community activities. In this mode of activity, the R.C. teachers reported the lowest participation rate.

Social studies teachers were the most active with science and mathematics teachers reporting the lowest participation rate. Participation and community size revealed virtually no relationship. Only community activity was strongly related with community size. Here, teachers in smaller communities (10,000 and below) were more active than their counterparts.

In Chapter V, I shall attempt to explain these variations by reference to attitudinal factors.

## CHAPTER IV

### TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

#### 1. THE NATURE OF ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION

Both formal and informal organizations are considered to be important elements in the proper functioning of the democratic system. They serve important functions for both the society and for the citizens who join them. According to Zeigler:

... political stability is encouraged by the existence of a large and well organized system of formal organizations. For the individual, the formal organization can be functioned both by mediating between him and the environment (as a transmitter of information) and by representing his claims in a manner more influential (because of the addition of others) than would be true if he were operating solely on an individual basis. (Zeigler, 1966:53)

This role of the formal organization makes it imperative for teachers to organize themselves into professional groups. As Baker points out, "teachers should organize, not only to protect their tenure and their salaries, but to preserve the opportunity to fulfill their obligation to . . . democracy." (1958:284)

Individual involvement in less formal voluntary organizations also increases the capacity of the person to communicate with the government. Voluntary organizations, Verba and Nie point out:

... can themselves through the activities of their officers or other paid officials, participate in the political process. In this way the organizers participate for its members. Or the citizen who is a member of an organization may use that affiliation as a channel to gain access to the government; either the

organization itself (through its officers or representatives) may transmit the grievance of the individual to the government, or the individual may use connections made within the organization to further his acts of participation. Here, the member participates through the organization. (1972:175)

Participation in an organization is thus important in getting "through" to the government or government officials. It acts as a catalyst, and gives the individual an added advantage of group action.

The final aspect of organizational participation which Nie, Powell and Prewitt (1969), Almond and Verba (1963), and Verba and Nie (1972) among others have dealt with extensively, is the relationship between organizational participation and political activity. The notion is that: "... the more organizations to which an individual belongs, the greater is his rate of activity." (Verba and Nie, 1972:184) They continue that:

... organizations may have an impact on political life in a society through the influence they have on the participatory activities of their members. Citizens may participate directly because of their affiliation with an organization ... [and] organizational affiliation has been shown to be one of the most powerful predictors of political activity that remains strong over and above the social class of the individual. (174)

In the light of the above discussion, this chapter will, firstly, examine the rate at which teachers participate in and support their principal professional organization, the Newfoundland Teachers' Association (NTA) as well as other community groups. Secondly, the chapter will consider the extent to which membership in organizations affects participation in political activities.

## 2. LEVELS OF ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

### 2.1 Participation in the NTA

The dimensions of participation of high school teachers in the NTA to be examined here are:

1. Their involvement in the day-to-day functioning of the association.
2. Their stand on the role the NTA should play in partisan political activities.
3. The extent to which they support the NTA leadership on public issues.

Among the most important criteria for measuring teachers participation in the NTA is the extent to which they attend Association meetings, and the effort they make in learning about the activities of the Association. To measure high school teachers' participation in the NTA, four questions were posed: Firstly, to learn how regularly teachers attend NTA meetings; secondly, to identify those who keep themselves informed about the association by reading the NTA Journals; thirdly, to specify teachers who have held an NTA office; and, finally, a general question on teachers' activity rate in the NTA. (See Table 4.1)

When teachers were asked whether they had held any office in the NTA, 40 percent said they were either officers now or had been officers in the past. To the next question, 41 percent reported they "regularly" attend NTA meetings, 54 percent said they "sometimes" attend meetings and only 5 percent said they had "never" attended any meeting. Three-fourths of them indicated they "regularly" read the NTA Bulletin. When they were asked about their activity rate in the NTA, 25 percent said they considered themselves as "very active" members of the Association; 31



Table 4.1: Participation in the NTA among Newfoundland high school teachers.

Have you ever held any office in your Local or Provincial NTA Executive?		How often do you attend NTA meetings?	
Yes . . . . .	40%	Regularly . . . . .	41%
No . . . . .	60	Sometimes . . . . .	54
	<u>100%</u>	Never . . . . .	5
			<u>100%</u>
(N)	(273)	(N)	(271)
How often do you read the NTA Bulletin?		How active are you in the NTA?	
Regularly . . . . .	76%	Very active . . . . .	25%
Sometimes . . . . .	23	Fairly active . . . . .	31
Never . . . . .	1	Not active . . . . .	44
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>
(N)	(272)		(256)

percent said they were "fairly active" members and 44 percent reported they were "inactive."

Overall, high school teacher participation in the NTA varies considerably. We shall now provide some information on factors affecting levels of activity. These variables include: sex, denominational affiliation of school, community size and age. (See Table 4.2)

Male high school teachers reported a slightly higher participation rate than female teachers in the NTA. Among the males, 26 percent said

Table 4.2: Level of NTA Activity by sex, age, denomination of school, and community size.

		"How active are you in the NTA?"		
	(N)	Very Active	Fairly Active	Not Active
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	(201)	26%	31	43
Female	(51)	22%	29	49
<u>Age</u>				
20 - 25	(21)	19%	29	48
26 - 30	(64)	22%	34	44
31 - 35	(53)	26%	19	55
36 - 40	(70)	24%	41	34
41 - 72	(39)	33%	23	44
<u>Denominational Affiliation of School</u>				
Roman Catholic	(97)	25%	33	42
Integrated	(133)	29%	31	40
Pentecostal	(22)	9%	23	68
<u>Community Size</u>				
Below 1000	(45)	22%	33	44
1000 - 2499	(58)	21%	29	50
2500 - 4999	(46)	37%	33	30
5000 - 9999	(54)	28%	32	39
10000 - 29999	(38)	26%	24	50
St. John's	(41)	0	55	45

they were "very active" in the association and 31 percent indicated they were "fairly active." 22 percent females said they were "very active" with 29 percent reporting "fair activity" rate.

In the relationship between participation in the NTA and age, teachers in the 41-72 age group were more likely to be active than the rest and those in the 20-25 age group reported the lowest participation rate. When we control the relationship between participation and sex with teachers' age, the participation rate of female teachers increases with the increase in age. Among teachers in the 41-72 age group, female teachers were more active than male teachers.

Percentage "very active" in NTA

Age	Sex	
	Male	Female
20 - 40	25% (168)	15% (39)
41 and over (Base N in parentheses)	31% (29)	40% (10)

Teachers who work in Integrated schools are more active in the NTA than the Roman Catholic and Pentecostal school teachers. Pentecostal teachers reported the lowest score. Only 9 percent said they were "very active" in the NTA, and 23 percent reported a "fairly activity" rate. Among the Roman Catholic and the Integrated school teachers, 25 percent and 29 percent said they were "very active" in the NTA respectively.

Finally, Table 4.2 shows that teachers in towns of 2,500-4,999 population are the most active, followed by those in places in the 5,000 to 30,000 range. Rural teachers and those in St. John's reported the lowest levels of involvement.

## 2.2 Political Role of the NTA

During the May, 1982 Newfoundland teachers' strike, the question that was often asked was whether teachers supported the NTA in the

dispute with the government and the school board. Many observers held the view that teachers could exploit the situation and canvass support against the ruling Conservative Government in any forthcoming elections. In the light of this, an attempt was made in the survey to learn whether the teacher wanted their professional organization to play a more political role, and to determine the extent to which they supported the NTA during the contract dispute with the school boards and government.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they wanted the NTA to endorse political candidates or parties in provincial elections. In Table 4.3, we see that 26 percent of the teachers agreed to the view that the NTA should "endorse" political candidates and parties in provincial elections. 57 percent wanted the NTA to stay out of partisan politics and 17 percent said they were "undecided." Females were less likely than males to accept a partisan role for the NTA, but also less likely to approve it, having a much higher "undecided" rate.

Table 4.3: Attitudes toward the NTA endorsing candidates and parties in provincial elections.

	Total	Male	Female
Yes . . . . .	26%	27%	21%
No . . . . .	57	59	57
Undecided . . . . .	17	14	28
	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(272)	(215)	(53)

In order to learn the extent to which teachers supported the NTA during the contract dispute, I asked in the questionnaire whether they voted for the teachers to withdraw services or for the NTA to accept the government and school boards' offer. Secondly, I wanted to know whether they supported the NTA executive on how they handled the negotiations with the government and school board during the "lockout." 70 percent of the sample claimed they voted for the NTA to reject the government and school boards and to go on "strike," close to the actual vote of 66 percent. (Table 4.4)

Table 4.4: Positions on the 1983 NTA contract dispute

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On March 30, of this year, Teachers voted on whether to accept Government and School Board Proposals in the Contract Talks and whether to authorize the NTA Executive to withdraw selected services. Did you vote Yes or No?

Yes, (to accept government and school board proposals) . . . . .	22X
No, (to authorize withdrawal of services) . . . . .	70X

Did you support the NTA Provincial Executive on how they handled the Contract Negotiations during the recent teacher "Lockout"?

Yes . . . . .	85X
No . . . . .	11X
Other* . . . . .	3X

100X

(N)

(268)

\*among those who said "other," were teachers who felt the NTA should have stayed out of school longer than they did.

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Table 4.4 also shows that most of the teachers supported the stand of the NTA Executive. The information provided here gives a better understanding of the esprit des corps existing in the NTA during this crisis.

### 2.3 Teachers and Community Organizations

We turn now to teacher participation in voluntary organizations such as religious groups, service clubs, sports and youth groups, special interest groups, civic groups, political party organizations and the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA). Teachers' involvement in community organizations serves two important functions. Firstly, their involvement improves the community status of the teachers and secondly, it gives them a sense of personal importance and community pride. In most communities teachers are expected to lead community organizations and to assist with the proper functioning of the organizations. This role is specially expected of teachers in rural communities. As Burrup points out:

... the sense of belonging and close affiliation with such organizations makes the teacher a more responsive and active citizen. Often feelings of frustration and insecurity are eliminated when the teacher is thus able to project himself into the problems and social atmosphere of the community. He should do this as an interested individual and not necessarily only as a member of the teaching profession representing a particular school or group of teachers. (1960:358)

Reporting on a 1971 National Education Association Survey (U.S.), The National Education Research Bulletin (1972) showed that there had been a marked decrease in teacher involvement in community organizations, especially in political party organizations. Other studies by Stiles et al., (1962) and Brookover and Erickson (1975), also show that teachers

have become less involved in community organizations. This trend, they explain, might mean that teachers are shifting their interests away from local matters to regional and national concerns. (Brookover and Erickson, 1975:209) Stiles, *et al*'s, high school teachers study revealed that teachers participate less in political party organizations than in social clubs. They reported that 6 percent participated in political clubs, 70 percent in general church activities and 39 percent in social or recreational clubs. This revelation leads us to postulate the following hypothesis: Newfoundland high school teachers are more likely to participate actively in social and recreational organizations than in organizations with political dimensions.

Table 4.5: Levels of activity in community organization

Type of Organization	Very Active	Fairly Active	Not Active	Not a Member	(N)
Church (eg. Orange Club)	21%	29	23	28	(239)
Service Clubs (eg. Kiwanis)	16%	10	3	71	(216)
Sports Clubs	31%	29	1	39	(229)
Special Interest (eg. Dramatic Clubs)	13%	12	5	70	(211)
Civic or Charitable Groups	7%	9	5	80	(210)
Political Party Organizations	3%	7	8	82	(204)
PTA	10%	20	18	51	(206)

Table 4.5 shows that teacher participation was highest in the more social clubs like church organization, sports groups and service clubs. The reported rates were 21 percent, 31 percent and 16 percent for those who said they were "very active" in these organizations. Respondents reported much lower activity rates in civic and political groups. Only 3 percent said they were "very active" in political party organizations. With 7 reporting a "fairly active" participation rate. In civic clubs, 7 and 9 percent said they were "very active" and "fairly active" respectively.

The relatively low activity rate teachers reported in PTA's is also important. One expects them to be very active members in such organizations. The lower participation rate in PTA's may, however, be a function of the relatively few PTA's in Newfoundland. The findings reported here are consistent with other studies already mentioned. Teachers report very active participation in social and recreational organizations than in organizations which are more political.

The 1967 United States study already cited showed that male teachers were more active in service clubs, civic organizations and political clubs. Female teachers, on the other hand, reported higher involvement in religious organizations, youth and sports groups and the PTA. In Newfoundland, we find that both 21 percent of male and female teachers were very active in religious organizations. In Service clubs, 17 percent of males reported very active participation compared with 14 percent of female teachers. 34 percent of males said they were "very active" in youth and sports groups, whereas 19 percent of females



reported "very active" participation. It is interesting to note that no female teachers and only 3 percent of males reported very active participation in political party organizations. Female teachers are however, more active in PTA's than male teachers. Table 4.6 compares the Newfoundland percentages with the U.S. study (1967). Male teachers in Newfoundland appear to be more active than their U.S. counterparts in youth and sports groups, civic organizations and service clubs. The female respondents in Newfoundland were also more active in service clubs, civic organizations and youth and sports.

Table 4.6: Organizational participation by sex in Newfoundland and the United States.

Percent "very active"

Type of Organization	Nfld., 1983		U.S., 1967 <sup>1</sup>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Church	21	21	21	22
Service Clubs	17	14	5	0
Youth and Sports	34	19	8	9
Civic groups	7	3	2	1
Political Party Organization	3	0	3	1
PTA	9	15	9	13

1. U.S. National Education Association Study. (1967)  
The percentages reported are for high school teachers only.

Considering the relationship between organizational participation and the denominational affiliation of the school one teaches, we find that

teachers who work in the Integrated school system are generally more active than the Roman Catholics and Pentecostals. (Table 4.7)

Table 4.7: The extent of organizational participation by denominational affiliation of school.

Percent "very active"

Type of Organization	R.C.	Integrated	Pentecostal
Religious Group	24	16	39
Service Clubs	15	19	0
Youth and Sports	31	35	16
Special Interest	9	16	6
Civic Groups	5	8	0
Political Party	3	3	0
PTA	14	7	11

High proportions of Pentecostal teachers reported active participation in religious organizations only. Thirty-nine percent Pentecostal teachers said they were "very active" in religious organizations compared with 24 percent and 16 percent Roman Catholic and Integrated school teachers respectively. Integrated school teachers ranked highest in most of the other organizations. Nineteen percent said they were "very active" in Service clubs, 34 percent in youth and sports groups, 8 percent in civic groups, 3 percent in political clubs and 16 percent in special interest groups. Roman Catholic teachers reported the following percentages, service clubs, 15 percent; sports and youth, 31 percent; civic groups, 5 percent; and political clubs, 3 percent. No Pentecostal teachers report

"very active" participation in service clubs, civic groups and political clubs. It is fair to say that they are the least active among the community organizations.

The study also considered the relationship between the size of community and teachers' participation rate in organizations. Very few differences emerged on this dimension. The only noteworthy exception was the relatively high activity rate in political party groups reported by teachers in communities with population below 1,000. 6 percent of whom were "very active" compared with 3 percent overall.

The final variable to consider here is the degree to which age is related to organizational participation.

Table 4.8: Organizational participation by age  
Percent "very active"

Type of Organization	20 - 25	26 - 30	31 - 35	36 - 40	41 - 72
Church Groups	21	12	23	21	31
Service Groups	16	17	16	15	15
Sports Groups	33	36	27	34	29
Special Interest	10	16	14	9	8
Civic Groups	0	2	2	9	25
Political Groups	0	0	2	6	4
PTA	6	8	6	9	29

Table 4.8 shows that older teachers tend to be more active in PTA's, political party groups, civic groups and religious organizations.

The strongest relationships appeared in civic and political organizations. In political party groups, the "very active" rate increased from zero among the younger age strata to 6 percent among the 36-40 age group and 4 percent for the 41-72 age group. The younger teachers reported active participation rate in special interest organizations and sports groups. Consistent with Zeigler's findings, we can conclude from this information that older teachers are more likely to be active in political organizations than younger teachers.

### 3. ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

In this section we are going to examine the extent to which one's organizational affiliation may be related to the rate at which the person participates in politics. Verba and Nie (1972), state that those who are more active in community organizations are more likely to be active in political activities. According to the writers:

... if we accept the view that a more active involvement in an organization is necessary for active political participation, then we can assume that voluntary organizations increase the propensity of the individual to be a participant because they give him an opportunity for training in participation within the organization that can be transferred to the political realm. The assumption is that voluntary organizations allow more opportunities for participation in small units that does the polity and what counts is not mere membership but the opportunity for activity that the organization affords. (Verba and Nie, 1972:184)

Verba and Nie found in their study that citizen participation increases as one moves from single membership to multiple membership, but it increases more for those who are active in their organizations than for those who are inactive. (186) They conclude that:

... the active organizational member is more likely than the non-member to be politically active, and this political activity rate increases as one moves from single membership to multiple membership.

In this study we therefore expect to find high school teachers who are more active in the voluntary organizations to be politically active in all modes of political activities -- voting, campaigning, community activity and particularized contacting activities. Table 4.9 reports the relationship between organizational activity and these forms of political participation.

With respect to voting, active teachers and those who are fairly active reported 82 percent and 81 percent maximum participation, compared with 74 percent of those who are not active. The voting participation rate for all levels of activity rate was quite high. Organizational involvement thus appears to have a positive but relatively small effect on voting rates.

Turning to campaign activity, Verba and his associates stated that those with strong group ties are more active in campaign activities than those with moderate or weak ties. In the Newfoundland study, the strongly affiliated teachers were by far the most active campaign activists. 48 percent of the very active participated in all activities. Compare this to the weak and moderate activists who reported 15 percent and 25 percent participation rate respectively. In contacting officials, the strong affiliators also participated more than the others: those who report weak organizational activity scored 43 percent, while those with strong ties reported a 67 percent participation rate. The very

Table 4.9: Rates of political participation by level of organizational activity.

Organizational Activity <sup>1</sup>			
Mode of Participation	Not Active	Moderately Active	Very Active
<b>A. VOTING (LAST 4 ELECTIONS)</b>			
Did not vote.	9%	4%	2%
Voted 1-3 times	17	16	17
Voted 4 times	74	81	82
	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(118)	(82)	(73)
<b>B. CAMPAIGNING</b>			
Did not take part in any activity.	58%	48%	25%
Took part in one activity	26	28	27
Took part in two or more activities	15	25	48
<b>C. CONTACTING OFFICIALS</b>			
Contacted an official	43%	58%	67%
<b>D. COMMUNITY ACTIVITY</b>			
Did not take part in any activity	89%	74%	57%
Took part in one activity	8	18	23
Took part in two activities	2	8	19

1. Organizational Activity is measured by an index combining levels of activity in seven types of groups. See Appendix B for a full description of the index.

active organizational affiliators again participated more in community activities than their counterparts. 19 percent of this group participated in all forms of community activities with only 7 percent and 2 percent of the moderate and weak identifiers also reporting high participation.

To conclude, we see that in voting activity, the finding here departs from that of Verba, Nie and Kim's contention that "when it comes to voting the conversion rate is generally low among both the affiliated and the unaffiliated." (1978:130) As already indicated, among both the affiliated and the unaffiliated teachers in Newfoundland, organizational involvement tend somewhat to increase participation in voting activity, and more so for the affiliated.

With respect to campaign and communal activity, the finding here is consistent with that of Verba et al. They found in all countries they studies, except India, that "those with strong institutional ties are more active than those with weaker ties in both campaign and communal activities. (p. 125)

The following are the principal findings in this chapter:

1. A minority of high school teachers in Newfoundland participate actively in the Newfoundland Teachers Association, as indicated by several measures of involvement.
2. Male teachers participate more actively in the Association than female teachers: however, among older teachers, female teachers participate more than male teachers.
3. Generally, participation in the NTA increases with age.
4. Pentecostal teachers are the least active in the NTA with Integrated school teachers reporting the highest participation rate.

5. A majority of the teachers surveyed supported the stand of the NTA Executive during the contract dispute with the government and school board.
6. Most teachers feel that the NTA should not endorse political candidates or party during election campaigns.
7. Teachers participate more actively in recreational organizations than organizations with political dimensions.
8. Teachers who are very active in non-political organizations also report more active participation in all modes of political activities.



## CHAPTER V

### ATTITUDINAL FACTORS AFFECTING TEACHER PARTICIPATION

#### 1. PERCEIVED SANCTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

##### 1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall examine teachers' perceptions of restrictions, constraints or sanctions on their activities. The measures of sanctions or restrictions adopted in this study are not measures of actual events, but rather perceptions of probable events. It is the fear by the teacher that a certain action might lead to the incidence of sanction which, hypothetically, inhibits him from taking action.

Writing about the United States, Beale comments,

... teachers must teach citizenship, but in many communities they are not allowed to be active citizens. Campaigning for a political party is frequently prohibited on the ground that the schools must be non-partisan. (Beale, 1972:396)

Beale, Zeigler, Carson et al., and Gross among others have raised the question of whether we should expect teachers to be active participants in political activities, or whether their activities are restricted or confined in one way or another. There are two schools of thought concerning the effects of perceived restrictions on teacher participation in political activities: Carson et al. submit that:

It is likely that teachers regard their roles as constrained by the expectations of others. Evidence from other research indicates that lay populations generally have normative view of the teachers' roles that are neither unified nor overly restrictive. (Carson et al., 1967:54)

The authors continue,

It is generally possible that many of the constraints teachers feel are based upon a false assessment of the views held by others. Teachers do feel constrained in their behaviour by sanctions at the community level.  
(55)

But Zeigler, somewhat surprisingly, found in Oregon that teachers who were most afraid of sanctions on their action were politically more active than those who are not afraid of sanctions. He does not, therefore, conclude that teachers who participate less in politics do so because they fear restrictions on their activities; on the contrary, such "fears" may arise from the experience of more active participation.

It should be pointed out that, unlike Zeigler, most writers on this topic hold the view that teachers participate less in political activities because of constraints they perceive from the communities. The question of perceived sanctions or restrictions on teacher activity should, therefore, be regarded with every attention. But such attitudes should not be regarded as the only factor determining the level of teacher participation. As an alternative factor, lack of interest in politics would also have an impact on how teachers participate in politics, to the extent that those with low interest are bound to participate less in political activities. In the light of the above discussion, we can make two hypotheses:

1. Teachers who perceive serious restrictions on their activities tend to participate less in political activities.
2. Teachers with high interest in politics are more likely to be more active in politics than their counterparts.

## 1.2 What is a Sanction or Restriction?

I shall adopt Zeigler's definition of sanctions in this study.

According to Zeigler:

Sanction is any sort of behaviour undertaken by an individual or group which is designed to deter or inhibit a potential act by a teacher. (1966:135)

He continues,

... those people who have habitually harassed the educational system, the agents which teachers perceived as potential sanctioners, are parents, school board members, superintendents, principals and some teachers. (140)

Beale also feels that teachers are under attack by the groups mentioned above. He gives four reasons why the activities of teachers have always come under scrutiny by these groups:

A teachers' expression of political opinion provides a convenient weapon for any politician who wishes to attack the schools

Parents are likely to protest if the teachers' politics differ from their own

Political activity away from the school is almost as severely frowned upon as expression of views in class.

The objection to political activity has its origin in the belief that a teacher is the public servant of the majority in power and that he should be neutral and colorless, and, upon becoming a teacher, give up all active life as a citizen.

(1972:81-83)

Beale states that teachers should have the right to participate in any activity they like and that the teachers' conduct outside the school should be subject only to such controls as those of other citizens.

Quoting Gillette, Beale writes:

"We are all in absolute agreement that while in the schoolroom and before his class . . . [the teacher] should not take advantage of his position to impress

any of his personal views or beliefs in religious, political or contentious matters, upon his pupils, but, this surely does not mean that as a citizen outside of his school he is to be considered as having no opinion at all on such questions. In Canada, we have a few teachers at any rate who have been elected to the legislatures and to the city councils, and they have undoubtedly become better teachers by reason of this extra experience, and by their intimate contact with the communities in which they live and work, and further, their election has given an increased status to the profession." (Quoted in Beale, 1972:95)

Some of Beale's propositions and conclusions have been echoed in other studies, including Becker (1952, 1953), Philips (1955), Terrien (1953, 1955) and Zeigler (1966). Zeigler, for instance, writes that:

... teachers, like clergymen, have been subjected to an unusual amount of public scrutiny. Behaviour which is perfectly acceptable for some occupations is risky for those whose jobs involve the training of youth. (Zeigler, 1966:68)

Zeigler further argues that not all political activities elicit serious sanctioning. Activities like wearing political party buttons, going to meetings and working for candidates may not be frowned upon. However, discussing controversial political issues in class, and participating in unconventional political activities like going on strike, according to Zeigler, are usually not tolerated by the community. Teachers, thus, may see participation in some activities as threatening and others as harmless.

### 1.3 Studies of Sanctions in Newfoundland

Research on restrictions or pressures on teacher political activities in Newfoundland is rare. The principal work done on this topic is by Baksh and Singh (1978), cited in the first chapter. In their work, Baksh

and Singh reveal that the majority of teachers residing in both rural and urban areas of Newfoundland believe members of the community show little concern about the privacy of teachers. They state that:

It is probable that one of the reasons why teachers may indeed be under constant scrutiny is that the community expects them to uphold the "formal norms" of the community and to set a good example. For the young in particular, small town teachers are more likely to perceive restrictions on their private activities outside the school. (Baksh and Singh, 1978:62-63)

The major concentration of their analysis, however, is on the social life of the teacher. Goulding and McBrearty (1981) address the topic from a more legalistic point of view. They consider the rights teachers have as citizens and draw upon some court cases to support some of their assertions. They do not provide any information on teachers' perceptions of restrictions on their political activities. This study will, therefore, offer the first systematic empirical evidence on Newfoundland teachers' perceptions of sanctions on their political lives.

## 2. FEAR OF OBJECTIONS IN THE NEWFOUNDLAND TEACHERS' SURVEY

### 2.1 Indicators Adopted in this Study

Three main activities -- "taking part in partisan political activities," "discussing controversial political issues in class" and "going on strike over contract demands" -- were posited in the survey. Respondents were asked to indicate if each of the following agents -- people in the community, members of the school board, clergymen and principals -- would object to their taking part in those activities, and, if so, whether this objection would be "serious." (This is a

modified version of the question format used by Zeigler, 1966).

## 2.2 The Overall Extent of Perceived Objections

Among the three activities listed, participation in partisan politics was seen by the teachers as the activity that would receive the least disapproval. (See Table 5.1) Only a few teachers felt their taking part in this activity would be "seriously" objected to. A significant number indicated their actions would be disapproved of, but they do not think it would be serious.

For the next activity, "discussing controversial political issues in class," the percentage who perceived "serious" restrictions was higher than for the outside partisan activity. The percentages range from 40 percent to 47 percent for those who perceive some degree of restrictions, and from 16 to 24 percent for those who perceive "serious" restrictions.

The activity for which the highest proportion of teachers perceived objections was "going on strike over contract issues." Nearly 90 percent thought people in the community and members of the school board would object, and a majority of them said they felt "serious" restrictions from the board in taking part in this type of activity.

Considering the agents whom teachers felt would object to their taking part in any of the activities mentioned, the school board was perceived as the group most likely to exert serious pressure if teachers were to participate in "partisan political activities." For the second activity -- "discussing controversial political issues in the classroom" --

Table 5.1 Teachers perceptions of objections to political activities

DO YOU FEEL THAT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING--PEOPLE IN YOUR COMMUNITY, MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL BOARD, CLERGYMEN OR SCHOOL PRINCIPALS--WOULD OBJECT TO YOUR TAKING PART IN THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES?

Source of Objections	No, not in any way	Yes, but not seriously	Yes, seriously	Total (N)
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A. TAKING PART IN PARTY POLITICS OR AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

People in your Community	84%	15	1	100 (243)
Members of the School Board	79%	15	6	100 (235)
Clergymen	86%	10	3	100 (241)
School Principals	91%	8	2	100 (244)

B. DISCUSSING CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL ISSUE IN CLASS

People in your Community	53%	31	16	100 (223)
Members of the School Board	53%	23	24	100 (217)
Clergymen	60%	22	18	100 (204)
School Principals	61%	23	17	100 (230)

C. GOING ON STRIKE OVER CONTRACT ISSUES

People in your Community	11%	48	42	100 (238)
Members of the School Board	11%	31	58	100 (236)
Clergymen	23%	38	39	100 (217)
School Principals	63%	20	17	100 (235)

we find again that members of the school board the group most often expected to place "serious" restrictions on teachers. 24 percent of the respondents believed board members would "seriously" object to their discussing controversial political issues in the classroom. They were followed by clergymen with 18 percent, principals 17 percent and people in the community, 16 percent. Finally, teachers felt that members of the school board were most likely to object to their taking part in an unconventional political activity such as going on strike on contract issues. Here a majority of them, -- 58 percent, said the school board was to be feared. 42 percent referred to the people in the community as likely to object to their going on strike, 39 percent and 17 percent cited clergymen and principals respectively.

Generally, one can see that members of the school board are the group most teachers feel would "seriously" object to their taking part in the activities listed. This finding tends to support the information collected from the informal interviews conducted for this study. Most of the teachers interviewed said they were disappointed with the performance of the school boards. Many also suggested that more teachers should be appointed to the school boards. During the 1982 teachers' strike, many teachers interviewed said they did not trust members of the school board, and they believed the school boards were frustrating the NTA leadership from securing a better deal for the teachers. This view also supports the points raised by Beale:



School boards have great power over teachers. They frequently have a voice in hiring them: more often they have a voice in discharging or promoting them. They usually constitute the court that "hears" the teacher, if he has a hearing at all. Not infrequently they interfere with the teacher's freedom. More often their power is felt indirectly through the superintendent or principal who is dependent upon their good will for his position. (Beale, 1972:609)

Zeigler (1966) found in his study that:

The superintendents and school board members are believed to be capable of exerting the most extreme pressures. The principal, in contrast, is perceived to be a relatively mild sanctioner. (141)

He states further that of all the behaviours which were included in his interview schedule, going on strike to secure higher wages produced the most extreme prediction of probable sanction.

Zeigler, however, points out that:

The fact that teachers are, in effect, buffered in their contact with the community by the administration might cause them to look upon the administration as a direct source of sanctions which originated from the community. (140)

He means that the administration or members of the school board are in effect transmitting the concerns of the people to the teachers and due to this role teachers might dislike the former. This explanation or proposition is very difficult to accept without verification. If we accept Zeigler's proposition, then we would say that in Newfoundland the members of the school board are not only acting as a buffer for people in the community but for the government. In the Newfoundland survey, pressures from clergymen were expected by a relatively few high school teachers, and principals were the least likely to be seen by the

teachers as threatening.

### 2.3 Variations among Teachers in Perception of Objections

Tables 5.2 to 5.5 show the relationship between perceptions of objection and sex, age, denominational affiliation of school and community size. (See Appendix C for a detailed explanation of how the fear of restrictions indices were computed)

There is virtually no relationship between the fear of restrictions and sex, with females only marginally more likely to perceive "serious" restrictions on their actions. (See Table 5.2) In "taking part in partisan politics" and "going on strike," activities, females are more likely to feel constrained if we consider the combined score. Males however, tend more to perceive "serious" restrictions in "going on strike." Males, again, feel more constrained in "discussing controversial political issues in class." It should be noted, though, that apart from "going on strike over contract demands," the relationships with the other two activities are not strong. Considering overall objection, females had a mean score of 1.79 and males 1.74 (on a 0-6 range). Females are, therefore, slightly more likely to feel that their actions would be disapproved of by people in the community, members of the school board, clergymen, and principals.

On the overall index, younger teachers seem to be slightly more fearful. (See Table 5.3) The mean score of the various age groups are 1.81, 2.01 and 1.78 for those in 20-25, 26-30 and 31-35 age strata, respectively, and 1.60 and 1.72 for those in the 36-40 and middle-aged

Table 5.2. Relationship between fear of restriction and sex  
 Percentage perceiving objections (average responses  
 for four agents)<sup>1</sup>

Activity	Male	Female
Taking Part in Partisan Political Activities	15.3 (1.0)	17.0 (2.0)
Discussing Controversial Political Issues in class	39.6 (15.0)	37.7 (13.5)
Going on Strike over Contract Demands	76.3 (28.0)	83.0 (26.4)
Overall Objection <sup>2</sup> (means)	1.74	1.79

1. Percentages computed for the combination of "not serious" and "serious" responses for each activity. "Serious" objections alone are reported in parentheses. See Appendix E for an explanation of the calculation of "average" response of patterns for each activity.
2. The "overall objection" rating sums the average response for three activities, yielding scores ranging from 0 (no objections perceived) to 3 (serious objections for all activities).

(41-72) groups. Teachers in the older groupings were fearful in "taking part in partisan political activity, however, and teachers aged over 40 years were more likely to perceive objections in "discussing controversial political issues in class." Younger teachers, those under age 31, tend to feel more objections than their counterparts in "going on strike." This pattern is particularly striking when we consider only the "serious" objection response to this activity: 40 percent of the 20-30 group

registered a "serious" misgivings on average compared with only 14 percent of those over 40 years.

The relationship between perception of objection and denominational affiliation of school is more pronounced, but varies considerably according to the activity in question. (See Table 5.4) In "taking part in partisan politics" and "discussing controversial political issues in class" Roman Catholic teachers are the most fearful group. In the first activity, Integrated school teachers are the fearless group, and Pentecostal teachers are the least concerned in the second activity by a wide margin. Considering both the combined and the "serious" objection scores, Pentecostal teachers are far more fearful of objections to "going on strike" than the rest. This, perhaps, explains the reason for their low participation in political activities discussed in Chapter 3.

Finally, in Table 5.5 we find that teachers who live in urban communities tend to expect objections to their actions more frequently than those in rural areas. This general pattern hold for all three forms of activity. Thus, these data provide little support for the impressions conveyed by teachers' informants and the Baksh and Singh study that small-town teachers live in a world of unusually tight constraints. If such was the case in the past, it no longer seems to be true.

### 3. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND PERCEPTION OF OBJECTIONS

Now that we have identified the extent to which teachers feel different agents would object to certain activities, and have also learned

Table 5.3: Relationship between fear of restriction and age  
Percentage perceiving objections (average response for four agents)

Activity	20 - 25	26 - 30	31 - 35	36 - 40	41 - 72
Taking Part in Partisan Politics	13.6 (0.0)	15.6 (3.1)	14.5 (0.0)	16.9 (1.3)	18.6 (0.0)
Discussing Controversial Political Issues in class	36.3 (4.5)	33.8 (21.5)	43.6 (12.7)	33.8 (14.1)	53.6 (11.6)
Going on Strike over Contract Demands	86.4 (40.9)	90.7 (36.9)	74.5 (32.7)	71.5 (22.1)	74.5 (14.0)
Overall Objection	1.81	2.01	1.78	1.60	1.72
(N)	(22)	(65)	(55)	(77)	(43)

See explanatory note to Table 5.2

Table 5.4: Relationship between fear of restrictions and denominational affiliation  
Percentage perceiving objections (average response for four agents)

Activity	Roman Catholic	Integrated	Pentecostal
Taking Part in Partisan Political Activities	21.9 (1.9)	10.9 (0.4)	15.4 (6.0)
Discussing Controversial Political Issues in class	42.0 (21.0)	40.2 (11.7)	23.0 (3.8)
Going on Strike over Contract Issues	69.5 (27.6)	81.0 (20.4)	88.4 (69.2)
Overall Objection	1.83	1.64	2.0
(N)	(105)	(137)	(26)

See explanatory note to Table 5.2

Table 5.5: Relationship between fear of restriction and community size:  
 Percentage perceiving objections (average response for four agents)

Activity	Below 1000	1000- 2499	2500- 4999	5000- 9999	10,000- 29,000	St. John's
Taking Part in Partisan Political Activities	16.7 (0.0)	11.3 (0.0)	10.4 (0.0)	12.3 (0.0)	28.2 (7.7)	30.8 (0.0)
Discussing Controversial Political Issues in class	29.2 (12.5)	30.6 (12.9)	50.0 (10.4)	42.1 (19.3)	48.7 (23.1)	46.2 (7.7)
Going on Strike over Contract Demands	77.1 (31.3)	82.2 (38.7)	75.0 (20.8)	71.9 (15.8)	82.1 (38.5)	84.6 (23.1)
Overall Objection (N)	1.66 (48)	1.75 (62)	1.66 (48)	1.61 (57)	2.28 (39)	1.98 (18)

See explanatory note to Table 5.2

who among the teachers are more afraid of restrictions on their activities, we can consider whether the fear of sanctions affects the extent of participation in politics. The method to be followed is, first, to find out whether the fear of restriction has any impact on overall teacher participation in all modes of political activities and organizations. Secondly, we shall consider whether the relationships between political participation, sex, age and denominational affiliation of school (shown in Chapter 3) are explained by the fear of restrictions on a teacher's activities. (Community size proved to be generally unrelated to participation rates.)

In Chapter 3, we found that male teachers participate more than female teachers, older teachers report a more active participation in all the modes of activities, and R.C. and Integrated school teachers tend to participate more than Pentecostal school teachers. The question that can now be asked is: Do some teachers participate less in politics because of the fear that their action may be objected to or disapproved by those on whom a teacher's security depends? If we accept this line of explanation, then, we would expect those who are less afraid of any objection to their activities to participate more. One may, on the other hand, argue that the fear of restriction, per se, might not inhibit effective participation. Rather, apathy, or the lack of interest in politics, might lead individuals to participate less in political activities.

The relationships between (1) respondents' perceptions of restraints, (2) their interest in politics and (3) levels of political participation have been presented in Tables 5.6 to 5.9. The tables deal separately with each of the four modes of political participation. Table 5.6 shows that teachers with a "high" perceived restraint score vote somewhat more frequently than others. In Table 5.7, we find again that teachers who perceive 'serious' restrictions on their activities participate slightly more in community activities than their counterparts. Eleven percent of those who perceive 'serious' restrictions participated in two or more activities. Those who perceive medium and low restrictions, scored 7 and 9 percent respectively. Similar trends appear for campaigning and contacting. (Tables 5.8 and 5.9) In campaigning activity, 32 percent of the teachers who perceive 'serious' restrictions on their activities participated in two or more activities compared with 26 percent of those who perceive 'low' and 'medium' restrictions. Fifty-six percent of the restriction-prone teachers reported they have contacted a public official about a problem compared with 52 percent of those who perceive low restriction?

In all modes of activity, then, the participation level of high school teachers who perceive serious disapproval of their actions is somewhat higher than for their counterparts. This finding brings out one important implication: The fear that one's activity would be objected to does not generally seem to inhibit active participation; those who are more afraid that their actions will be disapproved participate at a higher rate than those who are less fearful. This finding is consistent with



Table 5.6: Relationship between voting activity and the perception of objection to teachers' activity and interest in politics.

Voting Activity	All Teachers	Overall Objection Index <sup>1</sup>			Interest in Politics		
		Low	Medium	High	Good Deal	Some	Not Much
Did not vote	6%	6%	6%	4%	4%	6%	13%
Voted once	7	8	6	7	3	10	19
Voted twice	5	6	8	2	4	5	13
Voted three times	4	5	4	3	4	5	3
Voted four times	78	76	76	84	86	76	52
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

<sup>1</sup>See Appendix E. On a range of 0-6, "Low" = 0 and 1; "Medium" = 2; "High" = 3-6.

Table 5.7: Relationship between community activity and perception of objection to teachers' activity and interest in politics.

Community Activity	All Teachers	Overall Objection Index <sup>1</sup>			Interest in Politics		
		Low	Medium	High	Good Deal	Some	Not Much
Did not Participate	76%	73%	80%	78%	70%	80%	87%
Participated in one Activity	15	20	11	11	18	14	10
Participated in two Activities	9	7	9	11	12	6	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

<sup>1</sup>See explanatory note to Table 5.6

Table 5.8: Relationship between campaign activity and the perception of objection to teachers' activity and interest in politics.

Campaign Activity	All Teachers	Overall Objection Index <sup>1</sup>			Interest in Politics		
		Low	Medium	High	Good Deal	Some	Not Much
Did not Participate	46%	44%	54%	41%	36%	49%	87%
Participated in one Activity	27	30	23	27	25	36	10
Participated in two or more Activities	27	26	23	32	49	15	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

<sup>1</sup> See explanatory note to Table 5.6

Table 5.9: Relationship between contacting activity and the perception of objection to teachers' activity and interest in politics.

Contacting Activity	All Teachers	Overall Objection Index <sup>1</sup>			Interest in Politics		
		Low	Medium	High	Good Deal	Some	Not Much
Have never contacted an official	46%	48%	44%	44%	34%	53%	68%
Have contacted an official	54	52	56	56	66	45	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

<sup>1</sup> See explanatory note to Table 5.6

that of Zeigler's Oregon study. Zeigler found that those who perceived serious restrictions on their activities participated more than the

"fearless" ones. He writes:

If it is a question of undertaking a given action outside the class, the sanction-prone teachers are more likely to believe that a given behaviour is proper and should be undertaken. Sanction-prone teachers are more likely to believe that joining unions, taking part in strikes and demonstrations, and criticizing local officials are proper activities than are sanction-fearless teachers. (1966:147)

He points out that:

The portrait of the typical sanction-prone teacher emerges as one characterized by an active and critical role in the political and organizational process. An expressive role orientation, an acute awareness of possible negative sanctions, and taking active part in politics are part of a clear pattern. (149)

To test whether this trend exists for all forms of teacher activity, I correlated the fear of restriction on a teacher's activity with organizational participation, the teachers' reported vote on the contract dispute, and their activity rate in the Newfoundland Teachers' Association (NTA). In organizational participation, 43 percent of teachers who perceive serious restrictions showed active participation compared with 37 percent of the fearless teachers. We find that those who perceive objections to their activities participate slightly more than those who feel their actions would not be objected to. Concerning their participation in the NTA, those who perceive very serious restrictions reported 28 percent active participation and the fearless ones reported 22 percent participation rate. However, when we correlate their vote during the contract dispute with the fear of restriction, 70 percent of the fearless teachers asked

the NTA to reject the government offer and withdraw teachers services, while, 65 percent of the fearful ones advocated for no withdrawal of services.

Having seen that fear of restriction on activities does not negatively affect teachers' participation rate, we can now examine the effect of interest in politics on participation. We hypothesized earlier that apathy, or lack of interest in politics is an alternative factor inhibiting teachers from participating in politics. In Tables 5.6 through 5.9, we see that this is consistently true. Those with "a good deal of interest" in politics tend to participate much more actively in all forms of activities than those who have less interest in politics. In voting, 86 percent of teachers with high interest in politics reported voting in all elections, versus 52 percent of the low interest group. Forty-nine percent of high interest teachers participated in two or more campaign activities, compared with only 3 percent of those with "not much" interest. In the other two modes of activity, there is a similar marked decrease in the participation rate of teachers with no interest in politics compared with the very interested category. Their participation rate dropped from 66 percent to 32 percent in the high range of particularized contacting and 12 percent to 3 percent in community activity.

One can see that in all forms of political activity teachers with low interest in politics participate less. Comparing the correlations of both the fear of restrictions and interest in politics with participation, we

find that the more afraid a teacher is that people might disapprove of his or her actions, the more he or she tends to participate in politics. On the other hand, teachers' interest in politics is a strong positive correlate of their participation level.

#### 4. FEAR OF OBJECTIONS AS AN EXPLANATION FOR SEX, AGE AND SCHOOL DENOMINATION VARIATIONS IN PARTICIPATION

In this section, I am going to consider how the relationship of political participation with sex, age and school denomination are affected by attitudes regarding sanctions. In Chapter III we found that female teachers, younger teachers and those in Pentecostal schools participate less actively than average in most modes of activity -- voting, contacting, campaigning and community activities. Is this because the fear of restrictions operates as an intervening variable, suppressing activity among these categories?

Table 5.10 shows the relationship between participation and sex controlling for the perception of objections. In voting activity, there is a relationship between participation and sex holding perceptions of objections constant. Females are more likely to be affected by the perception of serious restrictions on their activities. Notice the decrease in their participation rate from 75 percent to 57 percent and the increase in the level of male teacher participation. In campaigning and contacting activities, the perception of objections does not change the pattern of participation among both sexes. The perception of serious objections, instead, increased with the participation rate of both male and female teachers. In community activities the relationship showed an

increase in the level of female teacher participation more than male teachers.

From the discussion so far, one can say that the perception of serious restrictions does not adequately explain why female teachers participate at a lower rate than male teachers. There might, therefore, be other factors like apathy or lack of interest in politics which could explain the low female teacher participation in political activities.

The assumption here is that those with high interest in politics are more likely to participate more than their counterparts. The relationship between political interest and sex shows that male teachers have significantly higher interest in politics than do female teachers.

(Table 5.11) We expect the overall male-female participation difference to decrease when we restrict our view to those with high political interest.

To explain this further, I have already shown that female teachers differ from male teachers in both political interest and political activities; however, I should expect female teachers who have high interest in politics to convert interest into political activity just like the men do.

Notice the decrease in the difference in participation rate between male and females when high interest in politics is held constant. (Table 5.12)

In voting activity, female participation rate increased from 62 percent overall to 75 percent "high." In campaigning, contacting and community activities similar trends emerge. But, I find that in spite of the fact that females with equal interest close the participation gap substantially, they still participate less. This indicates that there are other factors at work which inhibit females from participating or give men extra encouragement.

Table 5.10: Relationship between political participation and sex controlling for fear of objections.

Percent scoring "high" on the index for each mode of participation

Overall fear of Objections Index	Voting		Campaign		Contacting		Communal	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Low	76	70	29	17	58 <sup>3</sup>	30	8	0
Medium	82	56	25	13	59	44	9	9
High	91	57	32	29	59	43	11	14

Table 5.11: Interest in politics by sex

Interest in Politics	Male	Female
Good deal Interest	54%	38%
Some	36	45
Not much	10	17
	100%	100%
(N)	(212)	(53)

One possible reason for this might be that in spite of female teachers' relatively high educational level, and socio-economic status, they do not participate more actively due to the lack of opportunities.

As Verba, Nie and Kim pointed out, even though females "... are concerned

Table 5.12: Relationship between political participation and sex controlling for interest in politics.

Percent scoring "high" on the index for each mode of participation

Interest in Politics	Voting		Campaign		Contacting		Communal	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Good deal of Interest	89	75	39	35	68	55	12	10
Some	82	50	16	12	48	35	6	4
Not much	45	67	4	0	41	11	4	0

with political matters, they are not offered the opportunity to take part in politics." (1978:254) Here, the inhibition may be social or cultural. Female teachers may care about politics but be held back by homemaking obligations, or other norms and folkways of the society. Thus, even though they have the same capability, so to speak, as men to convert high interest in politics into political activity, they are still less active. Verba, Nie and Kim provide a possible reason for this. According to the writers, women:

... consider politics to be a male activity. One likely explanation of women not becoming as politically active as men, even when they obtain the educational resources to do so, is that they consider politics to be outside the proper role of women. ... According to this view, women belong in the home rather than the 'masculine' world of politics. (p. 263)

Apparently this is true for Newfoundland teachers, as it was for the more general population described by Verba, Nie and Kim (1978).



Table 5.13: Relationship between political participation and age controlling for fear of objections.

Percent scoring "high" on the index for each mode of participation

Overall fear of objection index	Voting					Campaign				
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-72	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-72
Low	78	77	76	74	78	33	11	14	42	28
Medium	25	63	89	85	94	12	5	16	46	41
High	60	90	93	86	75	0	20	47	29	66

  

Overall fear of objection index	Contacting					Communal				
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-72	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-72
Low	56	39	52	56	67	0	4	0	12	11
Medium	62	37	32	92	76	0	0	16	8	18
High	40	50	60	57	75	0	0	27	14	13

When we control the relationship between participation and age with perception of objections (Table 5.13), there is little change from the original relationship. Among those who perceive serious restrictions on their actions, and among those who do not, older teachers participate more than younger teachers. We must conclude from this that the perception of restrictions does not inhibit the participation rate of younger teachers.

In Table 5.14, we see the relationship between political participation and school denomination, controlling for fear of objections. We find that

Table 5.14: Relationship between political participation and school denomination controlling for fear of objection.

Percent scoring "high" on the index for each mode of participation

Overall fear of objections index	Voting			Campaign		
	R.C.	Integ.	Pent.	R.C.	Integ.	Pent.
Low	91	80	60	24	29	20
Medium	59	75	50	29	22	14
High	87	81	86	41	29	0

  

Overall fear of objections index	Contacting			Communal		
	R.C.	Integ.	Pent.	R.C.	Integ.	Pent.
Low	47	57	40	0	11	0
Medium	64	58	36	4	11	14
High	69	48	29	16	7	14

the campaign activity rate of Pentecostal teachers drops from 20 percent among those who perceive "low" objections to 0 percent for those who perceive "high" objections. Note the increase in the R.C. teacher participation. There is a lesser decline in contacting officials among Pentecostals who fear sanctions, but an increase in their voting and communal participation. It is fair to say that Pentecostal teachers are more likely than others to be affected by objections to their taking part in campaign activities.

To conclude, this exercise of finding out whether the perception of serious objection inhibits teachers from participating more actively in political activities has generally produced negative results. We have seen in the discussion that for two variables, sex and age, the perception of serious objections does not inhibit participation. In most cases, instead, those who feel that their actions might provoke serious restrictions participate more. Interest in politics, on the other hand, did partially reduce the male-female gap. With respect to denominational difference, fear of sanctions appears to account for reduced levels of campaign participation among teachers in Pentecostal schools.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

#### I. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This thesis has dealt with patterns of political participation and attitudes among high school teachers in Newfoundland. The study is based primarily on a sample survey representing all high school teachers in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The survey items ranged from teachers' interest in politics to their participation in modes of political activities and perception of objections to their political activities.

A majority of the high school teachers reported "a good deal of interest" in politics. Compared with the general public in Newfoundland, high school teachers have a higher interest in politics. When questioned about the kind of public affairs which interested them most, the teachers tended to express interest in "all levels" or "national and provincial" public affairs rather than "provincial" or "community" matters. Teachers were more likely to follow news on radio and television; they compared favourably with the general public with university education, but were higher than the general electorate. Teachers also seemed to discuss politics more frequently than the general public, but less than members of the general public with university education.

Teachers reported voting regularly in federal and provincial elections, at a rate slightly higher than that of the general public in Newfoundland. This finding is consistent with other teacher studies in the United States. Teachers also reported active participation in campaign activities. They were more likely to work for a political candidate than the general public, and many of them also indicated they had attended political rallies. However, only a few said they were very active members of political party organizations.

It was found in this study that only a few of the teachers considered themselves as "leaders" in their communities, and only a few had ever been members of municipal councils. In both activities, however, they tended to report a higher rate of involvement than the general public and those with comparable education. A majority of the teachers indicated they had contacted a government official or office about a problem.

It should be pointed out that in spite of the fact that teachers generally reported a more active participation than the general public, their absolute participation levels were low in all modes of activity except voting. It is fair to say that teacher participation decreases when political participation is defined in terms other than voting.

Male teachers were found to be more active than female teachers in all modes of political activity. This finding is not consistent with the findings of United States teacher studies which show that there is no difference between male and female teacher participation. In all

modes of political activity, teacher participation increased with age reaching its apogee in the middle-aged group. There was virtually no relationship between voting, campaigning and contacting activities and community size. In community activity, teachers in smaller communities (under 10,000 population) participate more than those in urban communities.

Pentecostal teachers were much less active in all modes of activity except community activity, where they reported a more active participation than Integrated and Roman Catholic teachers.

In organizational participation the following findings emerged,

1. Teachers reported active participation in religious organizations (e.g. Knights of the Altar), community service groups (e.g. Kiwanis), sports groups and Parent Teacher Organizations. They do not participate as actively in civic groups (e.g. charitable organizations), and political party organizations.
2. Their activity rate in the NTA was generally low. Pentecostal teachers were least active in the NTA. This is consistent with their lack of involvement during the 1983 provincial teachers' "strike."
3. Over half of the teachers wanted the NTA to stay away from partisan political activities.
4. Teachers who are active in community organizations are also more active than others in all modes of political activity.

We now turn to teachers' perception of objections to their political activities and how this affects their participation in political activities.

1. Most teachers do not perceive any "serious objections" to their "taking part in partisan political activities."

2. About 40 percent felt that "discussing controversial political issue in class" is an activity likely to be objected to.
3. "Going on strike" was seen by the majority of the teachers as an activity likely to receive serious disapproval.
4. School board members were singled out as the group most likely to object to teachers taking part in all the activities mentioned above.
5. Principals were least likely to object to teachers' actions in all the activities.
6. In overall objection, middle-aged teachers are more likely to perceive objections than younger teachers and Pentecostal teachers perceive more "serious" objections than Roman Catholic or Integrated school teachers.

The perception of objections was negatively correlated with participation. In fact, it does not explain why some teachers participate less than others. In most cases, those who perceived "serious" objections participated more than their counterparts. Alternatively, interest in politics is strongly related with participation to the extent that teachers with high interest in politics participate more than their counterparts.

## 2. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

I started this study by posing many questions about the level of participation among Newfoundland high school teachers. For instance, I wanted to know the extent to which they participated in voting, campaigning, contacting, and community activities compared with the general public in Newfoundland. As has been shown in the summary above, teacher participation in contacting, voting and campaigning is high, even higher than that of their counterparts in the general public with university education. We can safely say that high school teachers in

Newfoundland are not apolitical and even go further to say that they are not "sociological strangers" as we said of British teachers.

Another interesting finding which appeared in the study was the higher participation levels exhibited by male teachers over female teachers. The significance of this is its inconsistency with the conclusions arrived at in United States studies which found female teachers to participate at an equal level as male teachers. Mention must also be made of the relationship of age and subject specialization with participation. Generally the result was consistent with the United States studies: Participation increases with age and reaches its zenith at the middle-age, and social studies teachers participate more than teachers of other subjects.

In the relationship between religious affiliation of school and participation, as was expected, Pentecostal teachers were the least active as has been stated above. It was rather surprising that no relationship appeared between community size and the modes of participation (except community activity). This is an area which will require further research. (I shall discuss this later.)

Finally, I assumed at the beginning of the study that in Newfoundland there are many potential overseers to teachers' actions. I therefore wondered how teachers could function politically with their local school boards, principals or people in the community apparently "breathing down their necks." As has been shown in the discussion above, "going on strike" was the only activity a majority of the teachers



felt would be disapproved of. Moreover, the perception of objections was not the reason why some teachers participated less in politics. So, this question of sanctions, restrictions, or objections to teacher activities and how this relates to participation is still an open one which needs further exploration.

### 3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

During the preparation and writing of this thesis, I unearthed many related questions and issues which need pursuing. In any further studies, the question of restrictions or sanctions should be explored more fully. Many indicators should be used apart from those that Zeigler and I used in our studies. The task of clarifying the relationship between political participation and fear of objections might become clearer with a different operationalization of the concept.

I received the impression from my study that it is, perhaps, teachers activity levels which produces the awareness of possible sanctioning activities. That is to say, those who perceive serious sanctions do so because they are the more active group. Any further study should therefore attempt to establish a temporal relationship between participation and fear of objections, instead of the correlational relationship Zeigler and I used.

Further, another item should be included in any future study to learn the mobility pattern of teachers. In this way one would be able to know how long a particular teacher has stayed in a community. This will, perhaps, provide a stronger relationship between community size and participation.

Finally, it would also be interesting to learn of the participation rate of elementary school teachers in Newfoundland compared with that of high school teachers.

#### 4. PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The study has revealed relatively high teacher participation in a variety of politically relevant activities. This is important in the sense that it enhances the teachers' influence in the political process and also augurs well for the democratic norms of the society. However, some categories of teachers participate at lower rates than those of their peers, notably females, younger teachers, and those in Pentecostal schools. Low interest in politics rather than fear of constraints or community pressure seems to explain these variations.

There has been a strong drive by the N.T.A. toward mobilizing teachers to participate in the political process. Among other things, the N.T.A. has set up a Public Affairs/Political Action Committee whose aim is to stimulate teachers to participate in political activities. The findings in this study will be beneficial to this committee. For instance, the study points to certain attitudes of teachers that need to be changed. If one is interested in increasing teacher participation, the chances are that he will be most successful if he directs his efforts toward younger teachers, females and Pentecostal teachers. Among high school teachers these are the groups who need greater encouragement to participate in all forms of activities.

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APPENDIX A

THE SAMPLE DESIGN

The data reported in this study are based on a sample representing all Newfoundland teachers who teach primarily in Grades 7 through 12. In all, there were 3,151 teachers in this population in 1983, including replacement and part-time teachers.

In the primary sampling stage, all schools listed in the Provincial Directory of Schools: 1982-83 which included grades 7-12 were identified, a total of 122. Using the 1977 Newfoundland Municipal Council Book, towns with population above 5,000 were classified as urban, and those below that figure were treated as rural towns. There were 30 high schools located in the urban towns and 92 in the small towns, a 1:3 ratio. This constituted the stratification of the population.

The selection of schools from the urban and small town school lists represented the second sampling stage. To avoid the occurrence of periodicity, the schools were rearranged differently from the order appearing in the Directory. Eight schools from the urban list were randomly selected, and 24 from the rural list (ratio 1:3). Thirty-two schools were thus selected from both lists. Staff totals were 201 teachers in the urban towns and 303 in the small towns. The list of schools selected is presented in Table A.1.

Table A.1: List of sampled high schools and the number of teachers.

<u>Urban Town High Schools</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
St. Clare's Central High (Carbonear)	12
*Bishops College (St. John's)	28
Brother Rice High (St. John's)	31
Grand Falls Academy Regional High (Grand Falls)	21
St. James Regional High (Channel-Port Aux Basque)	21
Menihek Integrated High (Labrador City)	38
Marystown Central High (Marystown)	28
St. Stephen's High (Stephenville)	22
Total	201
<u>Small Town High Schools</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
Harriot Curtis College (St. Anthony)	22
*Main Brook High (Main Brook)	5
**Beothuk College (Baie Verte)	22
Botwood Senior High (Botwood)	11
**J. M. Olds Collegiate (Twillingate)	20
Lester B. Pearson High (Wesleyville)	16
Musgravetown Central High (Musgravetown)	16
*St. Boniface Central High (Bell Island)	13
Holy Trinity Regional High (Heart's Content)	14
*Fitzgerald Central High (English Harbour West)	8
Templeton College (Gillams)	22
Bonne Bay Central High (Woody Point)	7
St. Jude Central High (St. Fintan)	7
St. Lawrence Central High (St. Lawrence)	17
Mobile Central High (Mobile)	18
Xavier Central High (Deer Lake)	13
Our Saviour the King Central High (Southern Harbour)	7
G. Shaw Collegiate (Chapel Island)	14
A. Garrigus Collegiate (St. Lorraine)	5
*St. Francis Central High (Harbour Grace)	13
A. C. Palmer Collegiate (Rodricton)	6
La Rochelle Central High (Brent's Cove)	6
Our Lady Mount Carmel (Mount Carmel)	8
Glovertown Regional High (Glovertown)	13
Total	303
Grand Total (teachers)	504
Number of schools	32

\*Schools which declined to participate in the study.

\*\*Questionnaires were mailed directly to teachers in these schools.



Letters were mailed to principals of the selected schools requesting their assistance to either distribute the questionnaires or provide the names and addresses of teachers on their staff to be contacted directly. (See Appendix B.). In all, 27 replies were received from schools with a total of 442 teachers. Two principals provided names of teachers on their staff, and the remaining ones asked to be sent the questionnaires to be distributed to the teachers. Those who did not reply were contacted by telephone; some said their school boards had forbidden them from taking part in such projects, as many hours had already been lost by the previous teachers' "strike," and one principal indicated he was not interested in the study. On May 5 and 6, all questionnaires were mailed to the cooperating principals and teachers. 273 valid questionnaires were returned, 62 percent of the 442 mailed and 54 percent of the intended sample of 504. Below are the dates the questionnaires were received:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number Received</u>
May 16, 1983	7
17	29
18	50
24	41
26	27
30	50
June 01	39
06	11
08	17
22	1
27	1

Table A.2 presents a comparison of the completed survey sample with selected characteristics of the full high school teacher population. (Teacher population figures were obtained from the Department of Education.)

With respect to sex, age, size of community and denominational affiliation of school, the sample and population distribution are very similar.

Table A.2: Comparison of survey sample and high school teachers population

Sex	Survey	Teacher Population
Male	80%	(1575) 79%
Female	20	(415) 21
<u>Age</u>		
20 - 24	6%	(101) 5%
25 - 29	18	(296) 15
30 - 34	31	(577) 29
35 - 39	23	(492) 25
40 - 44	17	(319) 16
45 and above	6	(205) 10
<u>Community Size</u>		
Below 5000	59%	(201) 60%
5000 and over	41	(303) 40
<u>Denomination of School</u>		
Roman Catholic	39%	(782) 39%
Integrated	51	(1136) 57
Pentecostal	10	(80) 4

Sources: Teacher population distributions by sex, age and denomination of school were obtained from Provincial Department of Education, Statistics Division.  
Distributions by size of community were obtained from the Provincial Directory of Schools: 1982-83.

## APPENDIX B

FORM LETTERS TO SAMPLED PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS



MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada A1B 3X9

Department of Political Science

Telex: 016-4101

Tel.: (709) 737-8179

March 24, 1983

[Letter addressed to Principals of 32 selected schools.]

I am studying for my Master of Arts Degree in Political Science at Memorial University of Newfoundland. My proposed thesis is: "Political Attitudes and Participation of High School Teachers in Newfoundland and Labrador". The study is being supervised by Professor Mark Grässer in the Political Science Department.

A major source of data for my study is to be a survey of a sample of teachers from throughout the province. This will take the form of a short questionnaire to be mailed anonymously to me. I am writing to ask for your help in the distribution of the questionnaires during the month of April.

Your school is among 32 which I have selected randomly from the Provincial Directory of Schools. I would like all teachers including part-time or substitute teachers currently on your staff, to receive a questionnaire. You can assist me in one of two ways: With your agreement, I will send you sufficient questionnaires and post paid return envelopes to give to your staff members. Alternatively, if you send me a list of names and addresses, I will mail the questionnaires directly. I would prefer the first course, but in either case, I am requesting your help only in distribution of the questionnaires - not in collecting or administering them.

The questionnaires will be entirely anonymous, with no information to identify either the teacher or school. They will be compiled and analysed by standard statistical procedures.

Kindly return the enclosed form to me indicating your response to this request. I will be most grateful for your assistance in this crucial aspect of my study.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Oliver Arthur  
M.A. Candidate

Telephone: 737-8179 or 754-1415

Mr. Joseph Oliver Arthur  
Dept. of Political Science  
Memorial University of Nfld.  
St. John's, Nfld.  
A1B 3X9

- ☐ You may send me \_\_\_\_\_ questionnaires with instructions, which I will distribute to my staff for anonymous return to you.
- ☐ Enclosed is a list of names and addresses of teachers on my staff. Please contact them directly.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Principal  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Department of Political Science  
Memorial University of Nfld.  
St. John's, Nfld.  
A1B 3X9

May 10, 1983

Dear Teacher:

I am studying for my M.A. Degree in Political Science at Memorial University of Newfoundland. My proposed thesis is: "Political Attitudes and Participation of High School Teachers in Newfoundland".

A major source of data for my study is to be a survey of a sample of teachers from throughout the province. Your school is among 32 which I have selected randomly from the Provincial Directory of Schools. Enclosed please find a short questionnaire and post paid envelope. I would like you to complete the questionnaire and mail it directly to me.

As you can see, the questionnaire is entirely anonymous, with no information to identify you or your school. The results will be compiled and analysed by standard statistical procedures.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Oliver Arthur  
M.A. Candidate

## APPENDIX C

## SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Development

Some questions were based on the form used by the United States Education Association Study in 1961 and 1963 (NEA, 1961 and 1963). Others were drawn from the 1974 Newfoundland Local Government Study, and the 1979-82 Newfoundland Elections Study questionnaires. The rest of the questions were original to this study, and based on the information gathered from a field trip to some NTA branches -- Clarenbridge, Appalachia, and Exploits Valley, and Humber Valley. (See Appendix F.)

All questions were pre-tested in a pilot survey of fifteen graduate students in the Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Following modifications suggested by the pretest, the six-page 47 item questionnaire was mailed in May 1983 to 27 high schools for completion by 442 teachers throughout Newfoundland.

The questionnaire is reproduced on the following pages.

CONFIDENTIAL

## NEWFOUNDLAND HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS' SURVEY

May, 1983

J.O. Arthur: M.A. Candidate  
MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

## How to answer this survey.

Most questions can be answered by circling the number of the answer that is closest to your own opinion or situation.

A few questions allow you to select more than one answer in giving information or opinions. In these you can circle more than one answer.

If you wish to qualify or explain any opinion or answer, please feel free to add any comments. You are free to skip any question if you prefer not to answer.

PLEASE DO NOT RECORD YOUR NAME ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE: THANK YOU.

1. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW MUCH INTEREST YOU GENERALLY HAVE IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS WHEN THERE ISN'T AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN ON. WOULD YOU SAY YOU HAVE A GOOD DEAL, SOME, OR NOT MUCH INTEREST?
  - 1 . . . a good deal of interest
  - 2 . . . Some interest
  - 3 . . . Not much interest
2. WHAT KINDS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS INTEREST YOU MOST?
  - 1 . . . National affairs
  - 2 . . . Provincial affairs
  - 3 . . . Local or community affairs
  - 4 . . . National and provincial equally
  - 5 . . . Provincial and local equally
  - 6 . . . All equally
  - 7 . . . None interest me at all
3. DO YOU EVER SPEND TIME DISCUSSING POLITICS WITH ANYONE OUTSIDE YOUR HOME?
  - 1 . . . Yes, frequently (daily)
  - 2 . . . Sometimes (weekly)
  - 3 . . . Almost never
  - 4 . . . Never
4. HOW OFTEN DO YOU PERSONALLY FOLLOW THE NEWS OF AFFAIRS OUTSIDE YOUR COMMUNITY ON RADIO OR TELEVISION? WOULD YOU SAY . . .
  - 1 . . . Almost everyday
  - 2 . . . From time to time
  - 3 . . . Almost never
  - 4 . . . Never
5. HAVE YOU VOTED IN ANY PROVINCIAL OR FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS?



	Yes, voted	No	Not eligi- ble	Can't Remem- ber
1982 Prov.	1	2	3	8
1980 Fed.	1	2	3	8
1979 Prov.	1	2	3	8
1979 Fed.	1	2	3	8

6. IF YOU VOTED IN THE PROVINCIAL ELECTION LAST YEAR, WOULD YOU MIND TELLING WHICH PARTY YOU VOTED FOR?

1 . . . Liberal  
2 . . . P.C.  
3 . . . N.D.P.  
4 . . . Independent  
8 . . . Don't remember  
9 . . . DID NOT VOTE

7. IF A PROVINCIAL ELECTION WERE HELD NOW, WHICH PARTY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR?

1 . . . Liberal  
2 . . . P.C.  
3 . . . N.D.P.  
8 . . . Don't know  
9 . . . Would probably not vote

8. DID YOU ATTEND ANY CAMPAIGN MEETINGS, RALLIES, OR MOTORCADES IN ANY OF THE ELECTIONS MENTIONED IN Q.5?

1 . . . Yes, attended a rally in the 1982 election  
2 . . . Yes, attended a rally in elections prior to the 1982 elections  
3 . . . No, never attended a rally

9. APART FROM VOTING, HAVE YOU EVER WORKED FOR A CANDIDATE OR PARTY IN AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN?

1 . . . Yes  
2 . . . No  
8 . . . Don't know

10. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A TOWN COUNCIL?

1 . . . Yes, now a member  
2 . . . Yes, past member  
3 . . . Never  
4 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_

11. PEOPLE HAVE DIFFERENT IDEAS OF JUST HOW THEY FIT INTO AFFAIRS OF THEIR COMMUNITY. WHICH OF THESE FOUR WAYS DESCRIBES YOURSELF?

1 . . . A person who takes a lead in getting things done in community affairs.  
2 . . . A person who is active in community affairs, but not one of the leaders.  
3 . . . A person who is part of the community but keeps pretty much out of community activities.  
4 . . . A person who is not really part of the community here at all.  
8 . . . Don't know

12. HAVE YOU EVER CONTACTED AN MHA, MP, OR SOME OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL OR OFFICE ABOUT SOME PROBLEM? (Record most recent contact if more than one)

1 . . . No  
Yes

WHOM DID YOU CONTACT?

2 . . . M.P.  
3 . . . M.H.A.  
4 . . . Provincial official, contacted locally  
5 . . . Provincial official, contacted in St. John's  
6 . . . Federal official in Newfoundland  
7 . . . Federal official in Ottawa  
8 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_

13. SEVERAL TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS ARE LISTED BELOW. PLEASE ENTER A NUMBER BEFORE EACH TYPE THAT CORRESPONDS TO ONE OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS, SELECTING THE STATEMENT THAT BEST REPRESENTS YOUR OWN RELATIONSHIP TO THE ORGANIZATION.

- 1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker  
 2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker  
 3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker  
 4 . . . I'm not a member

Write in . . . 1,2,3 or 4 for each organization

- \_\_\_\_ Church or other religious group eg. Altar Society, Loyal Orange Lodge, etc.  
 \_\_\_\_ Service Clubs, veteran's groups, benevolent societies-- Kiwanis, Rotary, Kinsmen  
 \_\_\_\_ Sports, youth, recreation, Softball, Girl Guides etc.  
 \_\_\_\_ Special interest - Dramatic Club, Motorcycle club etc.  
 \_\_\_\_ Civic group - Cancer society, Vol. Fire Brigade, Red Cross etc.  
 \_\_\_\_ Political Party Organization  
 \_\_\_\_ Parent-Teacher Association  
 \_\_\_\_ Newfoundland Teachers Assoc.  
 \_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

14. HAVE YOU EVER HELD ANY OFFICE IN YOUR LOCAL OR PROVINCIAL NTA EXECUTIVE?

- 1 . . . Yes, now an officer  
 2 . . . Yes, past officer  
 3 . . . No, never

15. HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND NTA MEETINGS?

- 1 . . . Regularly  
 2 . . . Sometimes  
 3 . . . Never

16. HOW OFTEN DO YOU READ THE NTA BULLETIN?

- 1 . . . Regularly  
 2 . . . Sometimes  
 3 . . . Never

17. DO YOU THINK THAT THE NTA SHOULD ENDORSE CANDIDATES IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS?

- 1 . . . Yes  
 2 . . . No  
 3 . . . Undecided

18. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE VERY SATISFIED, FAIRLY SATISFIED, OR NOT SATISFIED WITH YOUR TEACHING JOB?

- 1 . . . Very satisfied  
 2 . . . Fairly satisfied  
 3 . . . Not satisfied  
 4 . . . Don't know

19. DO YOU THINK OF YOURSELF AS . . .

- 1 . . . A Newfoundlander only  
 2 . . . A Newfoundlander first then a Canadian  
 3 . . . A Newfoundlander and a Canadian equally  
 4 . . . A Canadian first then a Newfoundlander  
 5 . . . A Canadian only  
 6 . . . None of these  
 8 . . . Don't know

20. DO YOU PERSONALLY THINK NEWFOUNDLAND SHOULD KEEP ITS PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM OR SHOULD IT CHANGE TO ONE OVERALL PUBLIC SYSTEM WITHOUT CHURCH CONTROL?

- 1 . . . Keep denominational  
 2 . . . Change to public  
 3 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_

21. IN YOUR COMMUNITY, HOW WELL RESPECTED ARE TEACHERS AS A PROFESSION?
- 1 . . . Very highly respected by most people
  - 2 . . . Moderately respected by most people
  - 3 . . . Not well respected by most people
22. DID YOU SUPPORT THE NTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE ON HOW THEY HANDLED THE CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE RECENT TEACHER "LOCK-OUT"?
- 1 . . . Yes
  - 2 . . . No
  - 3 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_
22. ON MARCH 30, OF THIS YEAR, TEACHERS VOTED ON WHETHER TO ACCEPT GOVERNMENT AND SCHOOL BOARD PROPOSALS IN THE CONTRACT TALKS AND WHETHER TO AUTHORIZE THE NTA EXECUTIVE TO WITHDRAW SELECTED SERVICES. DID YOU VOTE YES OR NO?
- 1 . . . Yes, (to accept Government and School Board proposals)
  - 2 . . . No, (to authorize withdrawal of selected services)
  - 3 . . . Did not vote

The following are opinions about current issues in education and politics and the relations of the Province with the Federal government. Please read each one carefully and circle the number under the response which comes closest to your personal opinion -- whether you agree or disagree.

	Agree		Disagree		No
	Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Strongly	Opinion
24. TEACHERS SHOULD HAVE MORE SAY IN HOW SCHOOLS ARE BEING RUN IN YOUR COMMUNITY.	1	2	2	4	8
25. PARENTS SHOULD HAVE MORE SAY IN HOW SCHOOLS ARE BEING RUN IN YOUR COMMUNITY.	1	2	3	3	8
26. NEWFOUNDLAND WILL PROBABLY NOT RECEIVE A FAIR HEARING IN THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA ON OWNERSHIP OF THE OFFSHORE.	1	2	3	4	8
27. NEWFOUNDLAND'S HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE DEPENDS MAINLY ON GETTING MORE ASSISTANCE FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA.	1	2	3	4	8

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
28. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS BETTER ABLE TO MANAGE THE ECONOMY THAN ARE THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.	1	2	3	4	8
29. ONLY A NEWFOUNDLANDER CAN REALLY UNDERSTAND OUR PROBLEMS.	1	2	3	4	8
30. THE SEAL FISHERY SHOULD BE SUPPORTED AS A TRADITIONAL RIGHT OF NEWFOUNDLANDERS EVEN IF IT COSTS THE PROVINCE MONEY.	1	2	3	4	8
31. NEWFOUNDLAND HAS LOST MORE THAN IT HAS GAINED FROM CONFEDERATION.	1	2	3	4	8
32. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS BETTER ABLE TO MANAGE THE FISHERY THAN THE NEWFOUNDLAND GOVERNMENT.	1	2	3	4	8
33. THE GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA IS MORE INTERESTED IN WHAT THEY CAN GET OUT OF OUR PROVINCE THAN IN HOW TO HELP US DEVELOP.	1	2	3	4	8
34. IF SEPARATION FROM CANADA IS NECESSARY TO GAIN CONTROL OF OUR RESOURCES, THEN NEWFOUNDLAND SHOULD SEPARATE.	1	2	3	4	8
35. Do you feel that any of the following -- People in your community, members of the school board, clergymen, or school principals -- would object to your taking part in the following activities:					

A) Taking part in party politics or an election campaign?

	No, not in any way	Yes, but not seriously	Yes, seriously	Don't know
People in your community	1	2	3	8
Members of the school board	1	2	3	8
Clergymen	1	2	3	8
School Principals	1	2	3	8

B) Discussing controversial political issues in class?

	No, not in any way.	Yes, but not seriously	Yes, seriously	Don't know
People in your community	1	2	3	8
Members of the school board	1	2	3	8
Clergymen	1	2	3	8
School Principals	1	2	3	8

C) Going on strike over contract issues?

	No, not in any way.	Yes, but not seriously	Yes, seriously	Don't know
People in your community	1	2	3	8
Members of the school board	1	2	3	8
Clergymen	1	2	3	8
School Principals	1	2	3	8

36. THINKING OF PROVINCIAL POLITICS, DO YOU USUALLY THINK OF YOURSELF AS A LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE, OR N.D.P.?

- 1 . . . Liberal
- 2 . . . P.C.
- 3 . . . N.D.P.
- 4 . . . No party
- 8 . . . Don't know

37. WHAT IS YOUR SEX?

- 1 . . . Male
- 2 . . . Female

38. WHAT IS YOUR AGE? \_\_\_\_\_

39. WHAT IS YOUR RELIGION?

- 1 . . . Roman Catholic
- 2 . . . Anglican
- 3 . . . United church
- 4 . . . Pentecostal
- 5 . . . Salvation Army
- 6 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 7 . . . None

40. WHAT IS THE DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF YOUR SCHOOL?

- 1 . . . Roman Catholic
- 2 . . . Integrated
- 3 . . . Pentecostal
- 4 . . . Seventh Day Adventist
- 5 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_

41. IF YOU HAD TO MAKE A CHOICE, WOULD YOU SAY YOU WERE IN THE UPPER CLASS, UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS, MIDDLE CLASS, WORKING CLASS OR LOWER CLASS.

- 1 . . . Upper class
- 2 . . . Upper-middle class
- 3 . . . Middle class
- 4 . . . Working class
- 5 . . . Lower class
- 6 . . . Don't know

42. WHAT IS YOUR TOTAL SALARY FOR THE YEAR 1981-82? REPORT GROSS AMOUNT PRIOR TO WITHHOLDING FOR TAXES OR OTHER ITEMS.

1 . . . Under \$20,000  
 2 . . . \$20,000 - \$24,999  
 3 . . . 25,000 - 29,999  
 4 . . . 30,000 and over

43. COUNTING THE PRESENT SCHOOL YEAR, WHAT IS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS YOU HAVE BEEN IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION?

44. WHAT IS THE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY IN WHICH YOU ARE PRESENTLY TEACHING?

1 . . . Less than 1000  
 2 . . . 1000 - 2499  
 3 . . . 2500 - 4999  
 4 . . . 5000 - 9999  
 5 . . . 10,000 - 29,999  
 6 . . . 30,000 and over

45. WHAT SUBJECT AREA DO YOU PRIMARILY TEACH?

1 . . . Social Studies  
 (economics, geography, democracy, etc.)  
 2 . . . Arts courses (English, French, Religion, etc.)  
 3 . . . Mathematics (Including computer science)  
 4 . . . Science (Chemistry, Physics, Biology, etc.)  
 5 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_

46. WHAT IS THE LEVEL OF YOUR TEACHING ACCREDITATION?

1 . . . Level two  
 2 . . . Level three  
 3 . . . Level four  
 4 . . . Level five  
 5 . . . Level six  
 6 . . . M. Ed  
 7 . . . Ph.D  
 8 . . . Other \_\_\_\_\_

47. DO YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS ABOUT THE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR?

(Use back of questionnaire or additional pages if necessary. I am very interested in receiving individual comments).

Thank you very much

## APPENDIX D

## SURVEY CODEBOOK WITH RESPONSE FREQUENCIES

Codebook Format

Following a list of variables, the codebook is presented within the format of the original questionnaire. Responses are coded on one IBM card for each question. Column numbers and SPSS variable names (e.g. V1, V2) are listed in the right margin for each question. Response codes are left of the responses. Response frequencies and percentages (excluding "Don't know," etc.) are entered for each response category in the left margin. Response categories marked "M" are coded as "missing values" in the SPSS system file and are excluded from percentage calculations. Percentages are rounded to whole values, with those below 0.5 rounded to "0%."

# NEWFOUNDLAND TEACHERS STUDY, 1983

J.Q. Arthur

## Index to Variables

SPSS NAME	VARIABLE
SUNO	Survey Number
DATE	Date Received
V1	General Political Interest
V2	Kind of Public Affairs most Interest
V3	How often discuss politics
V4	Follow news on media
V5	Voted 1982 Provincial Election
V6	Voted 1980 Federal Election
V7	Voted 1979 Provincial Election
V8	Voted 1979 Federal Election
V9	Party voted for 1982 Provincial Election
V10	Provincial Party vote if Election now
V11	Ever attended Campaign Rallies
V12	Ever worked for Political Candidate
V13	Ever been Municipal Council Member
V14	How do you fit in Community Affairs
V15	Contact MHA/MP - Government office re Problem
V16	Membership in Religious Organizations
V17	Membership in Service Clubs
V18	Membership in Sports Groups
V19	Membership in Special Interest Groups
V20	Membership in Civic Groups
V21	Membership in Political Party Organizations
V22	Membership in Parent Teacher Associations
V23	Membership in the Newfoundland Teachers' Association (NTA)
V24	Membership in other Organizations
V25	Ever held office in NTA
V26	Ever attend NTA meetings
V27	Ever read NTA Bulletin
V28	Should NTA endorse Candidates in Provincial Election
V29	Job Satisfaction
V30	Think of Self as Newfoundlander or Canadian
V31	Change in Newfoundland Educational System
V32	Teacher Prestige
V33	How Voted on Contract
V34	Support for NTA
V35	Teachers in School Administration
V36	Parents in School Administration
V37	Newfoundland cannot get fair hearing in Supreme Court
V38	Newfoundland's hope depends on help from Ottawa
V39	Federal Government better able to manage Economy
V40	Only a Newfoundlander can understand our Problems
V41	Seal Fishery should be supported
V42	Newfoundland lost more than it gained from Confederation
V43	Federal Government better able to manage fishery than Newfoundland Government.



## SPSS NAME . VARIABLE

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V44	Ottawa more interested in what they can get
V45	Newfoundland should separate if necessary
V46	Committee Members and objection to Political Activities
V47	School Board and objection to Political Activities
V48	Clergymen and objection to Political Activities
V49	Principals and objection to Political Activities
V50	Committee Members and objection to continued Political Issues
V51	School Board and objection to continued Political Issues
V52	Clergymen and objection to continued Political Issues
V53	Principals and objection to continued Political Issues
V54	Committee Members and objection to Strikes
V55	School Board and objection to Strikes
V56	Clergymen and objection to Strikes
V57	Principals and objection to Strikes
V58	Provincial Party Identification
V59	Sex
V60	Age
V61	Religion
V62	Denominational Affiliation of School
V63	Social Class Identification
V64	Income
V65	Number of Years teaching
V66	Community Size
V67	Teaching speciality
V68	Education

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
273	Cases	Survey Number	
	May - June	Date	
		1. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW MUCH INTEREST YOU GENERALLY HAVE IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS WHEN THERE ISN'T AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN ON. WOULD YOU SAY YOU HAVE A <u>GOOD</u> DEAL, <u>SOME</u> , OR <u>NOT MUCH</u> INTEREST?	V1
138	51.1	1 . . . A good deal of interest	
101	37.4	2 . . . Some interest	
31	11.5	3 . . . Not much interest	
3	m	4 . . . Missing	
		2. WHAT KINDS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS INTEREST YOU MOST?	V2
29	10.3	1 . . . National affairs	
16	5.9	2 . . . Provincial affairs	
6	2.2	3 . . . Local or community affairs	
100	36.6	4 . . . National and provincial equally	
22	8.1	5 . . . Provincial and local equally	
100	36.6	6 . . . All equally	
1	0.4	7 . . . None interest me at all	
		3. DO YOU EVER SPEND TIME DISCUSSING POLITICS WITH ANYONE OUTSIDE YOUR HOME?	V3
78	28.8	1 . . . Yes, frequently (daily)	
156	57.6	2 . . . Sometimes (weekly)	
36	13.3	3 . . . Almost never	
1	0.4	4 . . . Never	
2	m	0 . . . Missing	
		4. HOW OFTEN DO YOU PERSONALLY FOLLOW THE NEWS OF AFFAIRS OUTSIDE YOUR COMMUNITY ON RADIO OR TELEVISION? WOULD YOU SAY . . .	V4
240	88.2	1 . . . Almost everyday	
29	10.7	2 . . . From time to time	
2	0.7	3 . . . Almost never	
1	0.4	4 . . . Never	
1	m	5 . . . Missing	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
5. HAVE YOU VOTED IN ANY PROVINCIAL OR FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS?			
		5a. <u>1982 Provincial</u>	V5
248	93.2	1 . . . Yes, voted	
13	4.9	2 . . . No	
5	1.9	3 . . . Not eligible	
-	-	8 . . . Can't remember	
7	m	0 . . . Missing	
		5b. <u>1980 Federal</u>	V6
233	92.1	1 . . . Yes, voted	
12	4.7	2 . . . No	
8	3.2	3 . . . Not eligible	
6	m	8 . . . Can't remember	
14	m	0 . . . Missing	
		5c. <u>1979 Provincial</u>	V7
230	92.4	1 . . . Yes, voted	
10	4.0	2 . . . No	
9	3.6	3 . . . Not eligible	
6	m	8 . . . Can't remember	
18	m	0 . . . Missing	
		5d. <u>1979 Federal</u>	V8
222	91.7	1 . . . Yes, voted	
8	3.3	2 . . . No	
12	5.0	3 . . . Not eligible	
11	m	8 . . . Can't remember	
20	m	0 . . . Missing	
6. IF YOU VOTED IN THE PROVINCIAL ELECTION LAST YEAR, WOULD YOU MIND TELLING WHICH PARTY YOU VOTED FOR?			
			V9
65	26.3	1 . . . Liberal	
165	66.8	2 . . . P.C.	
17	6.9	3 . . . N.D.P.	
-	-	4 . . . Independent	
5	m	8 . . . Don't remember	
9	m	6 . . . DID NOT VOTE	
10	m	0 . . . Missing	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
		7. IF A PROVINCIAL ELECTION WERE HELD NOW, WHICH PARTY WOULD YOU VOTE FOR?	V10
119	65.0	1 . . . Liberal	
24	13.1	2 . . . P.C.	
30	16.4	3 . . . N.D.P.	
		4 . . . Don't know	
		8 . . . Would probably not vote	
		8. DID YOU ATTEND ANY CAMPAIGN MEETINGS, RALLIES, OR MOTORCADES IN ANY OF THE ELECTIONS MENTIONED IN Q. 5?	V11
74	27.4	1 . . . Yes, attended a rally in the 1982 election	
40	14.8	2 . . . Yes, attended a rally in elections prior to the 1982 elections	
156	57.8	3 . . . No, never attended a rally	
3	m	0 . . . Missing	
		9. APART FROM VOTING, HAVE YOU EVER WORKED FOR A CANDIDATE OR PARTY IN AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN?	V12
104	38.4	1 . . . Yes	
167	61.6	2 . . . No	
1	m	8 . . . Don't know	
1	m	0 . . . Missing	
		10. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A TOWN COUNCIL?	V13
12	4.4	1 . . . Yes, now a member	
30	11.1	2 . . . Yes, <u>past</u> member	
226	83.4	3 . . . Never	
3	1.1	4 . . . Other	
2	m	0 . . . Missing	
		11. PEOPLE HAVE DIFFERENT IDEAS OF JUST HOW THEY FIT INTO AFFAIRS OF THEIR COMMUNITY? WHICH OF THESE FOUR WAYS DESCRIBES YOURSELF?	V14
46	17.3	1 . . . A person who <u>takes a lead</u> in getting things done in community affairs	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
119	44.7	2 . . . A person who is active in community affairs, but not one of the leaders	
83	31.2	3 . . . A person who is part of the community but keeps pretty much of community activities	
18	6.8	4 . . . A person who is not really part of the community here at all	
3	m	8 . . . Don't know	
4	m	0 . . . Missing	
		12. HAVE YOU EVER CONTACTED AN MHA, MP, OR SOME OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL OR OFFICE ABOUT SOME PROBLEM? (Record most recent contact if more than one)	V15
124	45.6	1 . . . No Yes	
		WHOM DID YOU CONTACT?	
21	7.7	2 . . . M.P.	
67	34.6	3 . . . M.H.A.	
5	1.8	4 . . . Provincial official, contacted locally	
8	2.9	5 . . . Provincial official, contacted in St. John's	
-	-	6 . . . Federal official-in Newfoundland	
-	-	7 . . . Federal official in Ottawa	
47	17.3	8 . . . Other	
1	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13. SEVERAL TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS ARE LISTED BELOW. PLEASE ENTER A NUMBER BEFORE EACH TYPE THAT CORRESPONDS TO ONE OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS, SELECTING THE STATEMENT THAT BEST REPRESENTS YOUR OWN RELATIONSHIP TO THE ORGANIZATION.	
		13a. Church or other religious groups eg. Altar Society, Loyal Orange Lodge etc.	V16
50	20.9	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
68	28.5	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
54	22.6	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	
67	28.0	4 . . . I'm not a member	
34	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13b. Service clubs, veteran's groups, benevolent societies -- Kiwanis, Rotary, Kinsmen	V17
34	15.7	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
22	10.2	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
6	2.8	3 . . . I'm not a member	
57	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13c. Sports, Youth, recreation, softball, Girl Guides etc.	V18
71	31.0	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
66	28.8	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
3	1.3	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	
89	38.9	4 . . . I'm not a member	
44	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13d. Special Interest -- Dramatic club, Motorcycle club	V19
27	12.8	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
25	11.8	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
11	5.2	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	
148	70.1	4 . . . I'm not a member	
62	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13e. Civic group -- Cancer Society, Vol. Fire Brigade, Red Cross Soc. etc.	V20
14	6.7	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
18	8.6	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
10	4.8	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
168	80.0	4 . . . I'm not a member	
63	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13f. Political Party organization	V21
5	2.5	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
15	7.4	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
16	7.8	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	
168	82.4	4 . . . I'm not a member	
69	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13g. Parent Teacher Association	V22
21	10.2	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
41	19.9	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
38	18.4	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	
106	51.5	4 . . . I'm not a member	
67	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13h. Newfoundland Teachers Association	V23
65	25.4	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
79	30.9	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
111	43.4	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	
1	0.4	4 . . . I'm not a member	
17	m	0 . . . Missing	
		13i. Other: Computer Club etc.	V24
14	73.7	1 . . . I'm a member and a very active worker	
4	21.1	2 . . . I'm a member and a fairly active worker	
-	-	3 . . . I'm a member but not an active worker	
1	0.4	4 . . . I'm not a member	
254	m	0 . . . Missing	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
		14. HAVE YOU EVER HELD ANY OFFICE IN YOUR LOCAL OR PROVINCIAL NTA EXECUTIVE?	V25
36	13.2	1 . . . Yes, now an officer	
73	26.7	2 . . . Yes, past officer	
164	60.1	3 . . . No, never	
		15. HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND NTA MEETINGS?	V26
111	41.0	1 . . . Regularly	
145	53.5	2 . . . Sometimes	
15	5.5	3 . . . Never	
2	m	0 . . . Missing	
		16. HOW OFTEN DO YOU READ THE NTA BULLETIN?	V27
207	76.1	1 . . . Regularly	
62	22.8	2 . . . Sometimes	
3	1.1	3 . . . Never	
1	m	0 . . . Missing	
		17. DO YOU THINK THAT THE NTA SHOULD ENDORSE CANDIDATES IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS?	V28
69	25.4	1 . . . Yes	
156	57.4	2 . . . No	
47	17.3	3 . . . Undecided	
1	m	0 . . . Missing	
		18. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE VERY SATISFIED, FAIRLY SATISFIED, OR NOT SATISFIED WITH YOUR TEACHING JOB?	V29
98	36.6	1 . . . Very satisfied	
146	54.5	2 . . . Fairly satisfied	
24	9.0	3 . . . Not satisfied	
4	1.5	4 . . . Don't know	
1	m	0 . . . Missing	
		19. DO YOU THINK OF YOURSELF AS . . .	V30
3	1.1	1 . . . A Newfoundlander only	
69	25.7	2 . . . A Newfoundlander first then, a Canadian	
132	49.1	3 . . . A Newfoundlander and a Canadian equally	



Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
46	17.1	4 . . . A Canadian first then a Newfoundlander	
7	2.6	5 . . . A Canadian only	
12	4.5	6 . . . None of these	
4	m	0 . . . Missing	
		20. DO YOU PERSONALLY THINK NEW- FOUNDLAND SHOULD KEEP ITS PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM OR SHOULD IT CHANGE TO ONE OVERALL PUBLIC SYSTEM WITH- OUT CHURCH CONTROL?	V31
105	40.2	1 . . . Keep denominational	
146	55.9	2 . . . Change to public	
10	3.8	3 . . . Other: Mixed system	
9	m	8 . . . Don't know	
3	m	0 . . . Missing	
		21. IN YOUR COMMUNITY, HOW WELL RESPECTED ARE TEACHERS AS A PROFESSION?	V32
39	14.4	1 . . . Very highly respected by most people	
193	71.5	2 . . . Moderately respected by most people	
38	14.1	3 . . . Not well respected by most people	
3	m	0 . . . Missing	
		22. ON MARCH 30, OF THIS YEAR, TEACHERS VOTED ON WHETHER TO ACCEPT GOVERN- MENT AND SCHOOL BOARD PROPOSALS IN THE CONTRACT TALKS AND WHETHER TO AUTHORIZE THE NTA EXECUTIVE TO WITH- DRAW SELECTED SERVICES. DID YOU VOTE YES OR NO?	V33
59	22.1	1 . . . Yes, (to accept government and school board proposals)	
188	70.4	2 . . . No, (to authorize withdrawal of services)	
20	7.5	9 . . . Did not vote	
6	m	0 . . . Missing	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
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		23. DID YOU SUPPORT THE NTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE ON HOW THEY HANDLED THE CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE RECENT TEACHER "LOCKOUT"?	V34
--	--	---	-----

228	85.1	1 . . . Yes	
30	11.2	2 . . . No	
10		3 . . . Other	
5	m	0 . . . Missing	

THE FOLLOWING ARE OPINIONS ABOUT CURRENT ISSUES IN EDUCATION AND POLITICS AND THE RELATIONS OF THE PROVINCE WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. PLEASE READ EACH ONE CAREFULLY AND CIRCLE THE NUMBER UNDER THE RESPONSE WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR PERSONAL OPINION --WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE.

		24. TEACHERS SHOULD HAVE MORE SAY IN HOW SCHOOLS ARE BEING RUN IN YOUR COMMUNITY.	V35
--	--	---	-----

122	46.9	1 . . . Agree strongly	
120	46.2	2 . . . Agree	
16	6.2	3 . . . Disagree	
2	0.8	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
10	m	8 . . . No opinion	
3	m	0 . . . Missing	

		25. PARENTS SHOULD HAVE MORE SAY IN HOW SCHOOLS ARE BEING RUN IN YOUR COMMUNITY.	V36
--	--	--	-----

47	17.9	1 . . . Agree strongly	
134	51.1	2 . . . Agree	
67	25.6	3 . . . Disagree	
14	5.3	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
8	m	8 . . . No opinion	
3	m	0 . . . Missing	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
		26. NEWFOUNDLAND WILL PROBABLY NOT RECEIVE A FAIR HEARING IN THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA ON OWNERSHIP OF THE OFFSHORE.	V37
20	7.8	1 . . . Agree strongly	
59	23.0	2 . . . Agree	
110	42.8	3 . . . Disagree	
68	26.5	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
12	m	8 . . . No opinion	
4	m	0 . . . Missing	
		27. NEWFOUNDLAND'S HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE DEPENDING MAINLY ON GETTING MORE ASSISTANCE FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA.	V38
23	9.1	1 . . . Agree strongly	
63	24.8	2 . . . Agree	
115	45.3	3 . . . Disagree	
53	20.9	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
11	m	8 . . . No opinion	
8	m	0 . . . Missing	
		28. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS BETTER ABLE TO MANAGE THE ECONOMY THAN ARE THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.	V39
13	5.6	1 . . . Agree strongly	
76	32.8	2 . . . Agree	
121	52.2	3 . . . Disagree	
22	9.5	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
33	m	8 . . . No opinion	
8	m	0 . . . Missing	
		29. ONLY A NEWFOUNDLANDER CAN REALLY UNDERSTAND OUR PROBLEMS.	V40
6	2.3	1 . . . Agree strongly	
36	13.6	2 . . . Agree	
177	67.0	3 . . . Disagree	
45	17.0	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
3	m	8 . . . No opinion	
6	m	0 . . . Missing	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
		30. THE SEAL FISHERY SHOULD BE SUPPORTED AS A TRADITIONAL RIGHT OF NEWFOUNDLANDERS EVEN IF IT COSTS THE PROVINCE MONEY.	V41
33	13.1	1 . . . Agree strongly	
80	31.7	2 . . . Agree	
101	40.1	3 . . . Disagree	
38	15.1	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
15	m	8 . . . No opinion	
6	m	0 . . . Missing	
		31. NEWFOUNDLAND HAS LOST MORE THAN IT HAS GAINED FROM CONFEDERATION.	V42
7	2.7	1 . . . Agree strongly	
10	3.9	2 . . . Agree	
119	46.3	3 . . . Disagree	
121	47.1	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
9	m	8 . . . No opinion	
7	m	0 . . . Missing	
		32. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS BETTER ABLE TO MANAGE THE FISHERY THAN THE NEWFOUNDLAND GOVERNMENT.	V43
20	8.3	1 . . . Agree strongly	
72	29.8	2 . . . Agree	
125	51.7	3 . . . Disagree	
25	10.3	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
20	m	8 . . . No opinion	
11	m	0 . . . Missing	
		33. THE GOVERNMENT IN OTTAWA IS MORE INTERESTED IN WHAT THEY CAN GET OUT OF OUR PROVINCE THAN IN HOW TO HELP US DEVELOP.	V44
7	2.8	1 . . . Agree strongly	
40	16.1	2 . . . Agree	
144	58.1	3 . . . Disagree	
57	23.0	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
21	m	8 . . . No opinion	
4	m	0 . . . Missing	
		34. IF SEPARATION FROM CANADA IS NECESSARY TO GAIN CONTROL OF OUR RESOURCES, THEN NEWFOUNDLAND SHOULD SEPARATE.	V45

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
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7	2.7	1 . . . Agree strongly	
11	4.3	2 . . . Agree	
96	37.5	3 . . . Disagree	
142	55.5	4 . . . Disagree strongly	
13	m	8 . . . No opinion	
4	m	0 . . . Missing	

35. DO YOU FEEL THAT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING -- PEOPLE IN YOUR COMMUNITY, MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL BOARD, CLERGYMEN, OR SCHOOL PRINCIPALS--WOULD OBJECT TO YOUR TAKING PART IN THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES?

TAKING PART IN PARTY  
POLITICS OR AN ELECTION  
CAMPAIGN?

35a. People in your community V46

204	84.0	1 . . . No, not in any way	
36	14.8	2 . . . Yes, but not serious	
3	1.2	3 . . . Yes, seriously	
23	m	8 . . . No opinion	
7	m	0 . . . Missing	

35b. Members of the School Board V47

186	79.1	1 . . . No, not in any way	
36	15.3	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously	
13	5.5	3 . . . Yes, seriously	
26	m	8 . . . No opinion	
12	m	0 . . . Missing	

35c. Clergythen V48

208	86.3	1 . . . No, not in any way	
25	10.4	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously	
8	3.3	3 . . . Yes, seriously	
21	m	8 . . . No opinion	
11	m	0 . . . Missing	

35d. School principals V49

221	90.6	1 . . . No, not in any way	
19	7.8	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously	
4	1.6	3 . . . Yes, seriously	
17	m	8 . . . No opinion	
12	m	0 . . . Missing	

Freq. Percent Questions and Coding Categories SPSS Var.

DISCUSSING CONTROVERSIAL  
POLITICAL ISSUES IN CLASS

35e. People in your community V50

118	52.9	1 . . . No, not in any way
69	30.9	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
36	16.1	3 . . . Yes, seriously
37	m	8 . . . No opinion
13	m	0 . . . Missing

35f. Members of the school board V51

116	53.5	1 . . . No, not in any way
50	23.0	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
51	23.5	3 . . . Yes, seriously
41	m	8 . . . No opinion
15	m	0 . . . Missing

35g. Clergymen V52

122	59.8	1 . . . No, not in any way
46	22.5	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
36	17.6	3 . . . Yes, seriously
52	m	8 . . . No opinion
17	m	0 . . . Missing

36h. School principals V53

140	60.9	1 . . . No, not in any way
52	22.6	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
38	16.5	3 . . . Yes, seriously
26	m	8 . . . No opinion
17	m	0 . . . Missing

GOING ON STRIKE OVER CONTRACT  
ISSUES

35i. People in your community V54

25	10.6	1 . . . No, not in any way
113	47.9	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
98	41.5	3 . . . Yes, seriously
25	m	8 . . . No opinion
12	m	0 . . . Missing

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
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Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
35j. <u>Members of the school board</u> V55			

26	11.0	1 . . . No, not in any way
74	31.4	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
136	57.6	3 . . . Yes, seriously
25	m	8 . . . No opinion
12	m	0 . . . Missing

35k. <u>Clergymen</u> V56			
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50	23.0	1 . . . No, not in any way
83	38.2	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
84	38.7	3 . . . Yes, seriously
44	m	8 . . . No opinion
12	m	0 . . . Missing

35l. <u>School principals</u> V57			
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148	6.3	1 . . . No, not in any way
48	20.4	2 . . . Yes, but not seriously
39	16.6	3 . . . Yes, seriously
24	m	8 . . . No opinion
14	m	0 . . . Missing

36. THINKING OF PROVINCIAL POLITICS, DO YOU USUALLY THINK OF YOURSELF AS A LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE OR N.D.P.? V58			
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61	24.5	1 . . . Liberal
87	34.9	2 . . . P.C.
21	8.4	3 . . . N.D.P.
80	32.1	4 . . . No party
15	m	8 . . . Don't know
9	m	0 . . . Missing

37. WHAT IS YOUR SEX? V59			
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215	80.2	1 . . . Male
53	19.8	2 . . . Female
5	m	0 . . . Missing

38. WHAT IS YOUR AGE? V60			
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22	8.4	1 . . . 20-25
65	24.8	2 . . . 26-30
55	21.0	3 . . . 31-35
77	29.4	4 . . . 36-40
43	16.4	5 . . . 41-72
11	m	0 . . . Missing

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
		39. WHAT IS YOUR RELIGION?	V61
105	39.8	1 . . . Roman Catholic	
57	21.6	2 . . . Anglican	
56	21.2	3 . . . United Church	
25	9.5	4 . . . Pentecostal	
3	1.1	5 . . . Salvation Army	
8	3.0	6 . . . Other	
		7 . . . None	
9	m	0 . . . Missing	
		40. WHAT IS THE DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF YOUR SCHOOL?	V62
105	39.2	1 . . . Roman Catholic	
137	51.1	2 . . . Integrated	
26	9.7	3 . . . Pentecostal	
-	-	4 . . . S.D.A.	
-	-	5 . . . Other	
5	m	0 . . . Missing	
		41. IF YOU HAD TO MAKE A CHOICE, WOULD YOU SAY YOU WERE IN THE UPPER CLASS, UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS, MIDDLE CLASS, WORKING CLASS, OR LOWER CLASS?	V63
5	2.9	1 . . . Upper Class	
73	27.3	2 . . . Upper-Middle class	
158	59.0	3 . . . Middle class	
29	10.8	4 . . . Working class	
-	-	5 . . . Lower class	
3	m	6 . . . Don't know	
5	m	0 . . . Missing	
		42. WHAT IS YOUR TOTAL SALARY FOR THE YEAR 1981-82? REPORT GROSS AMOUNT PRIOR TO WITHHOLDING FOR TAXES OR OTHER ITEMS.	V64
12	4.5	1 . . . Under \$20,000	
36	13.6	2 . . . \$20,000-\$24,999	
83	31.4	3 . . . \$25,000-\$29,999	
133	50.4	4 . . . \$30,000 and over	
9	m	0 . . . Missing	



Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
		43. COUNTING THE PRESENT SCHOOL YEAR, WHAT IS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS YOU HAVE BEEN IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION?	V65
42	15.9	1 . . . 1-5	
81	30.7	2 . . . 6-10	
66	25.0	3 . . . 11-15	
45	17.0	4 . . . 16-20	
30	11.4	5 . . . 21-55	
9	m	0 . . . Missing	
		44. WHAT IS THE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY IN WHICH YOU ARE PRESENTLY TEACHING?	V66
48	18.0	1 . . . Less than 1000	
62	23.2	2 . . . 1,000-2,499	
48	18.0	3 . . . 2,500-4,999	
57	21.3	4 . . . 5,000-9,999	
39	14.6	5 . . . 10,000-29,000	
13	4.9	6 . . . 30,000 and over	
6	m	0 . . . Missing	
		45. WHAT SUBJECT AREA DO YOU PRIMARILY TEACH?	V67
67	24.9	1 . . . Social Studies (Economics, Geography, Democracy, etc.)	
68	25.3	2 . . . Arts courses (English, French, Religion, etc.)	
39	14.5	3 . . . Mathematics (including computer science)	
27	10.0	4 . . . Science (Chemistry, Physics, etc.)	
13	4.8	5 . . . Mathematics and Others	
19	7.1	6 . . . Social Studies and Others	
36	13.3	7 . . . Others, P.E., Home Economics etc.	
4	m	0 . . . Missing	
		46. WHAT IS THE LEVEL OF YOUR TEACHING ACCREDITATION?	V68
1	0.4	1 . . . Level two	
4	1.5	2 . . . Level three	
24	8.9	3 . . . Level four	

Freq.	Percent	Question and Coding Categories	SPSS Var.
72	26.8	4 . . . Level five	
116	43.1	5 . . . Level six	
47	17.5	6 . . . M. Ed	
1	0.4	7 . . . Ph.D	
4	1.5	8 . . . Other	
4	m	0 . . . Missing	

47. DO YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS  
ABOUT THE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN  
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR?

[A few responses were given. These tended to be lengthy, and  
were not coded.]

## APPENDIX E

## DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDE INDEXES

This appendix explains how indices were constructed to measure political participation and the perception of objections to political activities. For details of component questions, refer to Appendix D, using variable numbers (V5, etc) as a guide.

The Voting Frequency Index

The index score is the number of times respondents reported voting in the four elections of 1979 (Federal and Provincial), 1980 (Federal), and 1982 (Provincial). (V5, V6, V7 and V8)

(N)	Z	Score
15	6	0 Did not vote
20	7	1 Voted once
14	5	2 Voted twice
11	4	3 Voted thrice
213	78	4 Voted four times

Campaign and Partisan Activity Index

This index is computed from (V11) "ever attended campaign rallies," (V12) "ever worked for a political candidate" and (V21) "membership in political party organization." The respondent received 1 score from, V11 and V12, respectively, if he or she had "regularly" taken part in the activity, and from V21, if he or she was "very" or "fairly" active in political party organizations.

<u>(N)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Score</u>	
126	46	0	Was never involved
74	27	1	Participated in one activity
73	27	2	Participated in two or more activities.

#### Particularized Contacting

This is a single variable index; (V15). All respondents who reported having contacted any public official were classified "yes" and all others were grouped into the "no" category.

<u>(N)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Score</u>	
125	46	0	Have never contacted any public official
148	54	1	Have contacted an official

#### Community Activity

The community activity index was computed from V13, "ever been a municipal council member" and V14 "how do you fit into affairs in the community." One point was scored for any respondent who had ever been a member of a municipal council, and one for those who considered themselves as "leaders" in their communities.

<u>(N)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Score</u>	
208	76	0	Low involvement
42	15	1	Medium involvement
23	8	2	High involvement

#### Overall participation Index

Index score for the four modes of activity -- voting, campaigning, contacting and community activities -- were combined in the overall participation index. Below are the percentage scores:

(N)	$\bar{x}$	Score
11	4.0	0
8	2.9	1
13	4.8	2
16	5.9	3
47	17.2	4
66	24.2	5
43	15.8	6
39	14.3	7
14	5.1	8
16	5.9	9
273	100.0	

Values were then recoded: (0,1,2,3,4=1) (5,6=2) (7,8,9=3)

(N)	$\bar{x}$	Score
94	34.8	1 Low
108	40.0	2 Medium
71	25.3	3 High

#### Organizational' Participation Index

This index combines respondents participation in the following community organizations: religious clubs, service clubs, sports groups, special interest groups, civic groups, political party organization and the Parent Teacher Association. (V16 through V22.) Respondents received a score for each type of organization in which they reported "very" or "fairly" active involvement. From a maximum range of 0-7, scores were recoded: (0,1=1; 3 to 7=3)

(N)	$\bar{x}$	Score
25	9.2	0
60	22.0	1
66	24.2	2
70	25.6	3
36	13.2	4
12	4.4	5
1	0.4	6
3	1.1	7

(N)	%	Score
85	31	1 Low
66	24	2 Medium
122	45	3 High

#### Restrictions on Teacher Activity Index

The first index, perceived restrictions on teachers' partisan activity was computed from V46, V47, V48, V49, referring respectively to people in the community, members of the school board, clergymen and principals as sources of objections. Restrictions on discussing controversial political issues index was computed from V50 to V53. V54, V55, V56 and V57 were used to construct the restriction on strike index. For each perception of a "serious" objection, a value of 2 was added to the index score; for non-"serious" objections, 1 was added. In overall objection index, the original values for each of the above indexes were summed and recoded.

#### Restrictions on teachers' participation in partisan politics index

(N)	%	Score
231	85	0 Low (did not perceive any objections)
40	15	1 Medium
42	15	2 High

#### Restrictions on discussing controversial political issues in class index

145	53	0 Low (did not perceive any objections)
22	8	1 Medium
106	39	2 High

Restrictions on going on strike index

<u>(N)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Score</u>	
46	17	0	Low (did not perceive any objections)
17	6	1	Medium
210	77	2	High

Overall Objection Index

60	22	1	Low
89	33	2	Medium
124	45	3	High

APPENDIX F

FIELD OBSERVATION OF NTA ACTIVITIES



March, 1983:

I attended NTA branch meeting organized by the St. John's branch at Holy Heart High School. Mr. Keith Coombs the president of the branch helped a great deal in making my presence at this meeting possible.

April 4 - 7, 1983:

The NTA annual convention was held at the Holiday Inn in St. John's, Newfoundland. I attended many of the sessions and had the opportunity of talking to many of the participants. I made arrangements with Mrs. Georgina Hedges, NTA branch president, Grand Falls and Mr. Leo Furey, president of the Appalachia branch to visit their branches.

April 19 - 22, 1983:

I visited the following places: Grand Falls, Stephenville, Corner Brook and Millertown.

Grand Falls: Teachers had established their strike headquarters at the Taiwan Restaurant. It was a good opportunity for me to meet striking teachers and discuss among other things, the teachers "strike," their role in politics, and their view of public reaction towards the "strike."

Stephenville: The visit to Stephenville was the most eventful during the trip. Through the assistance of Mr. Leo Furey, I was introduced to some retired teachers. I also mingled with the teachers in Stephenville and had fruitful discussions with them. They were very cooperative in answering most of my questions.

Corner Brook: I travelled with the Stephenville teachers to attend an NTA rally at Corner Brook. This rally was attended by teachers in western Newfoundland. I made an effort to talk to as many teachers as possible. This was very difficult because some were suspicious of my presence at the meeting as I was not a teacher. Others, however, offered information freely when they realized I was not a Newfoundlander. The latter were in the majority.

Millertown: I went to this town to meet some teachers.

April 9 - 11, 1983:

Bay Roberts and Clarenville: I was introduced to some retired teachers in these towns for an interview.







