

Student-to-teacher violation and the threat to a teacher's self

‘To mention violations from students would mean the loss of one's self’¹

Abstract

This paper is based on a study of fourteen Norwegian K-12 teachers who have been violated by students in schools. One key theme emerged during the process of analysis: the threat to the teachers' self. This threat appears to be intensified due to lack of support. The findings in this small-scale Norwegian study indicate that student-to-teacher violation can have a serious impact on teachers' perceptions of their individual and professional self. The findings disclose that the teachers' self is affected leading to changed, weakened and disrupted experience of teachers' self-understanding. This knowledge may influence how teachers can continue working when critical incidents occur.

Keywords: violence against teachers, teacher identity, school violence, loss of self, Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), work-place violence.

1. Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the impact of student violence on teachers. Research has discussed this under a number of different headings, such as student violence, school violence, bullying, and work place violence. In this paper I report on a small-scale qualitative case study conducted with Norwegian teachers on their experience of being violated by students. Rather than focusing on the acts of violence, I highlight the subjective experiences of ‘being violated’. In other words, the ways in which teachers, who are exposed to various forms of student violence, experience a transgression of their personal and/or professional integrity. I discuss this under the heading of ‘threat to the teacher's self.’ The research is based on semi-structured interviews with 14 Norwegian teachers, all of whom had been exposed to some form of student violence. I show that the teachers said relatively little about the actual acts of violence, but focused more strongly on the impact on their sense of self. In addition to this, the presence or absence of recognition and support from colleagues and superiors also turned out to be a significant factor in the experience of being violated.

¹ Genuine statement from one of the interviewed teachers who had been violated by a student.

After an overview of existing research on the topic, I present the design of the research and the theoretical frameworks used. Against this background, I present the main findings from the interviews. I conclude with a critical discussion of the findings and suggest implications for policy, practice, and further research.

Problem: How do teachers experience their self is being affected when violated by students, based on om-depth interviews with fourteen violated teachers?

2. Theoretical anchoring

Definitions of the self, often defined as ‘identity’ (Saldaña, 2013), ‘self-understanding’ (Rots, Kelchtermans, & Aeltermans, 2012) and also ‘ontological security’ (Giddens, 1994; Laing, 1960) are connected to teachers’ experience of their self. Giddens links self-identity to ontological security and describes identity as both ‘fragile’ and ‘robust’ (1991).

Professional identity describes a teacher’s personal practical identity image of himself/herself as a teacher (Sutherland, Howard, & Markauskaite, 2010). Their article underlines that this way of understanding teachers’ voice implies a continuous process where teachers negotiate their self by continuously interpreting and reinterpreting events in an ongoing reflection of the meaning they attach to practical episodes (p. 456). Teachers’ professional identity is therefore not a fixed entity. Stavik-Karlsen (2014) describes teachers as continuously negating their identities during and following encounters in the classroom. Farouk (2014) finds the teachers’ self emerges as a ‘fluid’ and ‘interpersonal construct’ in his studies on teachers’ self-understanding. Having a professional identity is regarding oneself a member of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). James refers to the norms of the community of practice as ‘club-opinion’ (1890/1990).

The professional self is linked to what roles people take on in the working arena. Park mentions that teachers play various roles (also as parents, etc.): “It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves” (Park, 1950, p. 249). Nevertheless we can lose this knowledge of who we are as teachers, and Park describes that the Jew who is leaving the ghetto, can lose “even his soul” (p. 247).

The individual self is a concept similar to Erikson’s ‘Personal Identity’ (Erikson, 1959/1980). It refers to one’s self - sameness and continuity in time and that this sameness is recognized by others. This view is somewhat different from the reflexive project of the self - as presented by Giddens. Kristjánsson (2010) uses the concept ‘private self’ (p. 40). Zhao

and Biesta (2011) add to Kristjánsson's point of 'sameness' and state that the self is more than a reflexive project. Other literature supports the flexible aspect of the self being a teacher. McNally and Blake (2012) introduce the concept of the teacher's 'Reciprocal Ontological Security', stating that a teacher's security, or identity, is a gift from the student. Rots, Kelchtermans and Aelterman (2012) reason for using teacher 'self-understanding' instead of identity, arguing that the former demonstrates the flexibility of how teachers experience their self.

Connelly, Clandinin and Applebaum (1999) define teacher identity as consisting of 'stories to live by', which shape their professional identity. Communication about what takes place when teachers encounter violations from students must be seen in the light of "the fear of looking incompetent" (Karsenti & Collin, 2013, p. 147). The teacher role is a self-perceived role often in conflict between the human being and the professional "model teacher" described by Shapiro as "a pedagogical whiz who appears pleasant and calm in all situations" (2009, p. 618). Findings in this Norwegian study point to teachers losing their stories to live by, fearing their sameness is at stake and that violations do away with their reciprocal ontological security as teachers and human beings.

The relationship between students and teachers appears to play a significant role in teachers' experience of well-being (Van Droogenbroeck, Spruyt, & Vanroelen, 2014, p. 106). When this relationship is at stake a Portuguese study finds that teachers experience apprehension, worry, disappointment, anxiety and tenseness connected to emotions of 'shame', 'remorse', 'regret' and 'guilt' connected to "critical moments in the classroom" (Bahia, Freire, Amaral, & Teresa Estrela, 2013, p. 282).

The professional and individual self influence each other, as indicated by the findings presented later. There is a close connection between the two, perhaps especially in the teaching profession, a profession often considered as 'what you are, more than what you do' (Goodson, 2003; D. H. Hargreaves, 1980; McNally & Blake, 2012; Messina, 2012; Nieto, 2003, 2005). In reference to the above sources, the role of a teacher is often considered something more than a profession, with additional roles as father, friend and model (Allen, 2006, p. 125). This in-between-position leaves a teacher especially vulnerable when critical episodes like threats and assaults from their students occur. It can be a threatening experience, or it can imply a weakened self or even a loss of self. Charmaz (2011) describes loss of self as "losing their way of being in the world" (p. 178). The teacher's self is described as 'vulnerable' in more recent Norwegian literature on the teaching profession (K. Smith, 2014; Stavik-Karlsen, 2014; Østern, 2014).

According to Lortie (1975/2002), the main teacher narrative is that of the single teacher who encounters a problem, manages to save a student with various problems (learning or behavioral), one who manages through adversity by establishing a relationship with the student, helping him/her to manage her/his life. This is, according to Lortie, considered the discourse of the professional self of the good teacher. Hargreaves (1980) describes how “teachers’ occupational culture” is occupied with “status, competence, and (social) relationships” (p. 127). Because of the significance put on these themes teachers experience “competence anxieties” (p. 141) in addition to shame, embarrassment and guilt when they do not live up to the norms of ‘the good teacher’ described in relevant studies (Gil-Monte, 2012; Gruenewald, Dickerson, & Kemeny, 2007; Skaarderud, 2001).

Reactions from Finnish care workers add to the knowledge of how being exposed to violent acts might result in a diminished self-image. Viitasara (2004) states that “Violent events can be associated with guilt and shame, self-reproach, or a sense of lack of personal professionalism, even failure” (p. 38). The conflict between their ideal stories and their lived stories may result in them becoming isolated and frustrated (Schaefer, 2013, p. 269). There is a need for teachers to come across positively among the staff as, “an expert, certain teacher, someone who was competent” (p. 267).

Two studies from Finland add to the findings from Minnesota and show that teachers working with impaired students as a particularly vulnerable group. One study (Ervasti et al., 2011, pp. 465, 469) found that male special education teachers had about 60 % higher sickness absenteeism than their female and male colleagues working in general education (pp. 465, 469). A related study (Ervasti et al., 2012) found male special educators three times more likely to be exposed to mental abuse, and five times more likely to be exposed to physical violence compared to male teachers teaching general education (p. 336). The percentages for female teachers were somewhat lower, two and three fold, compared to teachers teaching general education.

A study from Pennsylvania (Tiesman, Konda, Hendricks, Mercer, & Amandus, 2013) presents results similar to the studies from Finland and Minnesota when dealing with special educators’ exposure to work place violence. Tiesman et al.’s study states that special educators are more exposed to violence than other professions like taxi drivers, nurses and mental health professionals (p. 65). Special educators are exposed to a prevalence of physical assault four times higher than that of general education teachers (p. 67). An important issue in the report is the argument that when students in special education carry out threats or assaults, teachers might consider it as part of their job (p. 69).

The research included above indicates that violence against teachers is a phenomenon in need of more research. It is identified as a serious issue within the educational system. Special education teachers are included in the review since many of the teachers in this Norwegian study comment that students who violated them had developmental issues- the most common being ADHD diagnosis. Research on teachers' experiences is to a great extent lacking and this study aims at adding to the knowledge of violence against teachers, which I choose to name 'student-to-teacher' violation.

3. Methodology

Semi-structured interviews with fourteen teachers who all had experienced student violence were undertaken. Participants were identified through the snowball method (Creswell, 2012, p. 158) in that people who knew of the research provided names of teachers who they knew had experienced student violence. All the approached teachers agreed to share their experiences. This came as a surprise as I had anticipated that many would find it difficult to talk about their experiences of violence and being violated. On the contrary, the teachers expressed gratitude to be given the opportunity to tell their stories about what had taken place and how they had experienced it.

An interview script was designed with open-ended and non-directive questions. The questions allowed for free expression with a script which invited teachers to share critical incidents and aimed at eliciting information of teachers' experiences connected to acts of violations at their work place. An example: "Could you tell me of an episode where you were violated? How did you experience what took place? What feelings and emotions can you recall? What were your reflections then of how was it handled?" The focus during the interview was not on the violation itself, but what meaning the episodes were given by the teacher.

The interviews were done in one-to-one situations, and all were conducted by the author of this article. All the teachers interviewed had firsthand experiences of threats and physical assaults. The interviews were undertaken in Norwegian, the transcripts written first in Norwegian, and then translated into English by the researcher. All the interviews were transcribed and the participants were provided with the transcriptions for comments.

At the start of the interview sessions I informed the teachers of my background in experiencing violation from students in my teaching career, thus aiming at establishing trust and obtaining access to their experiences: approaches mentioned in earlier studies (Harper,

O'Connor, Dickson, & O'Carroll, 2011; Wadel, Wadel, & Fuglestad, 2014). The interviews lasted between one hour and one hour and 45 minutes. They were done in cafés (6), schools (5), an allotment cabin (2), and one interview took place in an informant's home (1). The first seven interviews were done by taking notes and shortly afterward writing the keywords into a coherent text. The remaining interviews were done via audiotape, and transcribed after I realized that pauses, repetitions and variations in voice intonation and pitch contained important information. The author transcribed the tapes and interviews.

Each of the teachers mentioned in this paper was given a fictional name familiar in both Norwegian and English. All of them are certified teachers permanently employed at the time of the interview. Gender was evenly distributed, so were teachers' age and seniority. Seven of the fourteen teachers were exposed to physical assaults, and seven were threatened. Eight of the fourteen teachers had various lengths of sick leave following the episodes of violations. Two more mentioned that if the administration had not rearranged their teaching obligations after being threatened, they would have called in sick. Eight of the interviewed teachers taught at high school level, five teachers taught in elementary school and one teacher in junior high school. The age of the students varied from five years to seventeen years old. The Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) provided the necessary permission to perform the study.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis, (IPA) is the preferred approach to obtain and analyze data. The method is, according to Smith and Osborn (2014), especially suited examining "topics which are complex, ambiguous and emotionally laden" (p. 1). The aim of the study is to produce detailed information on personal lived experience (J. A. Smith, Larkin, & Flowers, 2009). Smith and Osborn argue that IPA is especially tailored for illuminating "a difficult and sensitive subject" (2014, p. 2).

In analyzing the data IPA has been used. IPA emphasizes the researcher's active role as interpreter in dealing with the data (J. A. Smith et al., 2009, p. 35). IPA is a phenomenological qualitative approach where detailed examination of lived experience is the focus (J. A. Smith & Osborn, 2014). The emphasis is on the participants giving meaning to what has happened to them and for the interpreter, the interviewer, to make sense of participants' meaningmaking (p. 1). Central to the approach ('approach' is preferred instead of 'method') is each interview being studied in detail (ideographic) before finding general themes.

Each interview was read several times. The aim was to gain a complete picture of the participant's experience (Bramley & Eatough, 2005, p. 226). Words that gave meaning were

noted in the margin, aiming at trying to find conceptual themes, which captured the interviewee's most essential experience. Concepts were noted in the margin on the other side of the page. Themes were thus identified, and again categorized in sub-themes and superordinate themes.

After each interview was analyzed, the themes and sub-themes were compared, trying to find overall themes identifying most of the interviews. Early in the process concepts like anger, loneliness and vulnerability were found to be relevant for many of the fourteen teachers in the group. Themes like health, sick leave, emotions, insecurity and experience of danger also arose from the material. By cautious analysis of the transcripts and reflections, two main themes emerged: lack of support and threat to the teacher's self, of which the latter is the focus of this paper.

The excerpts presented in this article were found to represent important aspects of the themes discussed. This is in line with validating the data by providing rich and thick description to support "trustworthiness" (Aspfors & Bondas, 2013, p. 247).

4. Prior research

I will below present five relevant studies to illuminate the chosen theme of violation of teachers. Three papers on violence against teachers originate from a 'task force' in the US by the American Psychological Association. One of the reports (Espelage et al., 2013) presents an overview of the field of earlier research relevant for violence against teachers and confirms that educators as victims have so far been disregarded (p. 2). The definition of violence used in the report is a broad definition including bullying, intimidation, gang activity, locker theft, weapon use, and assault. Other forms of violence include malicious insults, acts of racism, bias-based hate crimes, racial profiling, assaults, theft, and racketeering.

A second article (McMahon et al., 2014) finds that 80 % of K-12 teachers in the US have been victimized in the current or previous year (p. 757). The article expresses surprise at how little attention has been paid to teachers' experiences of threats and actual violence. An important element in this study addresses a new form of violation little studied: harassment through the internet.

A third study from the APA task force (Reddy et al., 2013) portrays three violated teachers. The article presents teachers' experiences and finds that one common theme emerging is the external locus of control on violence issues. All three reports document that violence against teachers is a field where more research is needed.

A Canadian survey study (Wilson, Douglas, & Lyon, 2011) distinguishes between violence towards teachers during the previous 12 months and “one time in their career” (p. 2365). The latter shows an 80 % victimization rate during a teacher’s whole career. For the previous twelve months, 6 % of respondents indicated they had been threatened, 4 % were physically attacked without a weapon, and 1 % were physically attacked with a weapon. Wilson et al.’s report is one of few studies identified focusing not only on the prevalence of violence against teachers but also on the “consequences thereof” (p. 2358). An important finding in the study is the identifying of a link between experiencing violence and experiencing fear among teachers (pp. 2365-2366).

A quantitative survey study on Minnesotan teachers (Gerberich, Nachreiner, Ryan, & Church, 2011) defines violence as “the intentional use of physical force or emotional abuse against an employee, which resulted in physical or emotional injury and consequences.” (p. 294). The prevalence of Minnesota’s educators exposed to non-physical violence is 8.3 % while 38,4 % have been physically attacked during the previous 12 months by students. A noteworthy part in the report is identifying students who threaten and assault teachers. Figures show that a majority of students (78 %) physically assaulting teachers were described as “impaired”, while approximately 16 % were described as “not impaired” (Gerberich et al., 2011, p. 298). The study addresses the effects on teachers. The most commonly reported symptoms and feelings for both physical assaults and non-physical violence are frustration, anger, fear/anxiety/stress, sadness, fatigue, difficulty sleeping, and irritability.

5. Findings

5.1. Introduction: The threat to the self is the main theme of this paper. In this section, I provide findings from my analysis under three sub-themes: the threatened self, the weakened self and the disrupted self. The themes emerge from the analysis, while the categories of professional and individual self are categories derived from the literature.

5.2. A threat to the self

The threat to the professional self is illustrated in the interview with Adam. He is a teacher in his early thirties and new to the teaching profession after working for some years in a technical trade. The incident happened when Adam took a seventeen-year-old student to a small room in the school for correction of bad behavior. The student grabbed him, lifted him up in the air, off his feet, and hung him up on a hook on the wall. Adam chose to tell ‘nobody’

about the incident, meaning none of his family, colleagues, friends or superiors. He related the incident to his college lecturer, who again asked if he would be willing to talk to me about it. When we discussed why he had chosen **not** to talk about the incident, Adam mentions how the threat to the self can actually mean loss of self.

Adam: It's probably hard to say such a thing in the work environment, since it is loss of face. There is loss of control in the classroom; there is loss of yourself.

I: Loss of yourself?

Adam: Yes, really! When you are so afraid that you do not dare step into the classroom, then you lose some of your control, and, in theory, it is no longer the class that is the problem.

I: What do you mean by "in theory"?

Adam: Yes, as a teacher, you are the leader of your class, and if you cannot be the boss, you have lost control.

When I asked him for his experience of hanging up against the wall, his answer displays his self's vulnerability:

Adam: You are extremely helpless.

I: How did you experience your helplessness?

Adam: You are actually enormously paralyzed. I was. Did not seem to get anything going. You had, I almost kept on saying, that the thought of hitting and kicking was most likely there, but you, you [pause] I almost kept on saying that you are now so integrated as a teacher, you should not touch the student. In reality. You have no [pause] although the student strikes you, you cannot strike back. This is where the guidelines are. Even if the student strikes first. That was the first thing that flashed through my mind, maybe.

The citation above displays how his self as a teacher is at stake, his individual self, his inner 'primitive' emotions on how to retaliate and defend himself, is 'debating' with the

external professional embedded in the role of teacher. In both of the abstracts, he connects the notion of having control of students to experiencing control of the self.

Another teacher, Marion, fears that the violent acts would have a negative impact on her self, or her 'soul'. She describes three incidents of violations: being punched in the face, kicked in her ribs and verbally harassed. She reflects on her experience of self / 'soul' when violated:

I was afraid the episodes would do something to me so that I could not continue working here. There is a danger that one cannot act accordingly if one considers it a natural part of everyday life. I am very sure that it is **'very harmful to my soul'** (Raising her voice and talking slower) (...) I almost got into a 'psychological victim role' where one experiences guilt and keeps on actively in an educator role where I / we trivialize what really has taken place."(Marion)

Like Adam, Marion reflects on her role as a teacher and how that role might make violations from students too common, so ordinary that the harm to the self, or the concept of 'soul' that she uses, goes unnoticed. The strain she experiences is shown in the first sentences in the extracts below. After Marion describes the incident and her immediate physical reactions, she reflects on how it affects her:

One student - certainly the most violent episode - a student kicked and struck my ear and neck. I passed out and was unconscious for a moment. Then I went to bed. I called my ex-husband who came and picked me up. I went home and slept for 20 hours. It is embarrassing to have been beaten up by a brat. It is a failure. In addition, you do not get it out. It builds layer upon layer. (Marion)

There are reasons to believe that 'it' and 'layers' in the last sentence relates to negative emotions from being 'beaten by a brat' that may influence, threaten the self, her soul. In another episode she uses a more diffuse 'something' when describing how an incident of verbal harassment influenced her emotions.

Another pupil looked at me and said; "Go home and fuck your mother." My mother was recently dead and I experienced his words appallingly. "Take that damn skeleton

of your mother and shove it up your ass," the student continued. Something happens at the emotional level when one hears such utterings. (Marion)

What this 'something' is one must see connected to 'the emotional level'. It is natural to see Marion's three abstracts in association, and that they all deal with the threat to the self. Both Adam and Marion illustrate how they experience their self at stake, showing vulnerability and individual and professional insecurity.

David also indicated the threat to the self. He had been threatened, directly by having his name spray painted on the school wall saying: "David will die" and by a threat from a student he expelled for misbehaving. The student said, "I know where you live". Like Adam above, David chose not to tell his colleagues or friends about the incidents or the emotions he experienced following the threats.

You do not talk about your basic deeper fear. For not belonging in school and stuff. In order not to be seen as someone who cannot handle things, someone not to take seriously. Someone [pause] All these things like that. **That** I do not communicate to other people...However, what one does not speak about, is of course a deeper issue. (David)

David fears what consequences there would be in telling how he experienced the situations of transgression and intimidation from students. The citation above is him telling being out with good friends, telling about episodes from school without telling it all, deciding not to talk about 'the deeper issue'. He has a professional self to adhere to and he has his individual self, where the 'deeper issues' are located. David chose to remove his name from the telephone directory because of the threats.

A fourth teacher, Jenny, experienced an unpleasant episode with an indirect threat in the classroom. Her feeling of danger is demonstrated from the following abstract:

[I] Had firsthand knowledge of drug abuse and knew that he had no control. [I was] - in a state of alert. I have previously had unpleasant experiences with drug-addicted persons and was on guard. I knew that a young man on pills or other substances has no control.

After this episode, I contacted the telephone directory and asked my name to be removed.

She does not state explicitly the threat to her individual or professional self. Her words of having a student with 'no control' in front of her and afterward removing her name from the telephone directory implies an experience of threat to both her individual and professional

self. That she removed her name from the telephone directory, like David above, indicates that her experience of security extended beyond her professional sphere.

Peter tells of a similar situation to Jenny, where he experienced being threatened:

Peter: The student said to me, 'If there is any more from you now, you will get a fist from me.' Moreover, he was sort of like this, (demonstrates hands clenched, ready to strike) and shook his fist at me.

I: Did you perceive there was a real possibility that he could have knocked you down?

Peter: Yes, I think so. Yes. (His answer comes quickly, before I finish my question.)

It is in his professional role that he is threatened. Peter is exerting this role as teacher inside the classroom. His feeling of insecurity influences his individual self when he shares his anxieties while staying inside his private home later in the interview. He dreads the student coming in the middle of the night to set his house on fire.

Summing up: The excerpts, point out that the threat to the self involves the fear that a change in self-perception could occur if colleagues, administration, family or friends learned about what had taken place. Becoming a victim from students' violent acts or threats involves shame and indignity, and is therefore hidden in order to avoid a change of self. Teachers' vulnerability is highlighted, though no actual harm is made public.

5.3. A weakened self

In the examples above the threat to the self from student violations is presented. In addition, experiences of a weakened self emerges from the data. In the examples that follow, violated teachers indicate a weakened or reduced self because of violations. Walter, in the example below, uses the word "loss of self-confidence" while Jenny uses the concepts "vulnerable" and "weak" when describing how she experiences her self being weakened. Walter was on sick leave for three months after a student punched him in the face. He wished someone had called him at home to ask how he was, and also upon returning to work. Walter's description indicates a weakened self:

I experienced loss of confidence and self-worth, I experienced being regarded as a problem, and I was physically exhausted. I experienced not being believed. I wished

one colleague could say, 'Now you should care of yourself and be relieved of your responsibility.'(...) One thinks of many things. Expectations from both management / colleagues are not put into words, but I found it disappointing. This is because few persons - even no one - asked how I was. I told the principal that I felt like a burden. That day I began crying. When I spoke with the vice-principal, she was only busy filling in my absence form correctly and not concerned about how I was doing.

Walter, who starts crying while telling the story, describes his experience of a reduced self-worth shortly after having returned to work. In addition, he describes feeling like 'a burden'. Feeling that he had become 'a problem' indicates a lowered self. This image is strengthened by the physical reaction of starting to cry. Walter stopped working as a teacher at the end of the semester and changed his career.

Jenny had been indirectly threatened and started doubting herself as indicated from the abstract following. "There must be someone in management trained to show respect for a teacher who has ended up in such a situation. You become so weak and vulnerable after such incidents." 'Such incidents' refers to an incident of violation which had happened inside the classroom when she ordered one student to put his mobile phone away, which he refused. The situation she describes as becoming 'charged' and she chose to walk out from her class. Afterward she started questioning who she was, and had to use a strengthening assertive sentence to overcome the emotion of a weakened self. During her sick leave Jenny emphasized:

I am altogether a good teacher! What held me down anyway was that one person representing the administration told me that he considered I had overreacted. This remained with me. Am I a wimp? The student had not physically attacked me. Moreover, he had not said precisely that he was about to punch me. Had I lost my head?

In the first sentence in the extract above, Jenny tries to convince herself of her own competence. If she had not experienced a weakened self, this act would be unnecessary. The concepts of 'being held down' further builds the notion of a self, which had received a blow, even if her body had not. The word wimp according to the online Oxford Dictionary means a cowardly or weak person. The definition of the word 'weak' further strengthens the appearance of a weakened self. The self-accusing question of whether she had lost her head adds to what meaning she puts on her experience.

David, I understand, talks of maintaining his professional self, as Adam mentioned above, by deciding not to tell:

Why did I not talk to anyone about it at school? My fear of coming across as a simpleton. I would not push myself into a corner, right? To give the impression of (me as) someone who cannot handle his work”. (David)

A ‘simpleton’ is a reduced version of a competent teacher. I take it to mean that both David and Adam feared their colleagues would look upon them as incompetent teachers.

A student threatened Julie by stating ‘something’ would happen to her if he did not obtain a pass grade in her subject. It resulted for her part in a new experience of insecurity, also at home. She became afraid of walking in front of her living room windows at night, and scared that the telephone would ring. Thoughts of earlier prison mates coming to harass former wardens crossed her mind when staying home. Her experience from school is being transferred from her work place, her professional sphere, to her individual, private area, her home.

Julie reflects upon her changed experience of who she has become, as something less than she had perceived herself to be before the incident. She describes herself as a “useless human being”, not limited to insecurity in her professional role. She expresses in the interview that she, both as a professional teacher and a private individual, is not living up to a standard.

Summing up: Student-to-teacher violations have caused an actual change in the teachers. Some of them display the changes, which have taken place, by displaying them through crying. Others state that the incidents have caused them to behave differently in themselves and in their life-world.

5.4. A disrupted self

There are indications in my data, that student-to-teacher violation not only weakens or threatens the self, but that teachers experience a breakdown of the self, mentioned by others as a ‘personal psychological breakdown’ (Lillevik & Øien, 2012) or ‘shattered self’. Two teachers in my material have a direct description of experience of a shattered self; still others indicate the same phenomenon more indirectly.

A student threatened Erik that he would put the teacher in hospital if they met outside school premises. When Erik reached home, he experienced a state, which indicated a shattered or disturbed self. Erik relates how he reacted upon reaching home as falling apart in his private and individual sphere which he shared with his family.

Quite quickly afterward, I experienced physical reactions: shivering at the knees, fits of sweating, insomnia, mental imbalance and severe depression. A prolonged period of sick leave followed. During this period, I was very unsettled with thoughts like, 'What could I have done? Should and could I have done anything differently? My experience of guilt was central. I used much energy and experience (with thoughts of guilt). This doubles up when I suffer lack of support. Is there something wrong with me since I do not receive the backing that I think I am entitled to?"

Erik describes a reaction similar to breakdown at an individual, private level. In addition, he doubts his professional competence. Erik contacted the emergency medical service after three days at home. The doctor prescribed between one and two months sick leave, followed by five months with 50 % sick leave. He refers to his reactions during his first period of sick leave as follows: "During the period of sick leave, I was at times so miserable that I reacted to all sharp sounds, such as the phone ringing and I got prescription for medical drugs (Erik).

The symptoms Erik mentions show evidence of a self that not only has become personally weakened but also even shattered at periods following the episode of violation. In the first quotation, he remarks on physical reactions, and in the second quotation his mental reactions in need of doctor's consultation.

Another teacher mentioned above, Walter, listed under the heading of a weakened self, also mentions symptoms of a shattered self. His symptoms of disruption did not appear before reaching home:

Upon reaching home, I experienced losing complete control of myself, and ended up at the emergency medical service. The next day I saw my doctor, who said it was only hyperventilation and claimed I was well enough to go to work the following day. The next day, however, I felt even worse and saw another

doctor from whom I received a sick note. I stayed away from work for three months.

The selection above from Walter's story indicates an experience of basic loss of control. His long period of absence increases the impression of a self that has lost its anchoring. Erik's hyperventilation seems linked to his emotions of disruption of self and a notion of basic insecurity can be extracted from his statement above. Loss of self and a sense of insecurity, both professional and personal security, appear to be how Erik experienced life after the violation.

A third teacher presented earlier, Marion, mentions an episode of experiencing a loss of her footing after being punched by a student:

One time I was so frightened that I experienced a basic anxiety, a fundamental fear of death. I then went to my principal to ask for support. He answered by stating: 'Put a chair in front of you, and you will avoid getting killed.' I left his office and felt fundamentally lonely.

In the extract above Marion relates how being punched, had led to a 'basic anxiety' so intense that she experienced it as a 'fundamental fear of death'. Her emotion of 'anxiety' and fear indicate that the way she interprets her self positioned in the world is somehow demolished. Her working environment, her school as a work-place, has become dangerous: so perilous that she addresses her principal to ask for advice and protection. His lack of understanding of her condition adds to her anxiety rather than easing her apprehensions.

Marion mentions her reflections on losing her ontological security in teaching in the school when she states that she was "afraid that they (the episodes) would do something to you, that I would not work here anymore, even though I know I've done a darned good job" (Marion). She adds, "one so easily loses face. I experienced insecurity in my professional role" (Marion). She is, as I understand her, discussing her professional identity, and fears that it might be disrupted, stopping her from continuing to teach in that school. Her professional competence has been shattered by losing her professional 'face'.

A fourth teacher, Maria, relates how she breaks down upon seeing her general practitioner. "A few days later I went to see the doctor. I began weeping, completely dissolved in tears. The physician said I was privileged to have a rib to blame because I was completely exhausted." A student kicking her in the ribs with heavy winter boots caused the

episode leading her to see the doctor. Her shattered self can also be detected in her description of the episode and her experience after being kicked:

Shortly after this incident, the vice-principal comes into the classroom. "I have been booted, and I need a break," I say. The vice-principal then answered that she could only be there for ten minutes. After ten minutes, she asked if I am OK, whereupon I answered "Yes". (Unexpectedly during the interview comes a fiery outburst): **One should not believe a teacher who has been beaten and kicked saying things are fine, they are not!** (Maria, the bold letters indicate yelling).

Maria was not fine after the episode, and she was not fine when consulting the doctor. She regained her self after staying home for three weeks, gradually returning to work and being offered a reduced workload. During her recuperating period of three weeks, she emphasized the importance of visitors coming as friends, human beings, not as colleagues to take her out for walks. She distinguishes between her professional self and her individual self. It was the latter that needed support and linking up with other human beings.

Summing up: A disrupted self is the most dramatic of the three categories. The teachers not only relate of a risk, or damage, but also indicate a psychological breakdown or falling to pieces. This can be characterized as 'loss of self', where teachers are on sick leaves for long periods, change schools or stop working as teachers. The examples from the categories above bear evidence that being exposed to violations from students has implications for the experience of the teacher's self. In the discussion, I will argue how these findings can be given further meaning.

6. Discussion "Threat to teacher's self"

From the findings, the close tie between a teacher's two dimensions of the self: the professional and individual self emerges. James points out that what happens in one sphere will also influence the others (1890/1990) . The stories the teachers told in their interviews were from their 'professional landscape': however, as Harfitt (2015, p. 26) states, their stories entered their personal worlds, too (p. 25). Teachers' vulnerabilities are indicated from their stories when violated by students. To be exposed to violations is easily considered a failure, both to your understanding of who you are as a teacher and as a human being. This is supported by Clausen et al.'s research (2011). They found in their study on incidents of

violations against care workers that offensive behavior influences how they feel about themselves, both professionally and personally (p. 384). Clausen et al.'s study corresponds to the negative impact on professionals' self-esteem and self-worth identified in this study.

I find in my material that when a teacher is violated by students, it is looked upon as 'personal information', and some of them find it difficult to talk about. Adam said if he talked about what had taken place with his colleagues, (him being hung up on a clothes hook), he would have become branded or discredited. Since Adam chose to keep quiet about the incident to colleagues, family, administration and friends, he avoided losing his self as I understand him. Though there is also a threat that if he had told people in his surroundings of the incident this could have led to him losing himself: 'there is loss of yourself'. Adam's abstract above indicates how the threat to the self is linked to his ability as a teacher to have control of his students. This experience is evidently close to the professional self, where Adam also elsewhere in the interview relates to how he knows teacher norms, both relating to how as a teacher you present yourself to colleagues and relating why he did not become physical when the student hung him in a helpless and intimidating position upon a clothes hook.

Daniel states that he would not reveal his inner fears, in order not to come across as 'a simpleton'. He mentions this in connection to his colleagues and friends. Neither Adam nor Daniel venture to present themselves to their surroundings unfavorably. That it is difficult to talk about is implied in how some of the teachers distance themselves from the violations by changing from first person to second and third person.

Marion avoids the first person when she states that 'it is a failure', where she could have said 'I was a failure'. Similarly, 'You do not get it out', instead of 'I do not get it out'. The abstracts shown above from the three teachers indicate a distancing of themselves from unpleasant experiences of denigration. David, in his abstracts earlier, uses 'one' two times, 'someone' two times and 'I' only one time when he talks of his deeper fears. Instead of saying, 'I do not talk about my basic deeper fear' he states; 'one does not talk about your basic deeper fear'. Similarly, Adam uses the third person 'you' nine times, while he uses 'I' one time upon disclosing that he was paralyzed when describing a humiliating situation of being hung up on a clothes hook by his student. The use of second and third person singular indicates that it is both difficult to talk about situations of violations from students and there is a need to detach their 'self' from the incidents with which they have been involved.

Lortie (1975/2002) and Hargreaves (1980) have presented ‘the preferred story’ that teachers wish to tell of themselves. Exposure to violations, like the three episodes here by Adam, David and Marion, destroys their professional ‘stories to live by’, to use a concept from Connelly et al. (1999). In addition, violated teachers are found in this present study to fear becoming ostracized by their ‘community of practice’, and being condemned by teachers’ normative ‘club opinion’ for no longer being a proper teacher by revealing their vulnerability. A study (Harfitt, 2015) on beginning teachers in Hong Kong identifies a fear of “looking bad” in front of colleagues and experiencing themselves as “a failure” (pp. 28, 29). This corresponds with findings from Norwegian teachers in this study with statements the teachers express about their selves.

Teachers have stories of who they are, where they come from and what they want to be as a professional. It appears that their ontological security is lost when violated by students. There seems to be a need for respect by their peers and superiors to compensate for their security being lost, weakened or threatened. Among the teachers interviewed, this was not received and they found it difficult to re-establish a secure teacher role. Julie, one of the informants, thought she had lost her job, experiencing her self as incompetent due to the incident. Loss of identity as a teacher, the identity that says 'you are a good teacher' is at stake for all the teachers violated in this small-scale Norwegian study. Nieto (2005, 2008) portrays in her books the positive image of being ‘the good teacher’. Violation of this image is therefore a threat to the whole professional image of how teachers want to be portrayed and add to the experience of violation.

The result from this study indicates that Norwegian teachers regard exposure to violations as having failed their role as the “model teacher”. The thought of losing face, of being portrayed as a ‘failure’, stated above, is expressed in Adam’s words as ‘becoming branded’, or as David states, 'coming across as ‘a simpleton’ to colleagues'. The perception of not managing the teacher’s role is portrayed by Marion, who like Finnish care workers (Viitasara, 2004), experienced guilt and shame when violated. The threat of coming across as an incompetent teacher as described by D.H. Hargreaves (1980, p. 141), is identified in the stories of David and Adam, who decided not to relate to their colleagues what has happened to them. According to Hargreaves (A. Hargreaves, 2001) and Shapiro (2009) it is a typical trait of teachers’ discourse to attempt to remain “clinical and detached” (Shapiro, 2009, p. 618). This conflict is best described by Marion in my study when stating, “it is mentally demanding not to react normally. The normal reaction in this case (when she had been

punched in the face by a 12 year old boy) would have been to become very angry, run away, a protect-myself-reaction” (Marion).

The themes of threatened, weakened and disrupted self emerging from the study on Norwegian teachers signifies varied outcomes of student-to-teacher violation. It is not possible to see from the incidents of violation that certain kinds of violation lead to certain kinds of reactions. The teachers bring private and professional experiences into the classroom and their reactions seem to be related to who they are more than to what takes place.

Lillevik and Øyen (2012,) use the concept of “personal psychological earthquake”² to describe how the prevailing discourse of ‘being a teacher’ is crushed when intimidation takes place (p. 70). Charmaz (2011) uses the concept “a disrupted self” to indicate when one experiences loss of control of the world, often accompanied by depression and disappointment (p. 170). Findings in this present study indicate that the teachers’ self emerges as ‘fluid’ and as an ‘interpersonal construct’, as supported by Farouk’s (2014) studies on teachers’ self-understanding. The study supports findings in this Norwegian study of teachers at risk when violated and not appreciated and supported afterward.

Smith (K. Smith, 2014) in summing up her previous research on why teachers chose to teach, states the joy of teaching for the good of children as the main reason for teaching. K. Smith (2014, p. 22), Østern (2014, p. 10) and Stavik-Karlsen (2014) all use the concept “vulnerable” to describe the situation of ‘newly educated’ and ‘fresh’ teachers. The findings in my material from teachers exposed to violations show that teachers’ vulnerability is not limited to the initial phases. My analysis indicate no difference whether you are new to the profession or have been teaching for more than thirty years.

Teachers are in continuous dialogue with the environment (Farouk, 2014; Stavik-Karlsen, 2014; Sutherland et al., 2010). In schools, the environment consists of the administration, parents, colleagues and students. From various studies, it seems that students are the most important factor influencing the experience of being a proper teacher (Bahia et al., 2013; Helleve, 2010; McNally, 2010; K. Smith, 2014; Van Droogenbroeck et al., 2014). Threats and physical violations from students this study finds influence the way a teacher regards him/herself, both personally and professionally.

² Translated from the Norwegian: «personlig psykologisk jordskjelv»

6. Conclusion

When a teacher is exposed to violations, he/she is in danger of being regarded as a 'non-coper', one who cannot handle the job and will then risk being blamed for what has taken place between the student and him/her as teacher (Griffiths & Edwards, 2014).

Teachers, as people and craftsmen, professionals and individuals, are interconnected closely (O'Connor, 2008, p. 119). Nias (1996) states that teachers invest their 'selves' in their work, often so closely merging their sense of personal and professional identity that the school classroom becomes the main site for their self-esteem and fulfillment, and so too for their susceptibility (p. 203).

Neither the personal nor professional self appear in this study as a fixed entity. Teachers are situated within 'stories to live by' that are continually shifting, shaping, and being negotiated (Connelly et al., 1999; Schaefer, 2013, p. 271; Stavik-Karlsen, 2014). In this material the way teachers are received after the student-to-teacher violation is what is 'negotiated' and influences the degree of experienced risk of a weakened or shattered, or even a lost self.

Shapiro (2009) states that teachers end up in psychological dissonance when hiding their emotions from both students and colleagues. This study has shown that the teacher's self may end in 'dissonance' when students threaten and physically assault them. The study further indicates that teachers' professional and individual self, their experience of security or insecurity are closely linked to student-to-teacher violation and the reactions to it from the school culture.

7. Recommendations

Initial teacher training was sometimes blamed among the teachers interviewed for not having prepared them properly to deal with critical episodes of assaults and threats. There are reasons to question whether university teaching programs properly prepare new teachers for the realities of the job. Along the same line, we can question whether on-site training in schools is in place to provide the necessary skills to deal with violations. Research (Karsenti & Collin, 2013) has addressed the issue that better programs may prevent teacher attrition (p. 146).

This study strengthens the claim that teacher training programs need to prepare teachers for critical incidents in teaching. The reality of teaching can sometimes be grim. Internal training at each school must improve and a better program in initial teacher training must be implemented. The teacher code must include an open, natural and welcome

discussion of the phenomenon of student-to-teacher violations, with themes on teachers' vulnerability and 'non-coping'.

Further research should address the role of colleagues when teachers are violated by students. Most Norwegian schools have written crisis intervention plans. Indications from my material indicate that they are not put into practice. Research should investigate whether these are followed when incidents occur.

References

- Allen, M. (2006). *The two faces of education : An insider's view of school reform*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Aspfors, J., & Bondas, T. (2013). Caring about caring: newly qualified teachers' experiences of their relationships within the school community. *Theory and Practice, 19*(3), 243-259. doi:10.1080/13540602.2012.754158
- Bahia, S., Freire, I., Amaral, A., & Teresa Estrela, M. (2013). The emotional dimension of teaching in a group of Portuguese teachers. *Teachers and Teaching, 19*(3), 275-292. doi:10.1080/13540602.2012.754160
- Bramley, N., & Eatough, V. (2005). The experience of living with Parkinson's disease: An interpretative phenomenological analysis case study. *Psychology & Health, 20*(2), 223-235. doi:10.1080/08870440412331296053
- Charmaz, K. (2011). A Constructivist Grounded Theory Analysis of Losing and Regaining a Valued Self. In F. J. Wertz (Ed.), *Five ways of doing qualitative analysis: phenomenological psychology, grounded theory, discourse analysis, narrative research and intuitive inquiry* (pp. 165-204). New York: Guilford Press.
- Clausen, T., Borg, V., & Hogh, A. (2011). Acts of offensive behaviour and risk of long-term sickness absence in the Danish elder-care services: a prospective analysis of register-based outcomes. *International Archives of Occupational and Environmental Health*. doi:10.1007/s00420-011-0680-1
- Connelly, F. M., Clandinin, D. J., & Applebaum, S. D. (1999). *Shaping a professional identity: stories of educational practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research : Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. Boston: Pearson.
- Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York: Norton.
- Ervasti, J., Kivimäki, M., Pentti, J., Salmi, V., Suominen, S., Vahtera, J., & Virtanen, M. (2012). Work-Related Violence, Lifestyle, and Health Among Special Education Teachers Working in Finnish Basic Education. *Journal of School Health, 82*(7), 336-343. doi:10.1111/j.1746-1561.2012.00707.x
- Ervasti, J., Kivimäki, M., Pentti, J., Suominen, S., Vahtera, J., & Virtanen, M. (2011). Sickness absence among Finnish special and general education teachers. *Occupational Medicine, 61*(7), 465-471. doi:10.1093/occmed/kqr087
- Espelage, D., Anderman, E. M., Brown, V. E., Jones, A., Lane, K. L., McMahon, S. D., . . . Reynolds, C. R. (2013). Understanding and preventing violence directed against teachers: Recommendations for a national research, practice, and policy agenda. *American Psychologist, 68*(2), 75-87. doi:10.1037/a0031307
- Farouk, S. (2014). From mainstream school to pupil referral unit: A change in teachers' self-understanding. *Teachers and Teaching, 20*(1), 19-31. doi:10.1080/13540602.2013.848518

- Gerberich, S. G., Nachreiner, N. M., Ryan, A. D., & Church, T. R. (2011). Violence against educators: a population-based study. *JOEM Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 53(3), 294-302. doi:10.1097/JOM.0b013e31820c3fa1
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity : Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1994). Living in a Post-Traditional Society. In U. Beck, A. Giddens, & S. Lash (Eds.), *Reflexive modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order* (pp. 56-109). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gil-Monte, P. R. (2012). The influence of guilt on the relationship between burnout and depression. *European Psychologist*, 17(3), 231-236. doi:10.1027/1016-9040/a000096
- Goodson, I. F. (2003). *Professional knowledge, professional lives: studies in education and change*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Gruenewald, T. L., Dickerson, S. S., & Kemeny, M. E. (2007). A social function for self-conscious emotions: The social self preservation theory. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research* (pp. 68-90). New York: Guilford Press.
- Harfitt, G. J. (2015). From attrition to retention: a narrative inquiry of why beginning teachers leave and then rejoin the profession. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 43(1), 22-35. doi:10.1080/1359866X.2014.932333
- Hargreaves, A. (2001). The emotional geographies of teachers' relations with colleagues. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35(5), 503-527. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355\(02\)00006-X](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355(02)00006-X)
- Hargreaves, D. H. (1980). The occupational culture of teachers. In P. Woods (Ed.), *Teacher strategies: explorations in the sociology of the school* (pp. 125-148). London: Croom Helm.
- Harper, M., O'Connor, R., Dickson, A., & O'Carroll, R. (2011). Mothers continuing bonds and ambivalence to personal mortality after the death of their child – An interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 16(2), 203-214. doi:10.1080/13548506.2010.532558
- Helleve, I. (2010). Utfordringer for nyutdanna lærarar i vidaregåande skule. In B. Hanssen, G. Engvik, & T. L. Hoel (Eds.), *Ny som lærer: Sjansespill og samspill* (pp. 43-59). Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forl.
- James, W. (1890/1990). The principles of psychology *Great books of the western world* (Vol. 53, pp. XIV, 897 s.). Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica. (Original work published 1890).
- Karsenti, T., & Collin, S. (2013). Why are New Teachers Leaving the Profession: Results of a Canada-Wide Survey. *Education*, 3(3), 141-149. doi:10.5923/j.edu.20130303.01
- Kristjánsson, K. (2010). *The self and its emotions*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Laing, R. D. (1960). *The divided self : A study of sanity and madness*. Tavistock, London.
- Lillevik, O. G., & Øien, L. (2012). *Tiltak mot vold og aggresjon i skolen: En håndbok om forebygging, håndtering og oppfølging*. Oslo: PEDLEX norsk skoleinformasjon.
- Lortie, D. C. (1975/2002). *Schoolteacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1975)
- McMahon, S. D., Martinez, A., Espelage, D., Rose, C., Reddy, L. A., Lane, K., . . . Brown, V. (2014). Violence directed against teachers: Results from a national survey. *Psychology in the Schools*, 51(7), 753-766. doi:10.1002/pits.21777
- McNally, J. (2010). Who can you count on? The relational dimension of new-teacher learning. In A. Blake & J. McNally (Eds.), *Improving learning in a professional context: A research perspective on the new teacher in school* (pp. 62-79). London: Routledge.
- McNally, J., & Blake, A. (2012). Miss, what's my name? New teacher identity as a question of reciprocal ontological security. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 44(2), 196-211. doi:10.1111/i.1469-5812.2QIQ.00642.x
- Messina, I. (2012). Biden: Teachers 'under assault'. *The Blade*. Retrieved from <http://www.toledoblade.com/Politics/2012/07/29/Biden-Teachers-under-assault.html>

- Nias, J. (1996). Thinking about Feeling: The emotions in teaching. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 26(3), 293-306. doi:10.1080/0305764960260301
- Nieto, S. (2003). What keeps teachers going? In M. Scherer (Ed.), *Keeping good teachers* (pp. 205-212). Alexandria, Va: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Nieto, S. (2005). *Why we teach?* New York: Teachers College Press.
- Park, R. E. (1950). *Race and culture*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.
- Reddy, L. A., Espelage, D., McMahon, S. D., Anderman, E. M., Lane, K. L., Brown, V. E., . . . Kanrich, J. (2013). Violence against teachers: Case studies from the APA task force. *International journal of school & educational psychology*, 1(4), 231-245. doi:10.1080/21683603.2013.837019
- Rots, I., Kelchtermans, G., & Aelterman, A. (2012). Learning (not) to become a teacher: A qualitative analysis of the job entrance issue. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 28(1), 1-10. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2011.08.008
- Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Schaefer, L. (2013). Beginning teacher attrition: a question of identity making and identity shifting. *Theory and Practice*, 19(3), 260-274. doi:10.1080/13540602.2012.754159
- Shapiro, S. (2009). Revisiting the teachers' lounge: Reflections on emotional experience and teacher identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 26(3), 616-621. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2009.09.009
- Skaarderud, F. (2001). *Tapte ansikter: Introduksjon til en skampsykologi 1. Beskrivelser*.
- Smith, J. A., Larkin, M., & Flowers, P. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis : theory, method and research*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2014). Interpretative phenomenological analysis as a useful methodology for research on the lived experience of pain. *British Journal of Pain*, 1(2), 1-3. doi:10.1177/2049463714541642
- Smith, K. (2014). Once a teacher - always a Teacher? In A.-L. Østern (Ed.), *NAFOL yearbook ..En gang lærer - alltid lærer?* (pp. 19-32). Trondheim: Akademia Publ.
- Stavik-Karlsen, G. (2014). Konturer av sårbarhetens pedagogikk. In A.-L. Østern (Ed.), *Dramaturgi i didaktisk kontekst* (pp. 149-168). Bergen: Fagbokforl.
- Sutherland, L., Howard, S., & Markauskaite, L. (2010). Professional identity creation: Examining the development of beginning preservice teachers' understanding of their work as teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 26(3), 455-465. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2009.06.006
- Tiesman, H., Konda, S., Hendricks, S., Mercer, D., & Amandus, H. (2013). Workplace violence among Pennsylvania education workers: Differences among occupations. *Journal of Safety Research*, 44(0), 65-71. doi:10.1016/j.jsr.2012.09.006
- Van Droogenbroeck, F., Spruyt, B., & Vanroelen, C. (2014). Burnout among senior teachers: Investigating the role of workload and interpersonal relationships at work. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 43, 99-109. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2014.07.005
- Viitasara, E. (2004). *Violence in caring: Risk factors, outcomes and support* (Arbete och hälsa - vetenskaplig skriftserie nr 2004:1). Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.424.2164&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Wadel, C., Wadel, C. C., & Fuglestad, O. L. (2014). *Feltarbeid i egen kultur*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, C. M., Douglas, K. S., & Lyon, D. R. (2011). Violence against teachers: Prevalence and consequences. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 26(12), 2353-2371. doi:10.1177/0886260510383027
- Zhao, K., & Biesta, G. J. J. (2011). Lifelong learning between "east" and "west": Confucianism and the reflexive project of the self. *Interchange: A Quarterly Review of Education*, 42(1), 1-20. doi:10.1007/s10780-011-9143-6
- Østern, A.-L. (2014). To the reader. In A.-L. Østern (Ed.), *NAFOL yearbook ..En gang lærer - alltid lærer?* (Vol. 2014, pp. 9-11). Trondheim: Akademia Publ.

