BEHIND THE CLOSED DOOR: EXPLORING TEACHER BULLYING AND ABUSE OF
STUDENTS, CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEACHER, AND IMPACT

by

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to investigate the extent of teacher abuse of elementary students, the characteristics of teachers who abuse, the types of behaviours abusive teachers engage in, the reasons for teacher abuse, and the impact on victims and witnesses. Two samples participated in the study: 1) pre-service teachers ($n = 99$) completed the study questionnaire regarding abusive teacher behaviours they witnessed while on practicum placement and 2) undergraduate students ($n = 290$) reflected on their own elementary school teachers' behaviours. Verbal and emotional abuse was most often reported; however, physical and sexual abuses were also indicated. Differences were found between teachers who were and were not perceived to abuse students on types of behaviours engaged in and job performance. Pre-service teachers reported being impacted by the abusive behaviours they witnessed and undergraduate students recalled negative impact on them. Male undergraduate students reported greater impact if they were ever abused by a male teacher whereas female students were equally impacted regardless of whether a male teacher was involved or not. Barriers to reporting included fears of future employment, not wanting to question another teacher's practice, and uncertainty regarding the reporting process. In consideration of these results, a number of recommendations to address teacher abuse are provided including mandatory reporting of teacher abuse, alterations to the current protocol for investigating abusive teachers, and content and criteria for continued education for teachers.

Based on the results, a workshop to address the likely causal factors of teacher abuse is provided as well as detailed lessons for teaching students about their rights and freedoms in the classroom. Overall, results of the study show that teacher abuse is an issue in Ontario's elementary schools, the impact of the abuse is apparent, and that strategies must be undertaken in order to address the problem.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Bullying is seen as a significant problem that regularly occurs in the classrooms, hallways, and grounds of elementary and high schools. Many books, magazine articles, and research studies have focused on peer-to-peer bullying in academic settings. In addition, curriculum programs have been designed and implemented in an attempt to alleviate the occurrence of school-based bullying. Much of the work in the area of school violence has focused on the child-to-child dynamic; however, the potentially abusive behaviour of teachers has not garnered much critical attention. The purpose of this study was to investigate mistreatment of students in Ontario's elementary schools, to describe the characteristics of teachers who mistreat students, to examine the types of behaviours engaged in by teachers who abuse, and to investigate the impact of abuse by teachers on both witnesses and victims.

Background

It has been estimated that between 15% and 20% of the population will experience some form of bullying in their lifetime (Batsche & Knoff, 1994). If these rates are to decrease, those at risk to perpetrate bullying must be identified. Peer-aged bullying is a major concern in schools and is considered one of the most prevalent forms of youth violence (Smokowski & Kopaz, 2003). Researchers studying bullying have focused their work on attempting to understand the nature, extent, and impact of school based-violence; therefore, these issues have been given the international attention they warrant. Data from multiple countries, including Canada, indicate that between 5% and 30% of students

attending school have been identified as bullies or have been the target of bullying peers (Batsche & Knoff, 1994; Dao et al., 2006; Haynie, Nansel, Eitel, Crump, Saylor, Yu et al., 2001; Olweus, 1994; Smokowski & Kopaz, 2003; Pepler, Craig, Ziegler, & Charach, 1994). School-based peer bullying is clearly an issue that must be addressed.

On an average day, 160,000 American students avoid attending school because of intimidation by peers (Coy, 2001). In Canada, similar rates have been found, with between 20% and 43% of children being bullied (Gladue, 1999; Health Canada, 1999) and 8% being regularly harassed by other students (Gladue, 1999). These statistics on the current state of school-based bullying are alarming and, therefore, it is not surprising that school boards across Ontario have implemented anti-bullying programs designed to target the problem. Additionally, school boards in Ontario have recently implemented mandatory teacher reporting to the principal *any* school-based violence (Ontario SafeSchool's Act, 2010).

Teachers are largely responsible for implementing and monitoring anti-bullying programs and Ontario's teachers are now legally bound to report all incidences of bullying (Ontario SafeSchools Act, 2010). However, completely counter to current initiatives that combat school-based violence, recent research has shown that some teachers assume the aggressor role by engaging in harmful and sometimes violent behaviours towards students (see Nesbit & Philpott, 2002; McEachern, Aluede, & Kenny, 2008; McEvoy, 2005; Twemlow, 2004; Twemlow, Fonagy, Sacco, & Brethour, 2006). Unlike peer-to-peer bullying and abuse, teachers mistreating students within the school setting has not generated extensive empirical investigation. There is little evidence about the prevalence, types of behaviours, and characteristics of teachers who violate students' rights.

When investigating teacher violations of students, it is important to appropriately define such behaviours in order to ensure that all professionals involved with students (i.e., teachers, social workers, parents, etc.) understand the types of behaviours being discussed. With many professionals referring to the same behaviours but using differing terminology, there is likely to be confusion and potential minimization of the true scope and context of these behaviours. The following section outlines the criteria for bullying and abuse. Comparing the characteristics and behaviours of teachers whose interactions with students are inappropriate will be examined in order to determine what terminology is most applicable.

Terminology

Mistreatment of students by teachers is captured under a variety of terms such as bullying (McEvoy, 2005; Twemlow et al., 2006), maltreatment (King & Janson, 1983), and abuse (McEachern et al., 2008). Differential terminology regarding teacher mistreatment of students must be addressed. Consistency in language will ensure researchers, policy analysts, and those in the education system are discussing the same behaviours and standardizing policies and practices to address such behaviours. The lack of consistency in the terminology used to discuss the mistreatment of others has been highlighted. According to Pritchard (2004), terms such as *abuse* and *risk* are often used imprecisely with respect to child protection; the effect of terminology and personal values regarding such terminology may influence how negative behaviours are judged.

Extremes in behaviour are important to highlight in order to understand both the subtleties of bullying and abuse and to contextualize individual incidents/cases of potentially harmful behaviours. Consideration must be given when determining if such extreme behaviours do in fact fit within the parameters of what is regarded as bullying, abuse, or a criminal offence

and, as noted, the continuum upon which to categorize these behaviours may contribute to their misclassification. Bullying and abuse have been used interchangeably to describe the negative treatment of students by teachers. The following section of the paper will discuss the definitions and characteristics captured within the terms bullying and abuse in an attempt to clarify which term is appropriate for this study.

Bullying. To date, the term bullying has generally related to child-to-child or adult-to-adult workplace negative interactions. More recently, bullying has been used to describe students' negative treatment of teachers as well as a teacher's poor treatment of students (see McEvoy, 2005; Twemlow, 2004; Twemlow et al., 2006). Therefore, the definition of bullying must be examined when attempting to determine whether this term is most applicable for a study focused on the mistreatment of students by teachers.

Bullying is a term that captures a multitude of behaviours, from single to repeated occurrences and from less to more harmful acts. This descriptor has been attached to any negative behaviour engaged in by one student against another, regardless of how violent or severe that behaviour is. The range of behaviours and characteristics encompassed in bullying may affect how seriously bullying is evaluated. For example, media reports of extreme violence between adolescents are labeled bullying, even when the bullying behaviour meets the criteria for aggravated assault under Canadian criminal law (Criminal Code of Canada, 1985, s. 265). Additionally, a book entitled *Understanding and Addressing Bullying* (Pepler & Craig, 2008) includes a chapter discussing school-based bullying prevention programs (Tutty, 2008). In this chapter, the need to address school-based bullying is prefaced with a reminder of the shooting death of Jason Lang in Alberta, the murder of Reena Verk in British Columbia, and the mass shootings at Columbine High school in Colorado. Although these horrifically violent behaviours

qualify as physical bullying by definition (see definition of bullying below), categorizing all peer

school-based violence (from a onetime incident of name-calling to murdering) as bullying

suggests that there is a continuum or spectrum under which to capture all forms of bullying.

Therefore, when researchers conduct studies on school-based bullying, the acts perpetrated

against the high number of victims will fall along a continuum and although all acts are classified

as bullying, the acts, extent of violence, and the characteristics of those involved will vary.

Furthermore, the impact of bullying is not generally differentiated based on type or extent of

bullying; for example, when rates indicate that a specific percentage of students bully, the type of

bullying is unknown and generally not linked to the studies that focus on impact. The variance

in bullying reiterates the need to address issues that focus on suitability of terminology.

     Bullying is defined as repeated use of negative behaviours that include actions that are

verbal, emotional, physical, and/or sexual in nature (Twemlow, 2006). Bullying may encompass

behaviours that meet the criteria for abuse and maltreatment (see definition of abuse, p. 7).

According to Webster's New World Dictionary, a bully is "one who hurts or threatens weaker

people" (Webster's, 1997, p. 40). Bullying behaviour, as defined, includes the willful and

conscious use of methods that provoke stress on another person (Olweus, 1994). Additionally,

bullies are individuals who *repeatedly* inflict behaviours that result in oppression (Olweus,

1994); however, others have noted that bullying can occur on one occasion only (Ericson, 2001).

Tatum and Tatum (1992) define a bully as any individual who knowingly hurts another person.

The American National Association of Nurses (NASN, 2003) has defined child-to-child bullying

as a series of behaviours (verbal or non-verbal) that are directed toward an individual or group of

children, are persistent, and are intended to inflict physical, verbal, or emotional harm on the

target. Bullying includes a real or perceived power imbalance between the bully and victim and

is a source of violence (Selekman & Vessey, 2004). These definitions indicate that for bullying to occur, an individual must have intended to cause harm. The potential issues when studying bullying are evident in its definition; to understand whether bullying has occurred, some measure of intent must be determined.

For children, physical bullying can include hitting, punching, kicking or tripping, taking money, lunch, or homework, or destroying personal property (McEvoy, 2005). Regarding adults, physical bullying has been reported to include threat of physical assault with actual bodily harm occurring less often (Chapell et al., 2006; Moayed, Daraiseh, Shell, & Salem, 2006). Psychological bullying in childhood involves behaviours such as hurtful teasing, unpleasant name calling, excluding, and spreading lies (Rigby, 2005) and, in adults, intimidation, coercion, and social exclusion (MacIntosh, 2005). Bullying can include overt and covert behaviours. The specifics of overt and covert bullying are examined next as they are valuable when examining the behaviours inflicted on students by teachers.

Overt and covert bullying. Bullying can include overt and covert measures. Regardless of whether the behaviours are overt or covert in nature, the use of such methods is intended to harm another. Behaviours of teachers could fall into the categories of overt and covert bullying; however, further examination is required to discern whether the overt and covert behaviours of teachers are appropriately labeled as bullying.

Overt. Overt methods of bullying are defined as those that are open and explicit, easily discernible, and clearly abusive (Vaknin, 2010, Appendix A, para. 1). Overt methods are those behaviours that are obvious to bystanders and are easy to identify as negative; examples include excessive yelling, verbal denigration, as well as physical methods.

Covert. Contrary to overt methods, covert behaviours are ambiguous, vague, and not necessarily evident to the target or observer (Vaknin, 2010, Appendix A, para. 1). Covert bullying is defined as repeated behaviours, which are concealed but still harmful (Spears, Slee, Owens, Johnson, & Campbell, 2008, p. 6). Examples of covert behaviours would include spreading rumours, nonverbal gesturing, and aversive body language.

Many of the overt and covert bullying behaviours capture some of the negative behaviours teachers may use against students. Bullying occurs when there is a real or perceived power imbalance between individuals. The power imbalance is inherent in student-teacher relationships. Therefore, it is possible that the term bullying is reasonable to apply to a teacher's negative treatment of students; however, a discussion of the criteria and characteristics of abuse will encourage a comparison of terms in order to determine the most appropriate descriptor for negative teacher behaviours. Abuse and the criteria for abuse are discussed next.

Abuse. Abuse is defined as "mistreat," "berate," "mistreatment," and "vile language" (Webster's, 1997, p. 2).   Thus using the term mistreatment to describe teacher to student negative behaviours is synonymous with abuse. The Department of Justice Canada (DOJ, 2001) is the governing body that safeguards rights and freedoms, the law, and the Constitution of Canada. According to the DOJ, the term *child abuse* refers to the "violence, mistreatment or neglect that a child or adolescent may experience while in the care of someone they either trust or depend on, such as a parent, sibling, other relative, caregiver or guardian," (DOJ Fact sheet, 2001, p. 1). By definition, a power imbalance – which is noted for bullying – must be between a caregiver and a child or adolescent, which is not a relationship specified within bullying. In addition is the specification that the child or adolescent either trusts or depends on a adult; teachers obviously meet the criteria of a caregiver. Teachers are trusted or depended upon by

their students; therefore, a teacher's negative treatment of a child may qualify as abuse. The

following presents a discussion of the criteria needed for behaviours to be considered abuse.

Abuse Criteria. The Department of Justice has outlined the criteria for abuse. The DOJ

states that if a caregiver inflicts, or allows others to inflict physical injury, or if a deliberate use

of force results in injury or the threat of injury, then physical abuse has occurred; any sexual

behaviour toward a child or the use of a child for sexual means, is considered sexual abuse; when

a child's sense of self is harmed or when a child is threatened, terrorized, rejected, diminished, or

disparaged by their caregiver, emotional abuse has taken place (CFSA, 1990; DOJ Fact Sheet,

2001, pp. 1-2). Neglect is considered to have occurred when a child's physical, psychological, or

emotional development is impacted as a result of their needs not being met (CFSA, 1990; DOJ

Fact Sheet, 2001, pp. 1-2). The term "caregiver" has been highlighted in abuse descriptors. In

Ontario, an act considered child abuse must be committed by a parent or another person who has

direct responsibility over a child. Those with responsibility over a child include any adult who:

1) has custody of the child (i.e., parent, step-parent), 2) is an assigned caregiver (i.e., babysitter),

or 3) is an assumed caregiver, which teachers indeed are (Spectrum, 2006).

As discussed with bullying, abuse falls along a continuum and not all abuse is reportable.

A child in need of protection is one where actions, or lack of, by a caregiver put a child at risk

for harm; however, abuse can occur even when a child is not necessarily in need of protection.

On the abuse continuum, child abuse can range from poor parenting – behaviours or choices

(acts) that do not put a child in danger but are not be in the best interest of the child – to

problematic parenting – putting a child in a situation which may lead to their subsequent harm

(CFSM, 2010). Each of these practices could be reported to Child Protection authorities, but

would not generally be considered criminal offences. The other end of the abuse continuum

includes reportable child abuse and neglect, which include any caregiver actions or omissions that have or will likely cause a child harm or in danger (i.e., leaving young child without adequate supervision) (CFSM, 2010).

Although the term *abuse* invokes visions of violence and cruelty that are deliberately and intentionally inflicted, it is important to note that abuse does not require negative intent, as was outlined for bullying (Alfandary, 1993; Jolly, Alueda, & Ojugo, 2009). Abuse simply requires that an action, or lack of action, results in or places a child at risk for a negative physical or emotional impact. Intent is not necessary for behaviours to be abusive; the actions of the caregiver may indeed be unintentional or engaged in out of ignorance, indifference, or distress. It is important to note though, that a caregivers' lack of knowledge does not disqualify the behaviour as abusive.

Both overt and covert methods may be classified as abusive if the adult's actions are likely to cause the child harm. As noted with bullying, covert methods are less obvious and in cases of a caregiver's mistreatment of a child, might include such acts as establishing tasks that are inappropriate to a child's stage of development or being psychologically unavailable (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996). Overt methods (similar to those discussed with bullying) are obvious and may include acts such as a caregiver berating, humiliating, or physically harming a child. The similarities in what constitutes overt and covert bullying and abuse are obvious; therefore, it is the caregiver requirement that is stipulated in abuse that differentiates the two terms.

Regardless of how obvious behaviours are (i.e., overt or covert), abuse occurs when a behaviour is against another and involves mistreatment, a perversion or change in the inherent purpose or function of a process, or the improper use of power (Black's Law Dictionary, 1983). Child abuse, specifically, requires that a caregiver has abused a child or adolescent. As noted, the

continuum of child abuse specifies that not all abusive behaviours are reportable and not all

children who meet criteria for being abused are in need of protection. However, any occurrence

of abuse must be appropriately identified and addressed.

As noted, teachers who utilize overt behaviours are obviously mistreating children;

however, it should also be noted that covert and passive acts by teachers also constitute a

distortion of the intended purpose of certain processes, such as using homework as a punitive

measure. Bullying is the mistreatment of others that can involve behaviours that may be

considered abusive; however, the ages of those involved and the types of acts engaged in dictates

whether the bullying is actually abuse.

Do Teachers Bully or Abuse?

Parents, students, teachers, policy makers, and others involved in education must

understand the definitions of bullying and abuse; otherwise, there is the risk that current evidence

regarding adults bullying adults and children bullying children will be used inappropriately to

explain a teacher's negative behaviours towards students.

The definition of a bully (as discussed) could apply to the negative behaviour of a teacher

toward a student since, by virtue of status, size, and role, the student is the weaker member in the

relationship. The power imbalance in the teacher-student relationship is inherent and for a

teacher to be considered a bully their negative behaviours must have been administered with the

intention of causing harm to a student. Conversely, for child abuse to occur the behaviour must

be engaged in by an individual in a care giving role and/or engaged in against a child who is

dependent upon or who trusts an individual. Teachers fulfill the caregiver requirement and as

students dependent upon their teachers; therefore, any behaviours against a student that are not in

their best interests and/or may be emotionally or physically harmful is indeed abuse.

Discussing a teacher's potentially impactful verbal, emotional, sexual, or physical treatment of a child under his or her care is a delicate matter. Considering the continuum upon which abuse is assessed, the term *abuse* is appropriately applied when discussing a teacher who degrades a student, or when a teacher physically assaults a student; both behaviours fall within the categories of abuse and could reasonably be considered *likely* to negatively affect a child. Therefore, the term abuse is applicable to the negative behaviour – or lack of behaviour – of some teachers. Additionally, abusive teachers are not only likely to affect the victim emotionally, but perhaps also impact those who witness their behaviour.

Therefore, to the extent that a teacher may be considered a caregiver, their negative behaviours toward students are appropriately labeled abuse or abusive. It is the author's opinion that the behaviours of teachers, as captured under the categories of maltreatment, bullying, and abuse, should be labeled abuse and is herein considered the appropriate term under which to discuss them. However, for the duration of this paper, the terms *abuse* and *bullying* will be used interchangeably based on the definition used by the researchers. In instances where the data were collected under the term *bullying* but the discussion of results clearly indicates abusive behaviours by adults, the term abuse will be utilized. All discussions of research regarding teacher actions that are not in the best interests of a child and that could negatively impact students, emotionally or physically, will be referred to as abuse. As the negative behaviour of some teachers against their students is abusive by definition, further discussion of what specifically constitutes child abuse will be presented next along with any evidence regarding abusive behaviours of teachers.

Child abuse can occur in a number of ways that has been broadly defined as neglect, emotional maltreatment, emotional neglect, and physical and sexual abuse. Each form of child

abuse will be discussed with respect to the characteristics and current knowledge regarding the prevalence of each. The discussion of child abuse will be followed by a discussion of research concerning teacher abuse. Of note, from this point forward, abuse of students by teachers will be referred to as *teacher abuse*.

Child Abuse

Child abuse statistics are obtained primarily from official reports. Since child abuse can encompass behaviours that are not reportable (i.e., not harmful but not in the best interests of the child), what is known about child abuse is generally based on more severe cases where a report has been completed. Of course, not all reportable child abuse cases are indeed reported or documented, and not all reported cases are substantiated or meet the criteria for any Child Protection involvement; therefore, establishing accurate rates of child abuse is difficult.

Crime is measured using two formats: police reported data and victim-reported data (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010). According to a report from Statistics Canada (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010, p. 7), approximately 8% of sexual assaults and 39% of physical assaults were reported to police (p. 12). These results indicate that more abuse goes unreported than reported to law enforcement. It is important to note that the known rates of unreported crimes are based on self-reports from Canadians 15 years of age and older and are compared to police- reported data; therefore, non-reported crimes against children 14 and under are not captured. In addition, the authors also note that those aged 15 to 24 are least likely to report crimes to police (p. 13). Again, this information does not account for individuals less than 15 years of age. Child abuse is a sensitive issue and accuracy of the documented abuse rates are questionable. Regardless, child abuse is a very important issue to research, especially in environments, such as schools, that have received little attention.

Prior to discussing the rates and the implications of abuse within school settings, a review of Ontario's legislation regarding child abuse, reporting child abuse, and investigations of child abuse is provided to ensure that a discussion of teachers who abuse students is understood. The Child and Family Services Act (CFSA, 1990) is the Ontario legislation that governs issues related to abuse of children by caregivers and is relevant to any discussion of teacher abuse. Along with the CFSA, a discussion of other relevant legislation such as the Criminal Code of Canada, the Ontario Education Act, and the Ontario College of Teachers Act will be discussed as these documents are applicable to teacher abuse.

Child protection. The Child and Family Services Act was established to "promote the best interests, protection and well being of children," (CFSA, 1990, s.1). The CFSA regulates, the identification and reporting of a child in need of protection, among other rights and protections for children (i.e., Services, Access to Services, Youth Justice, Rights of Children, Adoption, etc.). Protection of children is governed by the CFSA and is discussed in Part III of the Act. According to the CFSA, a child is anyone under the age of 16 (Part III, s. 37). A child in need of protection is any child who has suffered, or will likely suffer, any of the following: physical harm (s. 37, ss. 2a, b), sexual molestation or sexual exploitation (s. 37, ss. 2c, d), or emotional harm (i.e., serious anxiety, depression, withdrawal, self-destructive or aggressive behaviours, or delayed development) (s. 37, ss. 2f).

A child is in need of protection when acts by a caregiver either directly cause, or are likely to cause, a child to suffer harm as noted above (i.e., physical, sexual, emotional harm). The CFSA clearly stipulates that harm to a child can result from a caregiver who has failed to "adequately care for, provide for, supervise or protect the child," or who has demonstrated a

"pattern of neglect in caring for, providing for, supervising or protecting the child." Under these circumstances, a child is in need of protection (CFSA, s. 37, ss. 2).

Therefore, acts that cause harm are those that, because they are or are not (i.e., a lack of action or neglect) engaged in cause, or may cause, harm to a child. Refusal to intervene, alleviate, or prevent harm to a child are all indicators that a child is in need of protection. The Children's Aid Society is mandated to receive reports of abuse and, under the CFSA, to investigate abuse and child protection needs (CFSA, 1990, Part I, s. 15, ss. 3).

Abuse investigations. In Ontario, once it is suspected that a child is in need of protection, it is the function of a Children's Aid Society (CAS) to the investigate allegations and review any evidence (C.F.S.A., 1990s.15, ss.3). Decisions regarding a child's eligibility for the services provided by CAS (i.e., removal from home, counseling, etc.) are based on the Eligibility Spectrum (Spectrum, 2006).

The Spectrum assists CAS workers to determine 1) the reasons for service, based on the situation that was referred, and 2) the level of severity or the level and type of service needed (Spectrum, p. 4). As noted in the Spectrum, the reasons for service and the level of severity are grounded in the CFSA (Spectrum, 2006, p. 3). There are four levels of severity under which the circumstances of judged. Levels of severity include: *extremely severe,* indicating *urgent* need of protection; *moderately severe,* indicating the need of protection but the need is not urgent; *minimally severe,* indicating that intervention may benefit but is not necessary and; *not severe,* indicating that a child is not under any risk (Spectrum, 2006, pp. 8-9). Each of these levels of severity will be discussed in more detail later. Although the Spectrum outlines five sections under which ratings of severity apply, not all of these sections apply to teachers; therefore, only

those protection issues most relevant to the student-teacher dynamic within a school setting will be discussed.

Teachers may engage in acts of commission, acts of omission, and the emotional harm of a child. Although the Spectrum includes other acts, as noted, only these specific issues will be discussed. Severity ratings are applied to the following issues when determining whether a specific child may requires CAS intervention: 1) Acts of Commission, meaning harm that results from the act or action of a caregiver (p. 13); 2) Acts of Omission, or harm that results from a lack of action by the caregiver (p. 31) and; 3) Emotional Harm, which results from behaviours, or lack of, from a caregiver or a caregivers failure to adequately address a child's emotional needs (p. 49). Specific forms of abuse are captured under each of these categories, and those that could be engaged in by teachers are discussed below.

Acts of commission.

a) *Physical force and/or maltreatment* will be applied when physical acts of discipline are overused or used excessively. This form includes any inappropriate use of methods to discipline (including inappropriate use of generally accepted disciplinary measures). Examples include: lengthy beating, shaking, slapping or whipping; hitting with fist; kicking; twisting; etc. (pp. 14-18).

b) *Cruel/inappropriate treatment*: Physical harm has resulted from a caregiver's failure to adequately care for, provide for, or supervise a child (i.e., deprivation of food and water, locked out of home, physical confinement or restriction, etc.) (pp. 19-23).

c) *Abusive sexual activity*: Sexual molestation or exploitation by a caregiver or by another in a situation where the caregiver knows, or should be aware of, the possibility of such abuse (pp. 24-27).

d) *Threat of harm*: This form of abuse encapsulates being placed in situations where a child is likely to suffer harm (i.e., physical, sexual), but where no harm has occurred (i.e., hand held over scalding water). The moderately severe level captures any direct and implied verbal threats by caregiver that if carried out could result in physical harm (pp. 28 – 30).

Acts of omission.

a) *Inadequate supervision*: The supervision and care of a child is not reasonable and could result in physical or sexual harm (i.e., supervision must be appropriate to the child's age and developmental level) (pp. 32 - 35).

b) *Neglect of child's basic physical needs*: Either deliberately or through a lack of knowledge/judgment/motivation, a caregiver fails to provide a child with their basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing, safety, etc. (pp. 36 - 40).

c) *Caregiver response to child's physical health*: A caregiver does not provide, is not able to consent to, or prevents medical treatment for a child in need (pp. 41 - 42).

d) *Caregiver response to child's mental, emotional, developmental condition*: A caregiver does not provide, is not able to consent to, or prevents treatment to remedy or alleviate a child's mental, emotional, or developmental condition (i.e., mental illness, learning disability, impairment) (pp. 41 - 42).

e) *Caregiver response to a child under 12 who has committed a serious act*: This category is considered when a caregiver does not provide, is not able to consent to, or prevents treatment to avert repeated serious acts (i.e., serious injury to another, damage to property, etc.) by a child or fails to supervise or encourages such behaviour (pp. 46 – 48).

Emotional harm. Included under emotional harm are Child Exposure to Adult Conflict and Child Exposure to Partner Violence which are not necessarily relevant to teacher – student

interactions and therefore, is not discussed. The relevant abuse under this subsection, which

could apply to teachers, is discussed below.

a) *A caregiver causes and/or a caregiver's response to a child's emotional harm or risk

of emotional harm: As a result of the caregiver's actions or failure to act, the child suffers or is

at risk to suffer serious emotional harm such as anxiety, depression, withdrawal, self-destructive

or aggressive behaviours, or delayed development (p. 50). A number of actions that may result

in the child suffering emotional harm are provided in the Spectrum (pp. 52-53) and are

summarized below, as they are important to consider when understanding teacher abuse. The

emotionally abusive behaviours of a caregiver are outlined on pages 49 to 53 of the Spectrum

and include:

i) *Spurning*: verbal and nonverbal acts that reject or degrade the child such as shaming,

degrading, rejecting, humiliating, and constantly singling out one child to criticize and punish;

ii) *Terrorizing*: behaviours that threaten or may result in physical harm or abandonment;

placing or threatening to place a child or their loved objects (i.e, pet, family member) in a

dangerous situation or threatening violence against them, and threatening loss, harm, or danger if

the child does not meet any unrealistic or rigid expectation;

iii) *Isolating*: consistently denying a child any necessary interaction or communication

opportunities with peers or adults outside the home, which may be carried out by confining a

child to the home, or by placing unreasonable restrictions on a child's social interactions in the

community;

iv) *Exploiting or corrupting*: the caregiver encourages, through verbal or behavioural

(modeling) methods, inappropriate acts by a child (i.e., antisocial, self-destructive, deviant, etc.);

encourages developmentally inappropriate behaviours (i.e., parentification, infantalization);

quashes developmentally appropriate autonomy (i.e., their own views, feelings, wishes) through over-involvement, intrusiveness, or dominancy; or interfering with or restricting a child's cognitive development; and

v) *Denying emotional responsiveness*: which includes ignoring a child's needs and attempts to interact, and showing no affect when interacting with a child (i.e., interacting only when necessary, not showing compassion, affection, or love).

Each of the categories of abuse discussed represent behaviours that are directed toward a child either verbally or nonverbally and if, as a result of the caregiver's behaviour, a child is at risk for, or has experienced harm, then a report to a CAS must occur. The intervention required following an act of child abuse is dictated by the risk of emotional or physical harm to the child.

Acts of Commission and Omission, which primarily deal with a child's severity of physical (including sexual) harm, are considered on a scale ranging from *not severe* to *extremely severe*; severity of emotional harm is also considered on this same four-point scale. The level of severity, and thus the risk to a child and the intervention necessary – as governed by the Child Protection Standards in Ontario (MCYS, 2007) – is based on the child's actual or likely impact (internalizing and externalizing) as a result of the actions (or inactions) of a caregiver. According to the Spectrum (2006, pp. 54 – 55), for a child's maltreatment to be considered *not severe*, the act against a child must be reasoned to have caused no emotional harm to the child and factors that would indicate the child is likely to suffer maltreatment must not be present. *Minimally severe* risk is determined when a child is reported to be suffering emotional harm, but the cause of the harm is not a result of the caregiver's actions or inactions and the caregiver is responding appropriately to a child's emotional state. Therefore, at the minimally severe end of the continuum, the caregiver is not the cause or contributing factor to a child's emotional state.

Moderately severe risk is considered when a child is *likely* to emotionally suffer as a result of the actions or inactions (i.e., neglect) of a caregiver; while *extremely severe* risk is applied when abuse is imminent and the child's emotional suffering can be directly attributed to a caregiver's actions, inactions, inadequate response, or failure to appropriately assist in alleviating (i.e., refuses treatment) a child's emotional state. Therefore, the combination of the caregiver's actions or inactions, and the potential or negative affect (i.e., physical or emotional risk) to the child are used to determine whether a child is in need of protection and if so, how promptly.

Studies conducted on substantiated (as well as unsubstantiated) cases provide a comprehensive overview of the likely rates of abuse. For example, it may be that reported but unverified cases are indeed child abuse, but the severity and impact were not enough to warrant continuous attention. A recent Canadian study revealed that approximately 217, 319 investigations of physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, or neglect were conducted across Canada in 2003 of which 47% were verified and another 13% suspected (Trocmé, Fallon, MacLaurin, Daciuk, Felstiner, et al., 2005). The authors reported that the breakdown of substantiated cases included 30% for neglect, 15% for emotional maltreatment, 24% for physical abuse, and 3% for sexual abuse.   Details of each form of child abuse are presented in order to provide specific background information on the various forms of abuse prior to discussing any evidence of teacher abuse.

Physical abuse. Any action by a caregiver that could result in physical harm to a child is considered physical abuse. Section 43 of the Criminal Code of Canada (Criminal Code, 1985) makes a provision for caregivers that allows them to use physical means for corrective purposes only. Although this law has been repeatedly challenged as violating the Canadian Charter of Right and Freedoms (see Brown and Zucker, pp. 315-323 for a discussion), teachers and parents

are currently permitted to use physical means to *correct* behaviour, but they are not permitted to engage in unreasonable physical force (Criminal Code, s. 43; Brown & Zucker, p. 319). Any physical behaviour that is not reasonable, that is unnecessarily harsh, and that is not in the best interests of a child would be grounds for a report to CAS and possible criminal charges. Physical abuse can be a onetime incident or repeated acts (DOJ, 2001) and is any deliberate application of force to any part of a child's body which may, or indeed does, cause nonaccidental injury (Latimer, 2003). Harm from physical abuse can range from mild (i.e., minor bruising) to more extreme cases where a child's organs or skeletal frame is damaged (DOJ, 2001). Physical abuse involves any unnecessary use of force that would be beyond the minimum necessary for corrective purposes.

In cases of physical abuse, boys (54%) are more often victims and 55% of victims are elementary-aged children between the ages of 4 and 11 (Trocmé et al., 2005). A large scale Canadian study of child abuse revealed that that medical attention was required in 4% of physical abuse cases while physical harm that did not require medical attention was reported in 25% of cases (Trocmé et al., 2005). National studies of child abuse have revealed that between 27% and 43% of substantiated physical abuse cases resulted in bruises, cuts, and scrapes, 1% of cases involved broken bones, and 1% - 2% involved head trauma (Trocmé et al., 2003; Trocmé et al., 2005). These same researchers found that treatment for severe injuries occurred in approximately 19% of cases, while emotional harm was reported in 19% of cases (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005). Additionally, approximately 44% - 50% of all physical abuse cases are onetime incidents and 27% - 29% are multiple incidences that occurred for more than 6 months in duration (Trocmé et al., 2003; Trocmé et al., 2005). The physical and emotional impact of

physical abuse is clear. Sexual abuse is another form of abuse that may result in physical and emotional harm to a child.

   Sexual abuse. The definition of sexual assault has changed substantially and – where once only reflected males assaulting females who were not their wives – now reflects both males and females who commit sexual assaults against male and female victims (Pozzulo, Bennel, & Forth, 2009, p. 289).   Current definitions of sexual assault stipulate that any sexual behaviour engaged in without consent is a sexual assault (Criminal Code, 1985, s. 265; Pozzulo et al., 2009) and this includes, among others, situations where the victim is incapable of consenting and cases where the abuser is in a position of trust, power, or authority (Criminal Code, 1985, s. 273). Specific laws exist regarding sexual contact with a child under the age of 14 (i.e., Sexual Interference and Invitation to Sexual Touching; Criminal Code, s. 151 & s. 152) states that anyone engaging in any behaviour with a sexual purpose – contact or noncontact – with a child under age 14 is guilty of a sexual assault. Laws are also outlined that protect youth between the ages of 14 and 18 (i.e., Sexual Exploitation; Criminal Code, s. 153) which stipulate that sexual assault takes place when any sexual behaviour has occurred between a child or adolescent and someone in a position of trust or authority or on whom they depend. The Criminal Code of Canada outlines criteria under which charges may be applied for sexual behaviour with someone under 18 years of age.

   The CFSA (1990, s. 37 ss. 2c) indicates that any child under 16 who has been or is currently at risk of sexual molestation or sexual exploitation is in need of protection. A recent amendment to the CFSA (2008, s. 37, ss. 2c) stipulates that child pornography is also a manner in which a child may be sexually molested or exploited. As noted in the other forms of abuse, a child may be in need of protection from an actual or potential perpetrator, but also from a caregiver who knows of, or should know of, the potential for a child to be sexually abused

(CFSA, 1990, s. 37, ss 2c). As noted in the Eligibility Spectrum, abusive sexual activity includes: extreme sexual abuse (ritual and/or sadistical abuse and/or physical harm from sexual activity); sexual intercourse (i.e., oral, anal, or general intercourse); molestation (i.e., fondling of breasts or genitals, or a child is forced to expose her/himself); exhibitionism (i.e., a child witnessing another person expose themselves); sexual harassment (i.e., a child is pressured, encouraged, or propositioned to perform sexual activity); sexual suggestiveness (i.e., sexually provocative comments, showing a child pornographic images) and; other sexual abuse which may include behaviours not captured in the previous categories such as observing adult sexual behaviour and voyeurism (Spectrum, 2006 pp. 24-25). Therefore, sexual comments, sexually suggestive behaviour, and any other behaviour of a sexual nature or for sexual purposes against a child is an offence under Canada's Criminal Code and may indicate a child in need of protection as outlined by the CFSA.

In a national study of child abuse, Trocmé and colleagues (2003; 2005) reported that between 63% and 69% of substantiated cases of sexual abuse were against female victims and that sexual abuse accounts for 3% of all substantiated investigations of child abuse (Trocmé et al., 2005). Touching or genital fondling is the most common form of sexual abuse in substantiated cases (Trocmé et al., 2003). Of note, the researchers found that less than 1% of substantiated cases of child abuse neglect involved a caregiver's failure to appropriately supervise a child, which led to them being sexual abused (Trocmé et al., 2005). Sexual abuse accounted for 2% of all substantiated maltreatments (Trocmé et al., 2005). Between 56% and 58% of victims of substantiated sexual abuse cases were between the ages of 4 and 11 (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005) indicating a risk for those children who are elementary school aged.

Emotional maltreatment. Emotionally abusive behavioural patterns manifested in adult-child interactions are multifaceted and can include acts of commission or acts of omission (see pp. 16-17 for a review of acts of omission and commission). Acts of commission may include being verbally abusive, spurning a child's needs, terrorizing, or isolating a child. Emotional abuse and its profound impact on children is rooted in, and complicated by, the role of power relations between parent and child; for example, parents who resort to emotionally abusing their child/children in order to gain power and control in their relationship (Montminy & Straka, 2008). In Canada, approximately 50% of substantiated cases of emotional maltreatment are against elementary-aged children, with females encompassing just over half of the cases (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005). More than half of the substantiated cases (50 - 57%) had occurred on multiple occasions and for more than 6 months; however, far fewer cases (16% - 21%) were single incidents (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005). Exposure to spousal violence is categorized under emotional maltreatment. Therefore, most cases of emotional abuse are not single incidents and being exposed to another's interpersonal violence may also constitute emotional maltreatment. Physical harm does not result from emotional maltreatment as there is no contact between the abuser and the victim; however, neglect (although not involving physical contact) may result in physical harm.

Neglect. Neglect occurs when a caregiver fails to care for, provide for, supervise, or protect a child (Spectrum, 2006).   Failure to supervise and protect a child from physical and sexual harm, neglecting a child's physical and medical needs, failing to provide treatment, permitting maladaptive or criminal behaviours, abandoning, and not providing the necessary educational support a child requires (e.g., not enrolling a child in a school or not ensuring that a child attends school) are acts of neglect (Spectrum, 2006; Trocmé et al., 2003). Indicators of

childhood neglect could include a child not receiving the required nutritional sustenance and a child who is unclean and are not dressed appropriately (Jerin & Moriarity, 2010). Child abandonment, or children being left by parents who have no intention of reclaiming them, is considered the most extreme form of neglect (Jerin & Moriarity, 2010).

Canadian statistics reveal that 47% - 51% of substantiated neglect cases are for elementary-aged children (i.e., ages 4-11) (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005). Additionally, where neglect has been reported, it has typically occurred on more than one occasion; researchers have found that 33% - 42% of cases occurred for more than 6 months and 23 - 24% occurred for less than 6 months (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005). As with other forms of child abuse, neglect that is reported to authorities is rarely a onetime occurrence.

Emotional neglect. Emotional neglect, or denying emotional responsiveness, is included in the domain of emotional abuse or maltreatment (see emotional maltreatment above) and encompasses acts of omission such as ignoring a child, being psychologically unresponsive to the needs of a child, or being unavailable when a child requires assistance (Spectrum, 2006, p. 53) . In Canada, emotional neglect accounts for 6% of all substantiated cases of child abuse (Trocmé et al., 2003).

Child abuse includes cases that are and are not reportable. As such, the accuracy of known rates of child abuse is speculative. Understanding what is considered neglect, emotional maltreatment, and physical and sexual abuse provides a base in which to examine the behaviours inflicted on students by teachers. Although limited, there is some research providing details of the abusive behaviours engaged in by teachers; this research is presented below and discussed based on the abuse category it reflects.

Teachers who Abuse

There are few empirical investigations of teacher abuse; therefore, the extent of this behaviour is unknown. Researchers have explored teacher abuse from the perspectives of colleagues and students using self-report measures. Investigations conducted to date reveal a concerning picture. Students at all grade levels have reported experiencing some form of abuse from their teachers (Conlee, 1986).

One of the first major studies of teacher abuse was conducted in the 1980's (Krugman & Krugman, 1984). In this study, the researchers outlined what they considered abusive behaviours by educators. Abusive teacher behaviours included: excessive screaming and rants that resulted in students crying; making publicly degrading comments toward students; centering students out and labeling them as stupid or ineffectual; threatening students (verbally and via body language); and setting unrealistic work expectations (Krugman & Krugman, 1984). The authors also note that some teachers' behaviours resulted in children crying, which suggests an emotional impact. Each of the behaviours from this early study of abuse by teachers is captured within the categories of abuse as outlined in the Spectrum (i.e., threatening, spurning, denying emotional responsiveness).

Since the early research by Krugman and Krugman, others have discussed abuse by teachers. Nesbit (1991) identified six categories of emotionally abusive behaviours demonstrated by teachers in classrooms: a) demeaning students through put downs, b) biased interactions with students, c) dominating and controlling students, d) intimidating students, e) distancing themselves from students and being emotionally unsupportive, and f) displaying a wide spectrum of attitudinal behaviours that had an overall negative impact on the classroom environment. Again, each of these categories has been discussed as behaviours that are

potentially abusive in nature; in addition, there is a strong likelihood that such behaviours would have affected a child. As already noted, abuse is the appropriate term to describe the actions of teachers who engage in this type of mistreatment of students.

Given the amount of time students spend at school, it would not be surprising if teachers (or other adults in the school system) contributed to known rates of child abuse. However, current research indicates that parents are overwhelmingly responsible for reported cases of child abuse. In a large scale Canadian study investigating reports of child abuse to welfare agencies across the country, the researchers found that 96% of investigations of abuse involved at least one relative; however, of note, 1% of substantiated cases were against a classroom teacher (Trocmé et al., 2006).

Of the allegations against teachers, 33% were substantiated, 26% were suspected but not substantiated, and 41% were unsubstantiated. The majority of the cases that were unsubstantiated related to physical abuse (i.e., 63%) while far fewer allegations of sexual abuse cases went unsubstantiated (i.e., 12%). Too few (< 5) reports of neglect or emotional maltreatment by teachers were made to child welfare to report reliably (Trocmé et al., 2001). It is important to note that reports of teacher or other non-familial abuse against a child would be investigated by police and thus would not be reflected in current rates (Trocmé et al., 2001). In addition, as noted, most physical and sexual assaults are not reported to police (Dauvergne & Turner, 2010; Gannon & Mihorean, 2004); therefore, the reported rate of 1% of filed child abuse cases were due to teacher abuse is likely an underestimate of the actual occurrence children abused by teachers.

Most abusive behaviours by teachers fall along the continuum of those that do not require a report to a CAS; however, they would likely be categorized as not in the best interests of the

child. A teacher's behaviours, if consider lower in severity and likely causing minimal impact, may result in much teacher abuse being ignored. As such, speculation regarding the possible occurrence of teacher abuse must be based on currently available provincial and national rates. Based on the known rates of each form of abuse, it is likely that teachers are more at risk to neglect or emotionally abuse students than to physically or sexually abuse them.

Research has shown that teachers acknowledge that abuse of students occurs within their profession. For example, a study asking 116 teachers from seven elementary schools in the USA to report their own and their colleagues' *bullying* revealed that 88% of teachers agreed that mistreatment of students does occur within their profession and 32% acknowledged that they have *bullied* a student either *a few times* or *frequently*. (Twemlow et al., 2006). In addition, 33% reported that they have known one or more teachers who *bullied* students within the past school year. In another study investigating teacher bullying, the researcher administered self-reports to 101 teachers from seven high schools in England and found that 70% reported seeing colleagues *bully* students and 58% acknowledged that some of their own behaviours may be considered, by students, as *bullying* (Terry, 1998). Even though the sample sizes were small, these few studies reveal that teachers do recognize some of their own and their colleagues' behaviours as inappropriate. Since the term bullying was used in each of these studies, it is not know whether rates of reporting would have differed had the behaviour been more appropriately labeled abuse.

Students have also reported on their teacher's behaviours. In a study of college students, more than 44% of participants reported observing a student being bullied by a teacher (Chapell, et al, 1999). In a sample of middle school students, 1.7% reported being bullied by a teacher in the past five months (Olweus, 1996). Buxton and Prichard (1973) surveyed 815 high school

students of whom 81% perceived teachers as violating student rights in a variety of ways

including: disregarding student opinions, denying restroom privileges and principals dismissing

reasonable ideas presented by student government. Based on these findings from multiple age

groups and countries, abuse by teachers certainly appears to be a widespread issue.

     Teacher abuse of students is slowly receiving increased attention as both teachers and

students are reporting on the use of abusive behaviours by teachers. Research has been

conducted in the US and England regarding the use of abusive behaviours by teachers; however,

there is no investigation specific to teachers in Ontario or Canada. To date, the experiences of

elementary students, and the behaviours of their teachers in classrooms, have not been examined.

This lack of investigation into the experiences of elementary students may be due to a child's age

and opportunities for access to this population. The following discussion provides a review of

the known behaviours of teachers. Although limited, there is some research evidence regarding

teacher inflicted physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, and neglect.

     Physical and sexual abuse.   Teachers have been reported to engage in overt physical acts

against students such as pinching, shaking, pulling children by the ears and tipping or pulling

chairs out from under seated students (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996; Krugman & Krugman, 1984).

Teachers have also reported knowledge of their colleagues who have used needless physical

force against students (Twemlow et al., 1996). As each of these physical acts could negatively

affect a child, they must be considered abusive and, if the child were harmed with visible marks

(i.e., bruising) the behaviour would be considered a reportable incident. Physical harm that

results in bodily markings would be considered an act of abuse in which a child may be in need

of protection (CFSA, 1990; Spectrum, 2006). In addition, the Ontario College of Teachers Act

(OCTA, 1996, O. Reg. 437/97) deems any physical abuse of a student professional misconduct

and worthy of reporting to the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT). Sexual abuse of a student is

also an act that constitutes professional misconduct and reportable abuse.

The Ontario College of Teachers stipulates that any sexual abuse of a student is

professional misconduct (OCTA, 1996, O. Reg. 437/97).   In 2002, the Ontario College of

Teachers clarified their position on member's sexual contact with students through an Advisory

regarding professional misconduct as it relates to sexual abuse and sexual misconduct (Ontario

College of Teachers, 2002). The advisory was completed in response to recommendations made

by a number of bodies to clarify and specify issues of professional misconduct and the

obligations of OCT members (see Robins, 2000; Student Protection Act, 2002). Within this

Advisory, the OCT stipulates that members *must* recognize their professional relationship with

students (p. 2), that sexual abuse of a student and sexual misconduct includes sexual relations,

sexual touching, and behaviour or remarks of a sexual nature between a member and a student

(p. 2). In addition, members are advised that they should *avoid* any form of sexual contact

regardless of the "age or any apparent consent by the student," (p. 2) and that engaging in

professional misconduct or abuse will result in an investigation and disciplinary action initiated

by the OCT. The OCT, in this Advisory, reminds members of their duty to report any reasonable

belief, or knowledge of, sexual misconduct by OCT members to a CAS, police, the employer, or

the OCT (p. 4).

Although some teachers have reported on the physically abusive behaviours of their

colleagues, much less is known of the sexual behaviours engaged in by teachers against students.

Although little evidence of sexual abuse of a student by a teacher has been documented in

research studies, investigations of Child Welfare reports indicate that sexual abuse by teachers is,

compared to physical and emotional abuse by teachers, more commonly reported. During 1998,

501 allegations of physical abuse and 423 allegations of sexual abuse were filed against teachers (Trocmé et al., 2001). The majority of sexual abuse allegations were substantiated (46%) or suspected (42%) whereas the majority of physical abuse allegations remained unsubstantiated (63%) (Trocmé et al., 2001). It is important to note that various teacher mandates emphasize that teachers *must* report suspected or known cases of physical and sexual abuse (i.e., CFSA, 1990, s. 72; OCT, 2002, p. 4; OCTA, 1996, O. Reg. 437/97), including those committed by a colleague.

Therefore, physical and sexual abuse of students has occurred and has been witnessed by an abusive teacher's colleagues. Although these behaviours may occur far less often than emotionally abusive behaviours, physical and sexual abuse may also be easier to detect. Conversely, emotional maltreatment is a form of abuse that may be difficult to identify as some of these behaviours can be engaged in using covert means.

Emotional abuse of students*.* Given the amount of time students spend in the school environment and under the care of teachers and administrators, it is important that emotionally abusive acts by teachers be identified, acknowledged, and addressed. However, there is very little research into emotionally abusive behaviours inflicted by teachers on students.

Investigations have indicated that a proportion of school teachers commonly use emotional abuse, in partnership with other disciplinary measures, as a means of exerting classroom control and maintaining dominance over students (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996; Germain, Brassard, & Hart, 1985). Paul and Smith (2000) identified six distinct ways in which teachers misuse their power over students; each of these behaviours or actions fit into the category of emotional abuse. According to the authors, bullying teachers: 1) employ unnecessarily strict disciplinary practices that severely minimize student dialogue and communication; 2) establish problematic student groupings in the classroom that often disrupt the flow of lessons; 3) enact

and reinforce oppressive rules in which students have little or no say in daily routines; 4)

implement instructional practices that do not allow children to voice their thoughts/opinions; 5)

demonstrate unfair and biased evaluations of a student's work and progress; and 6) maintain a

communication style with children that is overly harsh and riddled with sarcasm (Paul & Smith,

2000).

A discussion of the various types of emotional abuse outlined by the Spectrum (2006) is

presented with respect to what is known regarding emotional abuse by teachers.   Teachers'

behaviours can be categorized into the emotional abuse categories of spurning, terrorizing,

isolating, exploiting or corrupting, and denying emotional responsiveness (i.e., emotional

neglect).

Spurning. Teachers are reported to use verbal and nonverbal acts that reject or degrade

children and, thus, teachers engage in spurning. Spurning is one method teachers use to control

children or punish certain behaviours. Examples of spurning behaviours by teachers include:

screaming at or demeaning children, making belittling personal comments directed towards

children; rejecting the child or their work; verbally abusing; harassing and berating a child until

they cry; humiliating children to stop their disruption of the class; hurting a child's feelings;

putting children down; repeatedly punishing the same child, and; frequently and repeatedly

suspending the same child (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996; Krugman & Krugman, 1984; Twemlow et

al., 1996). Other examples could include repeatedly calling on a child who does not know an

answer, directing questions towards that the teacher knows a child will not understand, or asking

a question that is above a child's intellectual capability. Nonverbal and more covert methods of

spurning include: restricting a child's access to a school's washroom facilities, allowing one

child to be harassed or bullied by other children; labeling children as uneducable, dumb or

stupid; engaging children in inappropriate work tasks for their stages of cognitive/academic

development; and repeatedly delineating work expectations that are not appropriate to a child's

potential and thus setting up a child for failure (Briggs & Hawkins 1996). Other covert

behaviours could include: continually ignoring a child who would like to participate in classroom

activities or discussions; regularly centering out a child who is not willing to volunteer an

answer; obvious student favouritism; not permitting specific children to assume responsibilities

in the classroom; and excluding specific children from coveted classroom positions (i.e.,

classroom monitors, group leaders).

   Terrorizing. A few researchers have indicated that teachers have used threats and

attempted to induce fear in order to control children (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996). A teacher who

threatens to report to parents a child's misbehaviour or unsatisfactory work is a way of terrorizing

a student (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996; Krugman & Krugman, 1984). If a teacher is attempting to

control a child behaviours such as threatening to report the child to a principal and threatening to

have the child removed from school are intended to induce fear. Although not as serious,

threatening to remove preferred activities such as gym, art, or computer privileges may also be

methods to control a child.

   Isolating. A teacher who ignores a child who repeatedly attempts to answer questions, or

a teachers who unfairly removes a child from a group activity or game, is isolating that child. A

teacher engaging in behaviours that could result in peers avoiding the child is also isolating.

   Exploiting or corrupting. If a teacher models or encourages inappropriate behaviours,

they are exploiting or corrupting and thus abusing the student. As evidenced by many of the

examples of abuse, teachers are not only abusing but also modeling the acceptability of such

inappropriate behaviours. A teacher who models abuse of students may be, in fact, encouraging

some students to engage in similar behaviours. For example, when a teacher hurts or humiliates

specific students, their behaviours could be repeated by students. In addition, as Twemlow and

colleagues (2006) noted, some teachers "set up students to be bullied," (*p*. 194) which would not

only suggest neglect, but also corruption and exploitation.

This form of abuse also places restrictions on, or interferes with, the cognitive

development of students; teachers who set unreasonable work standards, consistently reject a

child's work, and who set children up to fail, as noted by Briggs and Hawkins (1996), could be

viewed as interfering with that student's academic and cognitive development. Examples of

developmentally inappropriate tasks can include classroom work and homework expectations

that are beyond a child's academic capabilities; assignments that may not meet a child's

Individualized Education Plans (IEP) as determined by the teacher, the principal, the school's

Special Education Resource Teacher, and the child's parents. These behaviours are less obvious

and may be hidden to those who are not aware of a student's specific academic needs, but for

teachers who are familiar with the needs of a child, they represent an interference with, or

violation of, a child's cognitive development and, thus, constitute exploiting or corrupting a

student.

Similarly, students in the regular stream of programming (working within their respective

grade level) may be assigned hours of homework each night under the guise of appropriate

program planning. Teachers can mask their abusive behaviour with extravagant work

expectations. Teachers who employ this specific approach to teaching children rationalize their

actions by claiming it is a suitable part of their specific style of teaching (Twemlow et al., 2006).

Denying emotional responsiveness. Ignoring a child's attempts to interact with their

teacher and showing no affect when interacting with a child is indicative of denying emotional

responsiveness, which constitutes abuse. Teachers are reported to use rejection as a form of discipline (Twemlow et al., 1996). Other examples of denying emotional responses could be dismissing or not acknowledging a child who is clearly upset or hurt, as well minimizing a child's feelings (i.e., responding to sadness with "get over it"). Teachers who do not display appropriate empathy or sympathy to the needs and feelings of a child would also fit into this category of abuse.

For teachers who abuse students, there is a visible abuse of power that is often expressed in a public manner (McEvoy, 2005). Some teachers use this imbalance of power to their advantage. Abusive interactions can be overt in nature, such as screaming at a child, or covert and disguised as part of their teaching. Teachers also use a variety of emotionally abusive methods similar to those used by abusive parents. These behaviours range from acts that may not put a child at emotional risk, but are clearly not in the best interests of the child (e.g., briefly leaving the class unattended) to acts that negatively affect a child (e.g., laughing at a child, embarrassing a child).

Teachers who believe that a child is at risk for serious emotional harm as a result of a teacher's, or any adults, emotional behaviour has a duty to report to a CAS that a child may be in need of protection (CFSA, 1990, s. 72). The OCTA (1990, O. Reg. 437/97) states that verbal, psychological, or emotional abuse of a student constitutes professional misconduct and should be reported to the OCT. Due to a teacher's ability to disguise emotionally abusive behaviour, establishing whether a child has or may suffer emotional harm as a result of a teacher's behaviour could be difficult. Teachers may also neglect the needs of their students and, again, these behaviours may be covert and difficult to detect. Neglect of students by teachers is discussed next.

Neglect. As noted earlier, neglect entails a caregiver not providing adequate supervision and not meeting the physical, emotional, mental, or developmental needs of a child (Spectrum, 2006). Teachers may neglect the needs of students in a number of ways. Teachers who set students up to be bullied by their classmates, watch as students bully their peers, and fail to set classroom behavioural expectations are all examples of neglect (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996; Twemlow et al., 1996). In addition, failing to address allegations or suspicions of child maltreatment has also been reported as neglect (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996). By not addressing and intervening in potentially harmful situations, a teacher is placing a child at risk for harm and is neglecting the needs of the child, which constitute abuse. Other neglectful behaviours could include those that are based on a teacher's competence or job performance. For example, teachers who regularly miss classes, who do not alter lessons to meet the needs of students, and who fail to set limits and classroom expectations may be neglecting the needs of students under their care.

Although statistics are not provided regarding neglect of students by teachers, the Foundations of Professional Practice (OCT, 2010) – which outline the ethical standards for Ontario's teachers – indicates that teachers must be caring role models and ethical decision-makers who are committed to student success (p. 17). In addition, the core ethical standards for teachers include care, respect, trust, and integrity (OCT, 2010, p. 5). The ethical standards outlined for teachers necessitates a commitment to students which is an integral part of teaching and that teachers must be responsible in their relationships with students (p. 7). Any neglectful behaviour of a student contradicts the ethical standards and standards of practice under which teachers are mandated (see OCT, 2010; Ministry of Education, 2001). The negative behaviours demonstrated in the above section of this paper, when considered in the context of teaching and

adult-child interactions are, by definition, abusive. Some teachers engage in emotional and physical behaviours that range from the relatively innocuous (but clearly not in the student's best interests), to those that are obviously dangerous and could lead to emotional or physical harm to a student. In schools, some teachers use overtly abusive behaviours against their students (screaming, belittling etc.), while others engage in negative behaviours that may go unnoticed (covert), but are nonetheless abusive. Undoubtedly the negative verbal and emotional methods teachers use with students can be both overt (i.e., drawing attention to one student) or covert (i.e., never being pleased with a student's work/effort) as well as physically aggressive behaviours and gestures (i.e., physical harm, intent is to induce fear). Covert and overt methods are utilized by some teachers to discipline, pressure, or belittle students under their care; these methods are employed to manipulate, punish, or disparage a child (Twemlow et al., 2006). Regardless of the teacher's purpose for using covert or overt behaviours, employing such behaviours are not in the best interests of the student and are abusive.

Some teachers abuse students. In order to understand teacher abuse, a discussion of the etiology of abuse is important. This knowledge may assist in providing intervention measures as well as to identify teachers who may be at risk to abuse. The following section of the paper will present a number of theories of abuse and aggression. The theories presented are linked to what is currently known and speculated upon regarding why some teachers abuse students.

Causes of Abuse

With terminology firmly grounded and a review of specific ways in which teachers abuse, the next issue to disseminate is why teachers abuse. Special attention will be paid to how various theories of abuse pertain to the classroom teacher and whether one, or a variety of factors, contributes to abuse. Attention will be focused on the characteristics of known abusers,

and how such characteristics may be applied to abusive teachers. A number of established

theories of child abuse will be presented next and discussed with respect to what is known about

teachers who abuse.

Causes of abuse by teachers.

Little research has been conducted in an attempt to understand the causes of teacher

abuse, why some teachers abuse while others do not, and whether abusive behaviours by teachers

can be accurately predicted.   Recently conducted research has attempted to address the causes of

teacher abuse of students.

When asked about their own and their colleagues *bullying*, teachers reported various

causes. Causes reported include issues pertaining to: 1) a teacher's *characteristics and skills*

such as dominating students out of fear of being hurt or embarrassed, being envious of student

abilities, teacher burnout, and not having the requisite skills and adequate training to deal with

behavioural problems in the classroom; 2) *environmental factors*, such as a lack of administrative

support regarding students who misbehave in their classrooms and increased classroom sizes;

and 3) *stress* caused by the job (Twemlow et al., 2006). It is important to note that these are

hypothesized reasons as to why some teachers abuse their students; however, since the reasons

were provided by teachers who engaged in or witnessed colleagues' abuse, these are important to

consider. Researchers must certainly investigate these and other potential causes of abuse by

teachers.

A number of theories have been postulated in an attempt to explain child abuse and

aggression. The theories that attempt to explain the etiology of abuse are briefly outlined in

Table 1. A more detailed description and application of each theory is provided in Appendix A.

Following these theories, a discussion of empirical evidence regarding parents and teachers who

abuse will be presented in an attempt to relate the etiological theories of abuse to current

knowledge. As noted, Twemlow and colleagues found that teacher and school characteristics, as

well as various stressors, may precipitate teacher abuse. Therefore, the following discussion of

various theories and evidence will be organized within these categories.

Table 1.

Theories of abuse and aggression

Theory	Details
CHARACTERISTICS/SKILLS AS CAUSES OF ABUSE	
1. **Social-Psychological Model, Belsky, 1978**	• Marital discord, few vocational opportunities, too many children
2. **The Transitional Model, Wolfe, 1999**	• Environmental stressors and stress management difficulties
3. **The Psychodynamic Model, Steel & Pollock, 1974**	• Lack meaningful bond ● When the adult experiences chaos or the unexpected
4. **Mental Illness,** Crosson, 1978	• A person's state of mind
5. **Cycle of Violence,** Widom, 1992	• Violent behaviour is learned and passed to children
6. **Character-Trait Model,** Merrill, 1962	• Hostile, rigid, passive, dependence and competiveness
7. **Personalistic Theory,** Jackson, Karlson, Oliver, & Tzeng, 1991	• Poor parenting skills, inability to plan, poor judgment, lack of parental motivation
8. **Social Learning, Bandura, 1977a**	• repeat a negative behaviour if they are rewarded for it
9. **Frustration/Aggression Hypothesis,** Dollard et al., 1939	• desired goal blocked, become frustrated ● Frustration leads to aggression ● Frustration increases with the unexpected
10. **The Interactional Model,** Jackson et al.,	• result of a dysfunctional system ● role of the child, chance

1991	events, and family structure
11. **Cognitive-behavioural Theory**, Milner & Crouch, 1993	• Unrealistic expectations of child
12. **Ecological theory**, Garbarino & Eckenrode, 1997	• Individual factors, family factors, community factors and cultural factors

ENVIRONMENTAL CAUSES OF ABUSE

1. **Cue Arousal Theory,** Berkowitz, 1974	• Extension of the Frustration/Aggression Hypothesis ● Frustration leads to anger, not necessarily aggression ● A cue, or stimulus in the environment, leads to anger
2. **Excitation Transfer Theory**, Zillman, 1983; Zillman & Bryant, 1974	• Stimulus from one situation transferred to another ● aggress when the source of frustration is person
3. **Relative Deprivation Theory**, Runciman, 1966; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972	• More aggressive when feel not getting what they deserve ● Feelings of deprivation leads to frustration and aggression
4. **Deindividuation,** Festinger et al., 1952	• aggress when in large groups, a group mentality

STRESS AND STRESSORS AS CAUSES OF ABUSE

1. **Economic Theory**, Steinberg et al., 1981	• Abuse is the result of living in impoverished conditions
2. **Environmental Stress**, Selye, 1975	• Lack of education, poverty, unemployment and job stress
3. **Environmental-Sociological-Cultural Model**, Selye, 1975	• Stressors in modern society are triggers

As shown in Table 1, there are several theories of abuse and aggression that may be useful in understanding the factors that may cause teachers to abuse students. Research on adult abusers supports some of the theories presented above, and aids in a discussion of why some

teachers abuse. Characteristics of the teacher, the environment, and students may contribute to teacher abuse and each of these is discussed with respect to the empirical evidence gathered.

Teacher Characteristics and Skills

Theories of abuse and aggression have identified the abuser's personal characteristics as being a key factor when understanding the genesis of child abuse. Issues such as age, gender, and teacher skills will be discussed with respect to adults who abuse children.

Characteristics.

Age. The age of an individual in a caretaking role may contribute to abuse of a child. Age groups of adults who abuse children have been investigated. For children who were abused by a female, just under half of the abusers (48%) were aged 31 – 40, 22% were aged 26-30, and 7% were aged 25 and under (Trocmé et al., 2001). A slightly different pattern was shown for male abusers. Similar to females, just over half (51%) of abusive males were aged 31 – 40; however, the next highest age group was over 40 years (24%), followed by males aged 26 – 30 (15%) (Trocmé et al., 2001). According to recent US statistics (USDH, 2010), 41% of female abusers are in their 20's and 35% are in their 30's, indicating that the majority of female child abusers in both Canada and the USA are aged 20 to 40. Of male abusers in the US, approximately 34% were in their 30's and 29% were in their 20's (USDH, 2010). Therefore, for males, Canadian reports indicate that most males are over age 30, but for US males most are between 20 and 40 years of age. Age of the abuser may be confounded by whether or not there is a child in the home or whether the individual has access to children. Many child abusers are within the age range where it is likely that young children will be present. For older adults who abuse children, these may be grandparents who are in a caretaking role.

Age of abusive teachers. As access may be a factor in child abuse, the age of abusive

teachers may not be specific since exposure to children does not decrease as teachers' age. The

majority (92%) of teachers are aged 25 – 54 (Statistics Canada, 2008); however, regardless of

age full-time teachers are in the presence of students for approximately 6 hours a day. Since the

majority of females who abuse children are between the ages of 26 and 40 and the majority of

males who abuse children are aged 31 and older, it is important to understand whether a specific

age range of teachers is more likely, or at risk, to abuse students.

Although limited, there has been some research to suggest that teachers who abuse

students tend to be more established in the profession. For example, McEvoy (2005) found that

89% of teachers who *bully* were in the teaching profession for more than 5 years. There are a

number of possible reasons why more established teachers' abuse; McEvoy (2005) suggests that

abusive teachers may be those who feel secure in their positions and consequently do not fear

being removed from the profession (McEvoy, 2005). Coincidently, teachers instructing for more

than 5 years are likely to fall in to the age range of adults found to abuse children. In order to

determine whether some teachers are at risk to engage in abusive behaviours, the teacher's age,

which could be an indication of the length of time the teacher has been in the profession, should

be considered.

Gender. Gender may be a risk factor that should be considered when attempting to

understand which teacher may be abusive. In Canada, a large study of cases of abuse reported to

child welfare services indicated that most investigations of child abuse were against parents.

Females were the focus in 64% of investigations (biological and stepmothers) while males

(biological and stepfathers) accounted for 47% of investigations; most investigations (87%)

involved both male and female parental figures (Trocmé et al., 2001). Similar rates have been

reported in America, with females accounting for 56% and males for 43% of all child abuse cases; however, only 18% of cases involved both the mother and father of the child (USDH, 2010).   As noted with age, the fact that abuse cases often involve a female alone, or both a male and a female, may be indicative of who has access to a child. In the case of single parents, the female is likely the primary guardian and the female parent is likely in the primary caretaking role in dual parent families; therefore, a female is more likely exposed to the child for longer periods.   Therefore, gender may be a factor, but only as it relates to the amount of access to the child.

Gender of abusive teachers. Within the school setting, the scant research conducted suggests that both male and female teachers abuse students. In a study where teachers were asked to report on the characteristics of their abusive colleagues, McEvoy (2005) indicated that 30% reported male, 12% reported female, and 57% reported both male and female *bullies*. It is not surprising that both male and female teachers are reported to abuse since, as noted for age, the gender of the teacher does not influence one's exposure to students. Therefore, gender may not be a cause, but is worthy of investigation.

Since age and gender may not be risk factors important to understanding teacher abuse, other factors pertaining to teachers are important to consider. Teachers' skills vary and this may be an important determinant for abuse. A teacher's skills are considered with respect to job competence and satisfaction and are discussed below.

Teacher skills.

Competence. How competent a teacher feels, or indeed is, may help to explain why some teachers abuse. However, difficulties in the definition and measurement of competence hinder research efforts. A universally accepted definition of teacher incompetence is lacking (Wragg,

Haynes, Wragg, & Chamberlin, 1999), meaning that expectations of what encompasses a competent teacher may differ depending on the cultural background, or societal expectations, of teachers. According to Wragg and colleagues (1999), indicators of teacher incompetence comprise factors such as: 1) *classroom competencies,* which include poor classroom organization; inability/failure of a teacher to adapt to curricular, instructional, or technological changes; failure to follow the prescribed curriculum; poorly delivered lessons, assessment difficulties; and inadequate classroom control; 2) *teacher characteristics* such as a lack of proper planning, poor subject knowledge, inability to communicate effectively with parents regarding a child's progress, and low expectations for students; and 3) *student characteristics,* which develop from teacher characteristics and classroom competencies and include students who are disinterested, who are not engaged in meaningful learning experiences, and who are not progressing at an appropriate rate. Incompetency in the classroom may lead to abuse, as discussed with the *Personalistic* and *Environmental Stress* theories of abuse. Teacher competence is a key priority for the Ontario College of Teachers as teachers are expected to demonstrate competence in a number of instructional areas.

The Education Act (R.S.O., 1990) is the legislation that, amongst other things, outlines the duties and responsibilities of Ontario's teachers. The competencies that teachers must demonstrate (and for which a principal must appraise) are included below (Education Act, 1990, Amended O. Reg. 1/03). Mandatory teacher performance evaluations require the assessment of 5 domains and 16 teaching competencies (Amended O. Reg. 1/03, s. Teacher Competences). The criteria to be assessed are closely aligned with the areas of competency suggested by Wragg and colleagues (1999). Since theories suggest that competence may be related to why some

adults abuse children, a discussion of what constitutes teacher competence in Ontario is warranted. Each of the areas of competence is discussed below.

Ontario's mandated teacher competencies. The five domains of competence that teachers are expected to demonstrate include: 1) *Commitment to Students and Learning* which is evaluated based on whether a teacher is committed to the well-being and development of *all* students as demonstrated through their dedication to teaching and support of student learning and achievement, their equitable and respectful treatment of *all* students, and a classroom environment that encourages problem solving, decision making, lifelong learning, and nurtures students to be contributing members of society; 2) *Professional Knowledge* is the domain in which a teacher is evaluated based on their knowledge of the subject matter taught, the Ontario Curriculum, educational legislation, the use and knowledge of various effective teaching and assessment strategies, their knowledge and implementation of a variety of effective classroom management strategies, and their familiarity with how children learn as well as the factors that influence learning and achievement; 3) the *Professional Practice* domain requires teachers to demonstrate use and understanding of professional knowledge, student differences, curriculum documents, and legislated teaching practices and classroom management strategies that promote learning and achievement for all students. In addition, the third domain is concerned with the effectiveness of a teacher's communication with students, parents, and colleagues, whether a teacher conducts ongoing assessment of his or her students' progress, whether a teacher evaluates and regularly reports student achievement to both the student and their parents, whether a teacher uses continuous learning and reflection to adapt and refine their teaching practices, and whether a variety of resources and appropriate technology are used in his or her practice. The fourth domain, 4) *Leadership in Learning Communities*, is related to whether a

teacher collaborates with colleagues and works well with other professionals, parents, and

members of the community to enhance student learning and achievement. The final domain is a

commitment to 5) *Ongoing Professional Learning* (Education Act, 1990, Amended O. Reg. 1/03,

Teacher Competencies).

In reviewing the expected competencies for teachers, it is clear that teachers are to care

for, and be committed to, all of their students and to support their learning. Teacher competence

is demonstrated by treating students equitably and with respect, knowing the accepted

curriculum and subject matter, meeting the needs of students, and by varying their instructional

and assessment techniques in order to address the differential learning requirements of their

students. Teachers who do not feel or demonstrate competence may indeed be those who engage

in abuse. An area in which competency is assessed include a teacher's treatment of students and

this suggests a likely relationship between job competence and abuse. Teacher competency must

be considered when attempting to understand why some teachers engage in abuse. Along with

competence in performing teaching duties, teachers who are not satisfied with their position or

role may engage in abusive behaviour.

Satisfaction. Job satisfaction has been defined as "the degree to which an employee has

positive emotions toward work" (Currivan, 2000, p. 495). For teachers, a general sense of

dissatisfaction with their vocation may affect their treatment of students.

A recent Ontario based study, designed to investigate the causes of teachers leaving the

profession, indicated that job dissatisfaction was an important factors for 36% of those who left

the profession (Clark & Antonelli, 2009, p. 9). In addition, the researchers found that between

58% and 62% of those who retired early noted that job dissatisfaction influenced their decision.

Some of the main contributors to feelings of job dissatisfaction included teaching workload,

relationships with administration, and class size (Clark & Antonelli, 2009; Leithwood, 2006).

Others have found that more challenging classes (i.e., behavioural and learning issues discussed

below, see stress and stressors, p. 48) and teaching outside of the teacher's area of certification

(i.e., competence as discussed above, see p. 42) are important contributing factors in teacher

dissatisfaction (Stockard & Lehman, 2004).   Teachers who reported on why they and their

colleagues may have abused students note that issues of job satisfaction associated with class

size and the needs and demands of students were contributing factors (Twemlow et al., 2006).

As outlined in the theories of child abuse, unrealistic expectations of students (Cognitive-

Behavioural Model), a lack of vocational opportunities (Social-Psychological Model), and the

feeling that teachers are not receiving what they feel they deserve (Relative-Deprivation Theory)

may all contribute to abuse. Job satisfaction is an important issue to consider when trying

understanding a teacher's mistreatment of students (Leithwood, 2006; Organ, 1990).   Overall, it

seems that job satisfaction is important, and closely tied, to other potential causes of teacher

abuse that must be investigated.

Environment.

A negative home environment has been linked to causes of child abuse. The school

environment has been implicated as a possible factor regarding why some teachers abuse.

Reflections from teachers suggest class size and a lack of administrative support as factors that

may contribute to the abuse of students. As noted above, these factors are also related to teacher

dissatisfaction and are worthy of further investigation.

Class size. Teachers have suggested that class size is a contributing factor in their own

or their colleagues' abusive behaviour. Many teachers report that abuse is directly linked to

having a larger class size (Twemlow et al., 2006); however, other researchers have not connected

class size and teacher behaviour. For example, in a study comparing teachers of differing class

sizes, no differences were found between those with larger or smaller classes regarding body

posture (i.e, tense vs. relaxed), eye contact, speaking volume, or expressions of interest, anger, or

sadness (Adalsteinsdottir, 2004). Of note, researchers have found that student achievement is an

important factor in a teacher's sense of job satisfaction (Bandura, 1977b; Verdugo et al., 1997);

therefore, it may be that satisfaction with the class, and not necessarily the actual class size itself,

that is influential in teacher abuse. Class size is an issue worthy of exploration to determine

whether those who abuse also teach in classes that are larger than the average.

Administrative support. Support from administration is likely important as to why some

teachers abuse. A number of researchers have linked administrative support to job

dissatisfaction. For example, the roles and responsibilities principals play within the school

(such as decision making, communication and leadership) are important contributing factors to

teacher satisfaction (Dinham & Scott, 1998; Poppleton, Gershunsky, & Pullin, 1994). In

Ontario, as outlined by the Education Act (1990), principals are responsible for ensuring that

each teacher is competent (O. Reg 99/02), that order and discipline is present in the school, (O.

Reg, 265, 1(a)), and that the health and comfort of students is maintained (O. Reg. 265, 1(j)).

Administrative support for teachers is vital to a school's functioning.

Teachers who do not feel supported by administration, or who believe that administration

is not functioning well, may be at risk to abuse students. Since the principal is responsible for

the overall tone of the school, any issues related to their performance will certainly impact

teachers and, in turn, students. In a study of stress and burnout, higher incidences of teacher

burnout were found for those reporting a lack of social and organizational support regarding

students (Talmor et al., 2005). Others have found that teacher dissatisfaction is related to

inadequate administrative support and an unOntario Safeschool environment (Ingersoll, 2001); moreover, commitment to the job has been linked to school leadership, enforcement of rules, and support provided by principals (Dannetta, 2002). It has also been suggested that abusive teachers are enabled by a lack of policies and institutional inactivity (McEvoy, 2005). Teachers have linked the school's leadership to job satisfaction and competence as well as the treatment of students. Therefore, the functioning of the school's administration is an important factor to investigate when attempting to understand why some teachers abuse students.

A teacher's own characteristics, sense of competence and job satisfaction, and the school environment in which they work may be related to whether or not teachers abuse students. It is possible that many of these factors contribute to teacher stress. Knowledge of such stressors may help to discern why some teachers abuse.

Stress and stressors.

Research studies conducted across cultures and around the world have determined that the teaching profession is one of the most demanding and stressful vocations (Shaalvik & Shaalvik, 2009). The stressors teachers face on a daily basis are comprehensive and include: increasing workload demands, students with challenging behaviours, potential conflicts with parents and colleagues, a lack of autonomy, and a perceived lack of administrative support in which to address problematic issues (Shaalvik & Shaalvik, 2009). Stress may well be present for many teachers, and this stress could help understand why some teachers abuse.

Stress has been defined as an event or events that a person interprets as threatening and which bring about physiological and behavioural responses (McEwen, 2000, p. 173). An individual's interpretation of an event determines whether or not they experience heightened

stress. Several theories of child abuse have implicated stress as a causal factor of abuse.

Therefore, stress may be relevant to a discussion of abusive teachers.

Many alleged abusers are reported to experience environmental stressors such as a lack of

social support (29%), spousal violence (23%), and physical health issues (8%) (Trocmé et al.,

2001). Researchers have shown that, compared to those in non-helping professions, individuals

in helping professions are likely to experience more acute job-related stress; in addition, the

likelihood of these individuals experiencing vocational stress and burnout is far greater when

managing people (Skillern, Richardson, Wallman, Prickett, & Wallman, 1990).

The environment, as discussed, may be adding to, or causing, teacher stress and stress

has been linked to child abuse. The demands on a teacher to meet the various needs and

characteristics of their students may affect stress, which could then increase the risk to abuse.

Child characteristics have been implicated as a key factor when attempting to understand child

abuse and for teachers, the demands they face from their student population may be important to

explore when attempting to understand why some teachers abuse.

Student needs/characteristics. The needs and demands of a child may explain child

abuse, as noted in the Cognitive-Behavioural and Ecological Theories. In a study of child abuse

cases that were reported to child welfare, 26% of investigations were for children with at least

one difficulty related to a physical, emotional, or cognitive issue, while 33% involved a child

with behavioural issues (Trocmé et al., 2001). More specifically, with respect to emotional

issues, the most frequently cited child difficulty was depression (11%) followed by a

developmental delay (8%) (Trocmé et al., 2001). The researchers also found that negative peer

involvement was reported for 10% of children and irregular school attendance was indicated in

9% of investigations of child abuse. In abuse cases where child functioning were issues, 34% of

victims attended a special education classroom (Trocmé et al., 2001). A US study indicated that approximately 30% of victims had at least one disability or difficulty (USDC, 2010).

Rates from national studies of reported child abuse indicate that many abused children had reported emotional, behavioural, educational, or functioning (i.e., intelligence) difficulties; however, it is important to note that these issues were assessed following the reported abuse and, for some (i.e., depression, irregular school attendance) may have resulted from the abuse rather than have precipitated it. These results suggest that having an emotional, behavioural, or learning difficulty may increase a caregiver's stress and thus the risk of being abused; however, as noted in the definition of stress, the behavioural response to a situation will depend on how a particular situation is interpreted.

An individual's personal history of managing stress as well as perceptions of another's actions contribute to whether or not an individual views the person or occasion as stressful; what is manageable for one person may be overwhelming for another (Kerr, 1988; Swick, 1989). A number of researchers have investigated the impact students' needs and capabilities had on a teacher's ability to cope. Payne and Furman (1987) asked 444 teachers to reflect upon the job related stress they encountered in the classroom on a daily basis; unruly and disruptive students, as well as classroom management struggles, were reported as primary contributors to stress. Similarly, an investigation of 102 middle school teachers indicated that students' behaviours and attitudes as well as disciplinary problems with irritable and uncooperative students were key sources of teacher stress and frustration (Gordon, 2002). More recently, a study of 330 teachers with special needs students (i.e., behavioural issues and academic program modifications) in their classes were surveyed with respect to job stress and burnout (Talmor, Reiter, & Reigin, 2005). The researchers collected personal background information from each teacher, had

teachers complete a questionnaire assessing burnout, and explored specific teacher assignments (i.e., number of students with special needs in their classroom). School environmental factors such as psychological and emotional support for staff and the school's organizational structure were also examined. The results indicated that a teacher's attitude regarding students with diverse needs was related to job stress and subsequent burnout; teachers who reported the highest levels of frustration had classrooms in which more than 20% of the students had special needs (Talmor et al., 2005). This research indicates that having students with special needs or exceptionalities may increase the risk of teacher abuse. The gender of the student may also affect how a teacher treats them.

Student gender. In Canadian and American studies of abused children, the percentage of victims who were male and female was evenly distributed (Trocmé et al., 2001; USDH, 2010). Of Canadian elementary-aged children, 27% of all investigations were for male victims and 24-25 – 28% of all investigations were for female victims aged 4 to 11 (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005) while 20% of all reported cases in the US were for males and 20% of all cases were for females aged 4-11 (USDH, 2010). Therefore, being male or female is not likely predictive in cases of abuse.

On the other hand, differences between rates of males and females investigated were found for differing types of abuse. Across all ages groups, elementary-aged males (i.e., aged 4 to 11) accounted for 32 - 34% of all physical, 21% - 26% of all sexual, 25% - 26% of all neglect, and 24.5% - 26% of all emotional maltreatment investigations, whereas females aged 4 to 11 accounted for 21% - 25% of all physical, 32% - 36% of all sexual, 23% - 25% of all neglect, and 26% - 29% of all emotional maltreatment cases investigated (Trocmé et al., 2003, 2005) . Therefore, although elementary-aged males and females are reported to be abused at similar

rates; it appears that females are more likely to be investigated for sexual abuse while males are more often investigated for physical abuse.

Little is known about the gender of victims of teachers' abuse. Whether students perceive or experience male or female teachers who abuse them to similar or differing degrees has also not been investigated. It is possible that the types of abuse engaged in by a teacher may depend on the child's gender; based on child abuse research, males are more likely be the target of a teacher's physical abuse. Little evidence exists to indicate whether male or female teachers engage in similar abusive behaviours and whether abusive behaviours of male and female teachers differ based on the gender of the targeted student. The exceptional needs and characteristics of students are clearly related to stress and this impact may contribute to teacher abuse of students. On the other hand, little is known regarding the relationship between student gender and treatment from teachers. Although gender may not necessarily be a causal factor for teacher abuse, it is possible that one of the genders is more likely to be abused by teachers.

As outlined in many of the theories of aggression and abuse, stress and stressors are related to child abuse, not only as directly causal but also in combination with environmental and personal characteristics. Most theories suggest that specific environmental and personal factors contribute to stress, and that stress or frustration have a role in aggression and child abuse. The Frustration-Aggression, Cue-Arousal, and Transitional Models all link stress and stress management as factors in child abuse. Teacher stress is believed to affect their treatment of students. Teacher stress may result from student needs, behaviours, class size, as well as the teacher's competence and job satisfaction. No doubt, teacher stress and environmental stressors are important factors to explore when attempting to understand why some teachers abuse students.

Applying theory to teacher abuse.

The various characteristics reported for teachers who abuse suggest that the behaviour may be caused by multiple factors, such as a negative environment (i.e., lack of administrative support; increased classroom size), competence, satisfaction, and other teacher characteristics (i.e., knowledge, practice), and child needs and characteristics (i.e., behavioural problems, gender). Therefore, abuse may be related to the interaction between a teacher's characteristics, a teacher's relationship with students, job demands, and the school's atmosphere. As stated in the Ecological and Transitional Models of child abuse, the interaction of various factors can, for some, be overwhelming and result in abuse. However, for others, it may be that only one of these factors is sufficient to cause a teacher to abuse. Teachers have suggested that stress is a cause, and theories such as the Environmental Stress Model and the Transitional Model suggest that stress in the environment, or difficulties coping with stress, contribute to child abuse. Similarly, teacher or student characteristics may cause a teacher to abuse, as outlined in the Character-Trait Model or the Personalistic Model; these models suggest that teachers who are envious of students, or who do not have adequate instructional skills, may abuse; however of note, these factors may also increase stress. Finally, students' behavioural issues may also be sufficient to cause some teachers to abuse or may contribute to stress that precedes abuse. A teacher's competence, satisfaction with the school environment (e.g., class size, support from administration, and the demands of students), as well as stress may individually, or through varying combinations, contribute to abuse of students. The fact that stress is an important factor and that many of the issues outlined as potential causes of abuse will indeed contribute to stress, a model focused on stress leading to abuse seems most applicable for this study. The Transitional Model of Child Abuse is described below. This model is comprehensive and

includes various theoretical perspectives regarding the development of stress as well as providing reference to factors that may be useful to reduce abuse.

The Transitional Model of Abuse (Wolfe, 1999) examines child abuse through a number of theoretical lenses. An individual's ability to cope with perceived environmental stressors and the availability of support systems are important factors in child abuse. The author describes destabilizing and compensatory (p. 67) factors that either erode or support a caregivers' response to the stressors faced when interacting with children. Wolfe sees child abuse as a process (p. 70) that progresses through three distinct stages, which include: Reduced Tolerance for Stress and Disinhibition of Aggression (p. 69); Poor Management of Acute Crises and Provocation (p. 72), and; Chronic Patterns of Anger and Abuse (p. 75).   Each of these stages is discussed below.

Stage 1: Reduced Tolerance for Stress and Disinhibition of Aggression

The author links an individual's stress response to environmental factors they may encounter. Environmental stressors, real or perceived, act as potential causal factors in an adult's response to stress and their subsequent poor treatment of children (p. 70). The connection between external factors and internal coping is established (p. 71). Parents often fear they will lose control of a child and abuse in an attempt to maintain a balance of power to their advantage (p. 71). If a parent responds to stress in the environment in an aggressive manner and successfully retains control over children, the aggressive behaviours are more likely to be replicated to maintain their positions of authority (p. 71). Replicating aggressive behaviours moves an adult into the second stage of the cycle.

Stage 2: Poor Management of Acute Crises and Provocation

In this stage, adults adopt more punitive measures when attempting to manage stress (p. 72). Adult caregivers, if not successful in Stage 1, increase the intensity of their abusive

behaviours in order to correct a real or imagined loss of control and power (p. 72). An adult's response to a child's behaviour, if seen as being corrected could result in a fixed and conditioned response to future perceived threats from a child (p. 73). For example, as noted in the Social Learning Model, if a parent's negative response results in a child responding in a desired manner, the negative response will be repeated. A parent justifies using such measures as a means of affirming their dominance and control over a child (p. 75). Stage three is marked by a parent's realization that the overly punitive behaviours are ineffectual. A sense of helplessness and hopelessness may set in if applicable compensatory relief measures are not accessible.

Stage 3: Chronic Patterns of Anger and Abuse

In stage three, Wolfe notes that caregivers' patterned behaviours are potentially firmly ingrained and continually replicated at this stage (p. 76). In this stage, the interplay between child arousal (i.e., increased negative behaviour), parental stress, and an inappropriate but fixed adult response has been established (p. 76). A long-term negative cycle of aggression and abuse has now been formed that yields only short-term positive results for parents (p. 76). Without caregiver supports being implemented at this stage, the adult will continue to rely on control strategies that build on negativity and heightened adult-child aggression (p. 76). The interaction between stress, elevated aggression, a child's negative response, and continued aggression is, at its core, cyclical in nature (p. 76). Compensatory networks, if put in place, may help alleviate the stress that this unhealthy caregiver - child dynamic continually produces (p. 77). A brief discussion of compensatory factors is provided next.

Compensatory factors. Community supports, educational resources, or a helping network of family, friends and formal agencies may help parents and other caregivers who are mired in the Transitional Model's cycle of abuse overcome its pitfalls (p. 77). Ultimately, caregivers

provided with applicable stress management techniques may cope more effectively with the many environmental and situational stressors they encounter on a daily basis (p. 77). The interjection of compensatory measures should result in a parent, or other caregiver, who is better able to successfully manage stress and who interact with children in a proactive and healthier manner.

Based on the stages of the Transitional Model, it is clear that the suspected causes of teacher abuse may be potentially explained through this model. Teachers who do not cope well with environmental and child stressors may become overwhelmed and start interacting with students in a negative manner. It is not difficult to see that a teacher and students could get caught up in such a problematic cycle. Ultimately, abusive teachers may benefit from various compensatory factors if they are abusing students as a result of stress.

It is clear that the etiology of teacher abuse is a complicated and multilayered phenomenon. A combination of intertwining but related factors may contribute to a teacher's abuse of students. Knowledge of the causes, or likely causes, of teacher abuse is important when establishing appropriate prevention and intervention strategies, or as Wolfe notes, compensatory factors. Many individuals are involved, either directly or indirectly, when a teacher abuses a student. These individuals may include the targeted student or students, their peers, and any adult who witnesses the abuse. The following section of the paper presents research pertaining to the impact of child abuse and the links this may have to victims of teacher abuse**.**

Impact

The impact of child abuse is widely known. Abuse has been shown to negatively affect children on many levels. As noted, risk of harm to a child is important when determining whether abuse is reportable. Therefore, a discussion of the affects of teacher abuse is necessary

to establish whether such behaviours impact students. This section of the paper will explore the impact of parental on children and teacher abuse on both witnesses and victims.

   Impact of parental abuse. Biological parents are the most frequent and likely perpetrators of emotional abuse on children (O'Hagan, 1993). Psychologically unavailable parents have been found to inflict the greatest degree of damage on a child's sense of well-being (Iwaniec, Larkin, & McSherry, 2007). Abuse influences a child's ability to establish feelings of empathy, sympathy and caring for others (Loue, 2005). Parental Acceptance/Rejection Theory (Loue, 2005) examines the linkage between parental distancing from children and the effects such behaviours have on a child's development. The theory proposes that rejected children are more likely to be hostile, passive-aggressive, be dependent on others, have a flawed sense of self, and have greater difficulty containing emotional outbursts; generally, a child's overall feeling of adequacy is severely undermined with parental rejection. Abused children have feelings of worthlessness and feel flawed and unwanted by their primary caregivers (Crawford, Del Castillo, & Wright, 2008).

   Researchers have found that the effects of child abuse are extensive and may differ based on the victim's gender. For example, boys tend to externalize, or act out, whereas females internalize their experiences and demonstrate mood or anxiety symptoms (Pine & Cohen, 2002; Wolfe, Rawana, & Chiodo, 2006). Issues such as social and cognitive impairments (i.e., avoidant coping strategies) as well as emotional and behavioural disorders including substance use, depression and anxiety, eating disorders, delinquency and violence, and conduct problems have all been linked to victims of child abuse (Wolfe et al., 2006). There is reason to believe that students who are the target of teacher abuse will also report impact.

Impact of teacher abuse. To date, few empirical studies exist in which the impact on a

student abused by a teacher was measured; however, a number of authors have written about the

affects of teacher abuse. As such, most of what is believed about the impact of teacher abuse is

based on speculation, logical assumptions, and observations regarding how a student may be

affected. Additionally, most of this work is focused on high school populations and not

elementary school children. Students who have experienced teacher abuse exhibit observable

behavioural problems while at school. Moreover, most of the outcomes reported for victims of

teacher abuse indicate that there was harm to the child (i.e., a negative emotional impact;

internalizing and externalizing), and thus meet criteria for reportable abuse.

Students. Externalizing behaviours of students abused by teachers include belligerence

towards teachers, overtly rebellious behaviours, and engaging in impulsive and aggressive acts

such as hitting and fighting with fellow students (Hyman, 1987; Hyman & Snook, 1999; Stevens,

1996). Internalizing behaviours in victims of teacher abuse include appearing cold, distant,

unapproachable, and emotionally unavailable (Gootman, 1993) as well as feelings of confusion,

anger, fear, crippling self-doubt, and profound concerns regarding academic and social

competencies (McEvoy, 2005). The impact of being the target of a teacher's abuse appears to be

long lasting. Research conducted by Brendgen and colleagues (2007) revealed that elementary

students who were verbally abused by teachers resulted in behavioural problems for males and

less likelihood of obtaining a high school diploma for females. Many adults mention that past

incidences of verbal abuse by their teachers were among the most overwhelmingly negative

experiences of their lives (Brannan, 1972). Researchers investigating the impact of teacher

abuse revealed that adolescent boys mistreated by teachers are more likely to drop out of school

(Harrington, 2008). Both male and female victims of abuse by teachers are harmed.

If cases of reportable abuse require that a child is emotionally impacted, these

behavioural indicators support the notion that some students may be in need of protection. The

teacher-child relationship exerts a major influence on a child's academic, social, behavioural,

and emotional well-being (Pianata, 1999) and the impact of a teacher's abusive behaviours may

hinder a child's potential for success. Qualitative investigations, observation, and experience

provide additional support for the few empirical investigations regarding outcomes of teacher

abuse. Researchers have noted that children abused by teachers may blame themselves for the

situation and may experience feelings of helplessness and worthlessness (McEvoy, 2005). In

addition, students may become fearful of staff retaliation and negative reprisals (McEvoy, 2005).

Long-term affects for students abused by teachers could include increased anxiety, loneliness

and self-esteem issues, being victimized by peers, poor academic achievement, fewer friends,

school avoidance, and future learning and psychiatric problems (Twemlow, 2006).

Abuse by teachers may adversely affect a child's social and academic development.

Abusive teachers may be interfering with, or impeding, the cognitive development of the target

or those witnessing the teacher's abuse. In addition, abuse by teachers undermines learning and

the ability for students to reach their academic potential as every dimension of a child's school

existence could be compromised and impacted.

Not surprisingly, the classroom is the most likely place for a teacher's abuse to occur; but

the abusive behaviour can happen in any setting where students are under direct adult

supervision (McEvoy, 2005). The impact of a teacher's abuse affects not only the student at the

individual level, but also the atmosphere of the school. When abusive behaviour is modeled and

reinforced (i.e., Social Learning Theory), there is the risk that these behaviours will be mirrored

by witnesses. Research has shown that teacher abuse of students may have a significant role to

play in the etiology of students' behavioural problems (Twemlow et al., 2006). Students may

begin to internalize the behaviour of abusive teachers, view their interactions as acceptable, and

interact with their peers based on the modeling provided by teachers. Higher rates of student

suspensions are documented in schools with higher numbers of abusive teachers (Twemlow &

Fongay, 2005). Although this relationship suggests that a teacher's behaviour is a response to a

student's behaviour; however, consideration must also be given to the idea that students'

behavioural problems may be a reflection of the stress of abusive teachers.

Although little empirical evidence is available, it does appear that victims of teacher

abuse are negatively affected and its impact may be long-term. The negative outcomes of

teacher abuse are similar to those reported by victims of parental abuse. Witnessing abuse may

also be detrimental to adults who do or do not intervene. A review of research regarding the

impact of teacher abuse on colleagues is presented next.

Colleagues. There is little, but growing, evidence of the effect teacher abuse has on a

school's atmosphere and its students. Currently, very little is known about the effects such

behaviours have on other adults in the school. Teachers who witness their colleague's abusive

behaviours may be forced into an avoidant role of a silent bystander. The nonabusive adult's

silence may be attributed to a fear of retaliation from teacher unions, colleagues, and school

board administration (Twemlow et al., 2006).

Conflicting teacher loyalties that shift between safeguarding a student's rights and

maintaining a sense of professional collegiality, may contribute to the uncertainty on whether or

how to intervene in abuse by teachers. As such, abusive acts may be hidden due to an inherent

imbalance of power present in the student - teacher relationship, but this behaviour may also be

maintained, and seemingly supported, as a result of other adults who remain silent and fail to intervene on behalf of students.

Little is known of the impact of witnessing a teacher's abusive behaviours on teachers new to the profession. Research has suggested that teacher abuse is more often engaged in by seasoned teachers (McEvoy, 2005; Twemlow et al., 2006) and will most certainly be witnessed by new teachers. Being exposed to abusive behaviour may have repercussions on those starting in the profession. It is not known how many pre-service teachers (i.e., those in school placements through their Faculty of Education) are exposed to teacher abuse of students and the impact this has. For example, new teachers may fear for their jobs, fear not appearing to be collegial, or fear retaliation should they speak up about a teacher's abuse of a student. Unfortunately, by not reporting incidences of teacher abuse, new or established teachers may also become bystanders and, thus, are themselves culpable of abuse by failing to protect a student.

It seems that targets of abuse and witnesses to teacher abuse are likely impacted. Although extensive research provides a good knowledge base regarding the impact of parental abuse, very little empirical evidence is available regarding the impact of teacher abuse on students. The criteria for reporting child abuse stipulates that if a child is harmed, or likely to be harmed, a report must be filed to a CAS. Therefore, an investigation of the impact of teacher abuse is warranted to discern whether teacher abuse does indeed negatively affect those involved.

Summary.

The behaviour of some teachers towards students is abusive, regardless of whether it is referred to as maltreatment, bullying, or abuse. Abuse is inflicted by those in a caregiving role

against a child who is dependent upon that adult; teachers are caretakers, and those who emotionally, verbally, physically or sexually mistreat students are engaging in child abuse. The few investigations conducted on teacher abuse have determined that both students and teachers report that actions that humiliate, intimidate, and ostracize students are engaged in by some teachers.

Samples of high school and college students, as well as high school teachers, have reported on behaviours of abusive teachers and indicate that this is topic worthy of exploration. Little is known of the methods or behaviours of elementary teachers who abuse students; however, available evidence suggests that teachers primarily engage in verbal and emotionally abusive behaviours, although physical methods such as threatening and intimidating have also been reported. Child victims of adult *bullies*, victims of child abuse, and reports of abusive teachers indicate that both male and female adults abuse children. However, there is little evidence to determine whether more male or female teachers abuse students. Many investigations of child abuse indicate that a number of abuse victims have physical, emotional, or behavioural difficulties. To date, there is no evidence to indicate whether an abusive teacher targets students with disabilities or any related learning difficulties.

Stressors, the environment, a child's and parent's characteristics have all been discussed in an attempt to explain parental abuse of children.   The reasons some parents abuse have been suggested as possible explanations for why some teachers abuse students: teacher stress, a lack of support, and poor teaching skills have all been noted as causal. Additionally, possible causes of teacher abuse are provided by teachers themselves. However, little evidence exists to determine whether speculated causes are indeed empirically related to teacher abuse.

Teacher abuse is believed to negatively affect students academically, socially, behaviourally, and emotionally; however, empirical evidence of the impact on students is lacking. In addition to harming students, it has been suggested that teacher abuse also affects the abusive teacher's colleagues. Again, there is little evidence upon which such beliefs can be supported. The lack of research regarding teacher abuse, and specifically elementary teacher abuse of students is concerning and must be addressed.

Importance. Many teachers have acknowledged that they and some of their colleagues have mistreated students and, as noted, many students have reported on their teachers' behaviours.   Although studies have been conducted, the issue and impact of a teacher's abuse of students is certainly under-researched and under-discussed within education communities.   The fact that researchers have found abuse by teachers in countries other than Canada and at the elementary, high school, and college level suggests that this is a widespread problem. To date, no research has been conducted in Ontario regarding teacher abuse in the elementary system. This study will reveal whether teacher abuse is an issue in Ontario and in need of further attention.

As a teacher who worked in the elementary school system for over 20 years, it was qualitatively evident that this research is necessary to reveal and acknowledge teacher abuse. If teacher abuse occurs, then an element of teacher accountability is missing and, as such, it is vital that researchers bring to the forefront the issue of teacher abuse. Ultimately, a study of teacher abuse of students will reveal whether students are at risk for abuse by teachers and whether changes must be made and, if so, where interventions are needed. Ultimately, it is the responsibility of all adults, especially those within the education system, to ensure students are

properly protected. This study is important as it will reveal the current state of teacher abuse in the elementary school system.

Current Study

       Purpose. Most research on teacher abuse has focused on adolescent and adult samples; therefore, little is known about the characteristics of abusive teachers, the targets of teacher abuse, the reasons for or causes of teacher abuse, and the impact such behaviours have on victims and observers at the elementary school level. Therefore, the first purpose of the current study is to investigate teacher abuse of students within the Ontario elementary school system.

       In addition, many negative teacher behaviours occur out of sight of other adults. Teachers who are aware of their colleagues' abuse of students may be reluctant to discuss the issue and, as a result, knowledge to date may be biased. Therefore, the second purpose of this study was to obtain information from individuals privy to the less public behaviours of teachers, such as students or student teachers who are often the only other adult in the classroom with a teacher. Based on the lack of knowledge regarding teacher abuse of students in the elementary school system, three general exploratory research questions will be addressed.

       Research Questions. Based on the review of literature, a number of research questions will be investigated. The lack of evidence regarding teacher abuse impacts the ability to make predictions; therefore, all investigations will be exploratory. The following research questions will be explored:

1) Does teacher abuse occur in Ontario's elementary school system? If teachers are reported to abuse students, two additional questions will be explored:

    a. How many teachers and how many respondents report teacher abuse as a measure of occurrence?

      b.   Which types of abusive behaviours do teachers engage in?

2) What might cause teachers to abuse students?

      a.   Are there specific factors such as teacher characteristics, teacher skills, environmental pressures, and stress that affect the likelihood of abuse?

3) Are those who witness and experience teacher abuse affected and, if so, how?

To increase this study's validity, each question will be explored within two different populations: pre-service teachers who recently completed a practicum placement and former elementary school students (i.e., current undergraduate university students).

Chapter 2

Methodology

Procedure

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Toronto's and Nipissing

University's Research Ethics Review Boards. Ethical approval was granted for designated

Research Assistants to administer the study Questionnaire to Nipissing University Undergraduate

students and Bachelor of Education Teacher Candidates (BED). The researcher contacted

professors of undergraduate courses in psychology and BED consecutive courses to request class

time for students to complete the study. Three psychology professors and three BED professors

were approached and all agreed permit class time for the study. Questionnaires were

administered in a total of 5 different undergraduate classes and 7 BED classes. To reduce the risk

that a student would feel unduly coerced into participating by the researcher (who is a faculty

member at the university), 2 research assistants (RAs) were hired to administer the questionnaire.

The RAs were one fourth year undergraduate student and one Master's of Education student who

was a graduate of the BED program. Both RAs had previously administered questionnaires for

professors and were familiar with the requirements regarding maintaining confidentiality, how to

answer questions without leading the participant, and to ensure that participants were aware that

their participation was voluntary.

The researcher met with the RAs, and the study and administration process were

explained. Once the RAs agreed to administer the questionnaire, they took a copy of the

questionnaire and completed it on their own time. The researcher met with the RAs again to

discuss any questions that they had about the questionnaire and any questions or issues that they

felt might arise from participants. During this same meeting, the researcher gave specific

instructions on how to administer the questionnaires and how to respond to anticipated student

inquiries regarding the wording and content of the questionnaire.

To administer the questionnaire, RAs went into the classrooms, with the professor's

permission, for the last ½ hour of class time; the professor also left the room during this time to

reduce the risk of coercion. The information sheet (see Appendix B) was distributed and the

RAs went through the study procedure with potential participants. The RAs then indicated that

those who did not wish to participate were free to leave the room.

Students considering completing the questionnaires were instructed that they were not

obligated to complete the survey and were permitted to leave at any time during the designated

completion time. Participants were instructed not to put their name, or any identifying

information, on the questionnaire. Two boxes were placed in the room so that participants did

not have to hand their completed forms back to the RAs, which helped to ensure confidentiality.

Upon completion of each data collection session, the RA returned the completed

questionnaires to a locked room. When all data collection was completed, the RAs delivered the

completed questionnaires to the researcher, who then provided them to a new RA for data entry.

All responses from each questionnaire were entered into an SPSS database on the researchers

password protected computer. Once data entry was completed, all project materials were

returned to the researcher for analysis.

It is important to note that participants were advised (verbally and in the information

letter) that they could provide a special code, of their choosing, on the questionnaire and record

the same on the information letter, which they could retain should they decide at a later date that

their provided responses be removed from the study. Participants were informed that should

they wish to have their information removed that this could be done by simply leaving a message

on the researcher's phone indicating that the data for their specific code be removed.

Participants were also instructed to request their data be removed without leaving any identifying

information; no participant requested his or her data be removed.

Study 1

Participants

Participants were Nipissing University Bachelor of Education Students (North Bay,

Ontario) completing a one year program ($n = 147$). Of these, 87 (59.2%) completed the

questionnaire after 4 months of the program and 60 (40.8%) completed the questionnaire after 8

months. Of the participants, 105 (71.4%) were female and 42 (28.5%) were male. The average

age of participants was 25.4 years (range = 21 - 57; $SD = 4.98$). Of those who reported which

divisions they taught, most indicated Junior/Intermediate (JI) ($n = 104$, 74.3%), followed by

Primary/Junior (PJ) ($n = 12$, 8.3%), PJ and JI ($n = 10$, 6.9%), JI and Intermediate/Senior (IS) ($n =$

10, 6.9%), IS ($n = 6$, 4.2%), and PJ and IS ($n = 1$, 0.7%), and PJ, JI, and IS ($n = 1$, 0.7%).

Practicum placements were reported by 145 respondents to have occurred in urban ($n = 88$;

60.7%), rural ($n = 43$; 29.6%), and both rural and urban schools ($n = 14$; 9.6%). Practicum

placements were completed at Public Schools ($n = 74$; 50.3%), Catholic Schools ($n = 29$; 19.7%)

and both Catholic and Public schools ($n = 2$; 1.4%). The approximate number of students in the

schools ranged from 25 - 2500 pupils ($M = 516.7$, $SD = 358.8$). The number of teachers ranged

between 4 and 120 ($M = 29.3$, $SD = 22.0$) and, where the number of students and teachers were

reported ($n = 136$), each teacher had an average of 19.2 students (range = 1.1 to 37.5, $SD = 6.5$).

The BED participants were placed in classrooms across all age, grade, and elementary settings.

Measures

Terminology. For the purposes of this study, the term "bullying" has been selected over

the term "abuse" for a number of reasons. Firstly, the few researchers currently investigating the

abuse inflicted on children by teachers have referred to these teachers as bullies and their

behaviours as bullying (see McEvoy, 2005; Twemlow et al., 2006). Secondly, bullying will be

used instead of abuse due to the relevance of the word "bullying" in the current Ontario

educational system. Given the focus on anti-bullying programs in Ontario's curriculum, students,

teachers, and administrators understand the term bullying and its connotations. Additionally,

asking individuals to report on any child abuse inflicted by teachers may cause potential study

participants to question being involved as a result of the implications of witnessing abuse and not

reporting it or not intervening on a student's behalf. A focus on behaviours indicative of what

many may consider to be "child abuse" and therefore the entire range of negative behaviours

teachers inflict may not be captured; however, referring to teacher bullying will reveal both the

less and more severe forms of abuse. Of note, although the term "bully" was used to collect the

data, the term "abuse" will still be used to discuss the behaviours being investigated as they are

clearly focused on abuse by teachers; however, when referring to specific questions the term

bully will be noted as this reflects the wording on the questionnaire used.

  All data were collected on one questionnaire, which was broken into four parts: A)

Background information on the respondent including details of their pre-service experience; B)

Interpersonal dynamics of male and female bullying and nonbullying teachers; C) Causes of

bullying; and D) Impact of seeing students bullied. The pre-service participant's questionnaire is

provided in Appendix C. The following measures were obtained from the questionnaire and

were used to investigate each research question.

  Rates of abuse

  Extent. To obtain the extent of teacher abuse, respondents were asked to indicate, based

on their own experiences in their elementary school practicum placements, how often they

witnessed elementary teachers bully students by choosing from the following options: *never*,

rarely, *sometimes*, *often*, or *always*.

Prevalence. Prevalence refers to the number of events that exists during a specified

period of time (Rothman, 2002). The period prevalence for this study was from October, 2007 to

April, 2008. Therefore, because respondents reported on the specific population of teachers they

were privy to on placements during the 2007/2008 school year, prevalence of teacher abuse was

calculated for this specific population during the 4 month period. To calculate the prevalence of

abusive teachers, participants were asked to indicate an approximation of the total number of

teachers in the school where practicum placements were completed (i.e., "Approximately how

many teachers were in the elementary schools you taught at during your practicum placements?

All schools combined"). Participants were asked to indicate details regarding each teacher who

bullied. The total number of teachers for whom details were provided were summed and divided

by the total number of teachers in the schools.

Characteristics. Characteristics of teachers who abused students were obtained by

asking participants to provide details regarding each bullying teacher they were aware of.

Participants listed the grade taught, approximate age, gender, class size, and subject area taught

by the teachers. Additionally, participants provided information regarding the specific bullying

behaviours teachers engaged in. Additional space was provided for comments regarding

"specific bullying situations that [the participant] witnessed." Details of how teacher's bullied

students provide qualitative evidence of the behaviours that some teachers engaged in.

Method of abuse. To assess the method used to abuse, details of how the teacher

bullied students as reported by respondents (see above, Characteristics of bullying teachers) were

used to categorize the behaviour. In some instances, the respondent provided the method (i.e.,

emotional) while, in others, only the specific behaviour was listed. Responses were grouped into

one of four categories: Emotional, Verbal, Physical, and Sexual. For responses in which a

teacher's abusive behaviour could be captured under two methods (i.e., yelling at a child and

calling the child a derogatory name), both suitable methods were coded separately (i.e., verbal

and emotional).

Interpersonal Dynamics of Abusive and Nonabusive Teachers

Participants completed 40 questions in which they indicated the types of behaviours they

witnessed by both teachers they considered abusive and nonabusive. Therefore, the same

questions were completed 4 times, once for each of the four different groups (i.e., male bully,

male nonbully, female bully, female nonbully) of teachers. Four possible responses were

provided for each behaviour: *never*, *sometimes*, *often*, or *always*; the respondent was to read each

behaviour and indicate how often bullying and nonbullying teachers demonstrated each. The

questions and response options were grouped based on the gender of the teacher. One page

contained the questions for males, with two columns of response options; one column of

responses was to be completed based on bullies, and the second column based on nonbullying

teachers. A second page provided the same format for female teachers. To complete each

question, respondents were ask to indicate based on their "overall experience of observing

teachers," and to "please rate [their] estimate of how often a [gender] bullying teacher responded

in the following ways." Therefore, participants were to consider *all* male bullying teachers, male

nonbullying teachers, female bullying teachers, and female nonbullying teachers in completing

each specific column of responses.   The 40 questions were not organized based on the issue

being addressed (ie., a bullying question could follow a competence question); therefore,

question numbers are provided for easy referral to the questionnaire provided in Appendix C.

The following provides a breakdown of the two scales based on the 40 questions.

Bullying behaviours. To investigate the **extent and type of abusive** behaviours

teachers engaged in, 18 questions were used to assess both overt (i.e., obvious) and covert (i.e.,

less obvious) behaviour. Initially, two scales (overt and covert) were investigated separately;

covert methods included items assessing the use of sarcastic comments, ignoring pupils, or

treating students differently, whereas overt bullying involved using such behaviours as yelling,

belittling, physically intimidating, and screaming. Internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) for

the overt and covert scales for male and female bully and nonbully teachers were moderate to

high (ranged between .75 - .91). In addition, there was a strong correlation between overt and

covert bullying scores within each teacher group (r's = .74 - .79). Due to the strong relationship

between overt and covert bullying, *one scale*, which combined the overt and covert methods, was

investigated to determine whether this was a better measure of overall bullying. Higher internal

consistencies were found across all groups (see Table 2); therefore, *one scale* that combined

overt and covert forms of bullying was used as an overall measure of teacher behaviours.

Overall teacher abuse was calculated by summing the individual responses for each

teacher (*never* = 0, *sometimes* = 1, *often* = 2, *always* = 3). Higher scores indicate more abusive

behaviours and more time spent by teachers engaging in abusive behaviours. The questions used

to measure abusive behaviours, with their corresponding question number, were as follows: 1)

watches as students bully other students; 3) puts students down in order to get control of the

classroom; 7) consistently punishes the same child; 9) uses rejection as a form of discipline, 11)

suspends the same student over and over without success, 14) actively sets up students to be

bullied by other students; 16) humiliates students as a way of stopping a disruption; 17) uses

needless physical force to discipline students; 22) seems to take pleasure in hurting students'

feelings; 24) is quick to put bright students who are showing off in their place; 25) seems to have

a lot of children on a *black list*; 27) seems often to be spiteful to students; 28) makes fun of

Special Education students; 35) has a negative attitude toward racial and cultural minorities; 37)

work expectations are not reasonable; 38) often yells at students or the class; 39) is often

sarcastic to students; 40) assessment of student work is often harsh/overly critical. Most

questions assessing abusive behaviours were used by Twemlow and colleagues (2006) and were

included in this study, with permission from the first author. Questions 37, 39, and 40 were

added by the researcher based on a review of the literature (i.e., Briggs & Hawkins, 1996) as

well as personal observations of behaviours of abusive teachers. Total scores could range from

0, which would indicate that no abusive behaviour ever occurred, to 54, indicating always

engaging in all abusive behaviours.

Job performance. To investigate job performance, 22 questions relating to job

satisfaction and job competence were used. Initially, two scales (i.e., job satisfaction and job

competence) were investigated separately. Although the internal consistencies for both scales

within each group of teachers (i.e., male and female bully and nonbully groups) were acceptable

(alpha range .79 to .92), these two measures were strongly correlated (*r*'s ranged from .77 to

.85) within each of the four teacher groups. Due to the high correlations, *one scale*, combining

the job satisfaction and competence questions, was investigated and found to have higher internal

consistencies across (than each scale separately) within each teacher group (see Table 1).

Therefore, the variable measuring job performance was developed from a combination of

questions measuring satisfaction and competence. The 22 questions assessing job performance,

with their questionnaire number, were as follows: 2) allows disruptions in the classroom without

intervention; 4) denies that he/she has a problem with students being bullied; 5) the teacher is poorly organized; 6) seems to dislike a lot of children; 8) has low expectations for his/her students; 10) has problems keeping discipline with behaviourally disturbed children; 12) does not seem to understand what he/she is teaching the children; 13) is absent from school more frequently than other teachers; 15) lessons fail to capture the students' interests; 18) is easily disorganized when there are school emergencies; 19) allows students to bully him/her; 20) children do not appear to be engaged in meaningful learning experiences; 21) fails to set limits with students; 23) children do not seem to be progressing at an appropriate rate; 26) instructional strategies (the way in which he/she teaches) do not vary; 29) has not responded to changes in educational technology/software; 30) sits back when there is trouble and lets others handle the problem; 31) has not responded to changes in the curriculum; 32) resents any demands from the principal or school administration; 33) complains a lot about working conditions; 34) the teacher has difficulty assessing students' work; and 36) is defensive about his/her teaching style and methods. A total job performance score was established by assigning a score to each response (i.e., *never* = 0, *sometimes* = 1, *often* = 2, *always* = 3) and then summing the responses. Scores could range between 0 and 66, with higher scores indicating more negative job performance.

A number of the questions assessing job performance indicators were used by Twemlow and colleagues (2006) and were included in this study, with permission from the first author. Other questions to assess job performance (i.e., 8, 12, 15, 20, 26, 31, and 34) were based on items noted to be key indicators of successful job performance and used to appraise teachers' performance within the Ontario public school system (Education Act, 1990, O. Reg. 99/2, Schedule 1).

Table 2.

Internal Consistency of BED scales

	Bully		Nonbully	
Scale	Male (*n*)	Female (*n*)	Male (*n*)	Female (*n*)
Bullying	.95 (73)	.96 (69)	.83 (78)	.85 (77)
Job performance	.93 (72)	.94 (69)	.92 (80)	.92 (78)

Causes of teacher abuse

A total of 11 questions were used to elicit participants' perceptions as to the reasons why some teachers abuse students. A list of possible causes of teacher abuse were provided, which included: 1) They have a psychiatric illness, including alcohol; 2) They are nearing retirement; 3) They are burned out on teaching; 4) They are not trained sufficiently in appropriate disciplinary methods or psychology; 5) They are envious of students who are smarter than they are; 6) They are not suited to teaching; 7) They are frightened of being hurt, so respond by dominating their students; 8) They have too many students with different ability levels; 9) Their classes are too large; 10) They have poor relationships with school administrators and/or the school board; and 11) Their salary and benefits are unsatisfactory. Participants were asked to circle the number that best represented their responses to each possible reason, using the following options: *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *undecided*, *agree* or *strongly agree*. Students were provided additional space in which to include additional reasons that were not listed. Questions assessing

causes of abuse were originally used by Twemlow and colleagues (2006) and were included in this study with permission from the first author.

Impact of witnessing teacher abuse.

Participants who acknowledged witnessing a teacher abuse a student were asked to indicate whether they were impacted and, if so, how. A total of 10 ways the participant may have been impacted were listed and included: 1) There was no impact on me (reverse coded); 2) Made me uncomfortable; 3) Made me want to intervene on behalf of the student(s); 4) Made me want to speak to the bullying teacher privately; 5) Made me want to speak to the principal about the matter; 6) Made me want to speak to the union representative about the incident; 7) Made me question my decision to enter the profession; 8) Had me examine my own practice closely; 9) Forced me to distance myself from the bullying teacher; and 10) Remained reluctantly silent. Participants were asked to respond to each of the listed impacts using the options: *definitely not, no, somewhat, yes,* and *definitely*. To obtain a total impact score, each response was assigned a score (*definitely not* and *no* = 0, *somewhat* = 1, *yes* = 2, and *definitely*= 3) and the scores assigned to each response option were summed. The internal consistency on all items was α = .63; however, by removing the following two questions 1) There was no impact on me and 8) Had me examine my own practice closely, the α improved to .81. Therefore, 8 questions were used to evaluate the impact of witnessing teacher abuse during practicum placements. Scores could range from 0 to 24, with a higher score indicating more overall impact.

Reasons abuse is not reported.

A number of reasons that may explain why abusive teachers are not reported were provided, and respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought each reason was viable. The reasons that incidences of teacher abuse are not reported included: 1) Fear for job

security/future job possibilities; 2) Bullying episodes did not appear to be too severe; 3) The

students who were being bullied appeared not to be adversely affected; 4) Not sure of my

obligation to report; 5) Not aware of the reporting procedures; 6) Did not want to comment on

another teacher's practice; 7) Afraid of Union reprisals; 8) Did not want to appear to be

confrontational; 9) Did not want to be a divisive staff member; 10) Did not want to undermine

another teacher's authority; and 11) Did not want to violate the "unwritten code of silence that

exists between teachers." Additional space was included in order to allow respondents to add

additional reasons should they choose to do so. Each reason was to be responded to using the

following options: *definitely not*, *no*, *somewhat*, *yes*, and *definitely*.   Reasons were investigated

separately.

Study 2

Participants

Participants were Nipissing University Undergraduate (NUU) students (North Bay,

Ontario). Three hundred and seven undergraduate students (258 female/59 male) who were

attending a psychology course during the time of data collection participated in the study. NUU

participants were in their 1st ($n = 158$; 51.5%), 2nd ($n = 58$; 18.9%), 3rd ($n = 56$; 18.3%), or 4th (n

$= 16$; 5.2%) year of study. Participants reported majoring in: Psychology ($n = 174$; 56.7%),

Criminal Justice ($n = 30$; 9.8%), English ($n = 27$; 8.9%), Social Work/Social Welfare/Sociology

($n = 18$; 5.9%), History ($n = 10$; 3.3%), Geography ($n = 6$; 1.9%), Business ($n = 7$; 2.3%), Math

($n = 3$; 1.0%), Religion ($n = 2$; 0.7%), and other or undecided ($n = 16$; 5.2%). Ages ranged from

16 to 49 ($M = 19.88$, $SD = 3.90$).

Measures

All data was collected on one questionnaire, which was broken into three parts: A)

Background information on the respondent; B) Interpersonal dynamics of male and female

bullying and nonbullying teachers; and C) Impact, which included questions regarding personal

experiences of bullying and own victimization and impact. The university student's

questionnaire is presented in Appendix D. The following measures were obtained from the

questionnaire. Question numbers are provided for easy referral back to the questionnaire, since

questions are not listed in the order discussed below.

Extent. The extent of teacher abuse was assessed by asking respondents to indicate,

based on their own experiences as an elementary student, how often teachers bullied students by

choosing from the following options: *never, isolated cases only, frequently (by only a few*

teachers), or *widespread problem involving many teachers.*

Prevalence. To calculate the prevalence of abuse, participants were asked to indicate an

approximation of the total number of teachers in their elementary school (i.e., "Approximately

how many teachers were in your elementary school? If you attended more than 1 school, think of

the school you were at the longest"). Participants were asked to indicate how many male and

female teachers they recalled "from [their] elementary education (K-8) who had been bullies."

As prevalence is an estimation of an event at a point in time, the period prevalence for this

sample was considered to be 8 years as there was no way to determine the specific time frame for

the abuse. To obtain prevalence rates, the total number of teachers reported to have abused was

divided by the total number of teachers in the school.

Characteristics. Characteristics of bullying teachers were obtained by asking

participants to provide details regarding each abusive teacher they recalled. Participants listed

the grade taught, approximate age, gender, class size, and subject area along with details

regarding the bullying behaviours in which teachers' engaged. Details regarding how teachers'

abused students are provided as anecdotal evidence in the results.

Method of abuse. To assess the method used to abuse, the details provided regarding the

behaviours of abusive teachers (see above, Characteristics) were used. In some instances, the

respondent provided the method (i.e., emotional), whereas in others, only the specific behaviour

was listed. Responses were grouped into one of four categories: Emotional, Verbal, Physical,

and Sexual, and where one description could be captured under two methods (i.e., yelling at a

child and calling the child a derogatory name), both suitable methods were coded separately (i.e.,

verbal and emotional).

Interpersonal dynamics of abusive and nonabusive teachers

Participants completed 40 questions on male and female bullying and nonbullying

teachers. These questions were the same as those completed by BED students regarding the

behaviours they witnessed. Respondents identified the type of behaviours they recalled bullying

and nonbullying teachers had engaged in (see Study 1: Interpersonal Dynamics of Abusive and

Nonabusive Teachers, p. 72 for an overview of the format and content of this section of the data

collection form). The following scales were developed from the 40 questions:

Abusive behaviour. In order to investigate the types of abusive behaviours engaged in

by those considered to be and not be abusive, the same 18 question and response schemes were

administered to the NUU students as were administered to the BED students (see Measures, p.

70). As with the BED students, both the overt and covert scales for the male bully and nonbully,

and for the female bully and nonbully groups resulted in alphas that ranged between .65 and .89.

There was a strong correlation between the two scales for all teacher groups which ranged

between r's = .71 to .76. Therefore, due to the strong correlations between the two scales and the

fact that the alphas improved when all of the questions were combined into *one* measure of

abusive behaviours (i.e., all above .85, see Table 3); therefore, *one* scale of teacher abuse was

used in analyses of NUU experiences.

Job Performance. Students were asked to reflect back upon their elementary school

experience and rate their teachers' job performance. The same questions assessing job

performance were used with NUU students as were used with the BED sample (see Measures, p.

73). As with the BED students, two initial measures were used to assess performance: job

satisfaction and competence. Alphas for these two initial scales within the four teacher groups

(i.e., male and female bully and nonbully) ranged between .72 and .90, with a strong correlation

between job satisfaction and competence across all teacher groups (*r*'s ranged between .80 - .84).

Because of the strong correlations between the two job performance scales, and the improved

alphas when all questions were combined into one scale (i.e., all alphas were above .87; see

Table 3), *one* scale combining all questions regarding competence and satisfaction was used to

assess abusive and nonabusive teachers' job performance. Higher scores indicate poorer job

performance.

Table 3.

Internal Consistency for NUU Scales

	Bully		Nonbully	
Scale	Male (*n*)	Female (*n*)	Male (*n*)	Female (*n*)
Bully	.93 (234)	.94 (234)	.85 (242)	.85 (243)
Job performance	.91 (232)	.94 (230)	.87 (235)	.90 (241)

Causes.

To determine whether student characteristics are linked to being abused by a teacher,

brief details of a number of possible student difficulties were collected.

Behavioural difficulties. Participants were asked to indicate whether they had

behavioural difficulties in elementary school and if they indicated *yes*, they were then asked to

indicate what the difficulty was. Options for the difficulties included: *ADD*, *ADHD*, *anger*

issues, and *other.* A blank line was provided to allow respondents to indicate their difficulty

should they choose to do so.

Emotional difficulties. Participants were asked to indicate whether they consider themselves as having had emotional difficulties in elementary school. For those who indicated that they did, they were asked to indicate whether this was: *depression*, *anxiety*, or *other* with a blank line provided should they choose to specify their difficulty.

Learning disability. Students were asked whether they have a learning disability and if they responded that they did, they were asked to indicate whether elementary teachers were aware (yes or no) of this disability.

Impact.

NUU students were asked to indicate how often they were targeted by an abusive teacher and were instructed to select from the following options: *never*, *rarely*, *sometimes*, *often,* or *always*. Those who responded that they were bullied at least *rarely* were asked to complete 12 questions designed to assess the extent and impact of having been abused by a teacher while in elementary school. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they were: *definitely not*, *not*, *somewhat*, *yes*, or *definitely* impacted for each of the following questions: 1) I feared going to school; 2) I was scared to speak up in class; 3) I enjoyed school (reverse coded); 4) I told my friends about the bullying teacher; 5) I told my parents about the bullying teacher; 6) I cried about the way in which I was treated; 7) I thought that I deserved it; 8) My self-esteem suffered; 9) I felt alone; 10) I was unwilling to participate in extracurricular activities; 11) My parents did not understand or respond; and 12) I had no one to turn to for help. Scores were assigned to each response (*definitely not* or *no* = 0, *somewhat* = 1, *yes* = 2, and *definitely*= 3) and a total score was created by summing the scores assigned to each response. Total impact scores could range from 0 (indicating no impact) to 36 (indicating a great deal of negative impact); the alpha coefficient for the Impact scale was .81.

Chapter 3

Results

This chapter presents the results of the investigation regarding whether teacher abuse occurs in Ontario's elementary schools, the possible causes of teacher abuse, and the impact of the abuse on witnesses and victims. The extent and prevalence of teacher abuse are presented first, followed by the potential causal factors that were investigated. Finally, results regarding the impact of exposure to teacher abuse of students are provided. The results are separated based on the sample investigated: Study 1) Pre-service teachers and 2) Undergraduate students. Prior to main analyses, preliminary investigations of possible confounding factors such as the gender of the respondent, gender of the abusive teacher, and the age of the respondent were conducted to ensure that these factors were not significant to understanding teacher abuse, skills of teachers who abuse, and the impact of being the target of a teacher's abusive behaviour.   Since the data were collected using the terms "bully" and "bullying," this terminology will be used when presenting the results even though the behaviours are considered abuse.

Preliminary Analyses: Investigating Gender Bias

It is possible that male or female respondents will be more sensitive to or critical of the behaviours of teachers. Similarly, respondents may view teachers differently, based on a teacher's gender. If there are biases about one gender or by one gender, then responses may be related more to the gender of the teacher being reported on or the gender of the respondent, instead of to the actual behaviour being investigated. Therefore, prior to main analyses, the gender of both the respondent and the teacher were investigated with respect to bullying scores, job performance scores, and impact scores to ensure that this bias was not present (see Appendix E for BED results and Appendix F for NUU results). Overall, no gender relationships with

bullying and job performance scores were found. Although no relationship between gender and

impact was found in the BED sample, there was a relationship between NUU impact and the

gender of the respondent. Therefore, except for NUU student impact (which was analyzed and

presented by gender), responses from male and female participants and reports of male and

female teachers were combined. Age of the respondent was also investigated as a potential

confound; age was not related to the bullying or job performance scores with all *r*'s between .001

and .10, all *p*'s > .05 (see Appendix G). Age of respondents was not further investigated.

Study 1

Bachelor of Education (BED) Student Observations

> **Extent and prevalence of teacher bullying**. A total of 99 (67.3%) BED students

completed the questionnaire, indicating whether they had witnessed a teacher engage in bullying

behaviour while on their practicum placement. The breakdown of whether or not, and how

often, incidences of teacher bullying occurred are presented in Table 4.

Table 4.

Occurrence of teacher bullying witnessed by BED students

Frequency	*n*	*%*
Never	45	45.5
Rarely	20	20.2
Sometimes	25	25.3
Often/always	9	9.1

Of those who provided information on whether or not they witnessed teacher bullying, 54.5% ($n = 54$) reported that they had seen at least one teacher bully a student. Those who witnessed a teacher bully were asked to provide specific characteristics of the teacher, the classroom, and the methods used to bully. Details were provided for 62 different teachers who they considered to have bullied a student. It is important to note that specific information regarding bullying teachers is biased based on the placement that the BED student was assigned and may not represent the general characteristics of bullying teachers across Ontario. Together, respondents indicated a total of 3401 teachers in the schools where practica were conducted, indicating that BED students' witnessed 1.8% of teachers engage in behaviours they considered bullying of students.

Grades taught by bullying teachers ranged from grade 1 to grade 8 ($M = 6.21$, $SD = 1.94$). Close to half of male bullying teachers (48%) and just over one-quarter (2.8%) of female bullying teachers taught grade 8 (see Appendix H) [$\chi^2 = 2.61$, $p > .01$] while 79% of males and 33% of females taught in grades 7 and 8 [$\chi^2 = 12.19$, $p < .001$].   Overall, 35.5% of bullying teachers taught grade 8 and half of the bullying teachers taught grades 7 or 8; the other half were split between grades K – 6. Of those BED students who reported the grade of the bullying teachers they witnessed, 45 were placed in JI and 2 were in PJ, which may account for why more bullying teachers were reported in the higher grades: percentiles are presented in Table 5.

Of note, those whose responses did not fit into a grade for the teacher were because the adult they witnessed bully was a principal ($n = 1$) and a prep teacher ($n = 1$) where no grade was indicated.

Table 5.

Practicum Placement Division by Grade of Teacher Witnessed Bullying

Divisions	Bully teacher's grade % (*n*)		
	K - 3	4-6	7-8
PJ	100 (2)	0	0
JI	6.7 (3)	35.5 (16)	57.8 (26)

K = kindergarten

Bullying method. The primary ways teachers (*n* = 62) were reported to bully is presented below in Table 6. Recall that methods and characteristics were provided for bullying teachers only.

Table 6.

Number of Teachers who Engaged in Each Bullying Method

Methods	*n*	%
Emotional and Verbal	34	54.8
Emotional only	19	30.6
Verbal only	7	11.3
Physical only	2	3.2

Over half of teachers who were considered to have bullied were reported to have done so using both verbal and emotional methods. Respondents provided specific examples of the differing behaviours engaged in by teachers, and these were used to establish the rates of each form of bullying, as shown in the above table.   Examples of teacher bullying as witnessed by BED respondents are provided below.

Specific bullying examples. BED students were asked to report specific details regarding the types of bullying they witnessed while in their placement. Specific examples of each method of bullying are presented below and are verbatim from the written responses provided. Of note, multiple behaviours were, in some cases, engaged in by the same teacher.

Emotional and verbal examples. "Asked a child mockingly if he was identified or not in front of the entire class….humiliated the student," "A child was late for school and the teacher berated him in front of the entire class….told him he did not do well in school and that he shouldn't have made it to grade 8 and that he doesn't have a good family," "Called students slow, lazy….and made fun of their skills," "Certain students were having difficulties in math and were whispering to each other….the teacher yelled that those students were not worth teaching," "Berating pupils….constant yelling," "Excessive yelling and degrading students," "The teacher pointed out the negative points of students to the entire class," "Singled certain students out, called them names, made fun of their lives, picked on certain students," "Teacher pointed out error in behaviour to the entire class."

Emotional examples. "One child failed to put his homework into his backpack…was ridiculed by the teacher in front of the entire class…..child began to cry uncontrollably," "Forcing a student to sit by the wall in gym class for missing a bump in volleyball," "Advised one boy to go with the girls because he was very feminine," "Criticizing a certain student's work

in front of the entire class," "One student gave an incorrect answer…the teacher laughed and said

his answer was *great*….and that it wouldn't get them into grade 9," "My teacher manipulated

her assessment."

Verbal examples. "My AT was best friends with her students' one minute and screaming

at them the next minute," "Teacher told me one of her special needs students could rot in a

corner for all that she cared," "Forced a student to tears."

Physical examples. "Invading a student's personal space….intimidating," "In a rage,

dumped contents of desk on to the floor," "A student asked to use the washroom and was

denied…peed in her chair…and the teacher pointed it out to the class - in a grade two

classroom." (Note that the second half of the last example was captured under emotional abuse).

The examples presented above were the verbatim comments made by respondents

regarding the behaviours they witnessed teachers engage in. Cleary, these examples fall into

many of the categories of abuse. The following analyses were conducted to compare the

behaviours of bullying and nonbullying teachers to determine whether they differ in their

treatment of students.

Teacher behaviour.   Eighty BED students provided responses to the 40 questions

assessing interpersonal behaviours of bullying and nonbullying teachers. As only 54 BED

students reported actually witnessing a teacher bully while on a practicum placement, it may be

that the other BED participants who reported bullying were aware of teachers they considered

bullies from other situations. For example, perhaps they were referring to previous exposure to

elementary school teachers through volunteer positions they engaged in prior to commencing the

practicum placement. Responses between those who did and did not witness bullying while on

the practicum were compared and although the mean scores for nonbullying teachers were

similar, those who witnessed bullying reported significantly higher bullying and job performance

scores for bullying teachers (see Appendix I). Therefore, only those responses from witnesses

were included in the analyses of causal factors.

Recall that each question was completed on a 4-point scale, with a score of 0 indicating

that the behaviour never occurred and 3 indicating the behaviour always occurred. In addition,

because the responses regarding male and female bullying and nonbullying teachers were similar

(recall preliminary analyses, Appendix E), they were *combined* and therefore, the sample of

respondents doubled. Only those who completed all questions regarding each total scale score

were included in the statistical comparisons.

Bullying. A number of behaviours were used to capture the bullying behaviours engaged

in by teachers who respondents deemed to bully and not bully (see Table 7). Significant

differences were found in the total scores between bully ($M = 31.93$, $SD = 12.27$) and nonbully

($M = 6.13$, $SD = 4.78$) teachers, $t(138) = 17.16$, $p < .000$. Bullying teachers scored significantly

higher on the bullying total score, indicating that they engaged in more behaviour.

As can be seen in the above below, verbal methods of bullying such as yelling, sarcasm,

humiliation, and put downs were used by teachers considered bullies and were reported to occur

far less often by teachers considered to not bully. Using needless force and making fun of

Special Education students was not commonly reported for either group of teachers.

Responses indicated that some teachers do use abusive behaviour against students.

Differences regarding the treatment of students were found between teachers considered to bully

and not bully. With teacher abuse of students being evident, the causes to such behaviours were

explored next.

Table 7.

Mean Scores for Questions Assessing Behaviours of Bully and Nonbully Teachers ($n = 108$).

Bullying Behaviour	Bully		Nonbully	
	M	SD	M	SD
Often yells at students or the class	2.26	0.91	0.32	0.47
Consistently punishes the same child	2.05	0.83	0.61	0.59
Puts students down in order to get control of the classroom	2.01	0.76	0.34	0.47
Humiliates students as a way of stopping a disruption	2.01	0.81	0.22	0.41
Is quick to put bright students who are showing off in their place	1.97	0.93	0.51	0.65
Seems to have a lot of children on a black list	1.90	0.99	0.23	0.45
Uses rejection as a form of discipline	1.78	0.94	0.20	0.40
Seems often to be spiteful to students	1.74	0.94	0.14	0.35
Assessment of student work is often harsh/overly critical	1.65	0.91	0.32	0.51
Seems to take pleasure in hurting students' feelings	1.63	0.94	0.09	0.35
Work expectations are not reasonable	1.50	1.01	0.36	0.23
Suspends the same student over and over without success	1.43	0.83	0.44	0.50
Watches as students bully other students	1.33	0.81	0.34	0.54
Is often sarcastic to students	1.26	0.84	0.40	0.51
Actively sets up students to be bullied by others	1.23	0.95	0.19	0.40
Has a negative attitude toward racial and cultural minorities	1.06	1.02	0.18	0.39
Makes fun of Special Education students	0.77	0.92	0.08	0.45
Uses needless physical force to discipline students	0.62	0.81	0.09	0.35

Causes of Teacher Bullying

Various causes of teacher abuse have been suggested, such as a teacher's characteristics and skills, environment, and stressors. Results below present the findings regarding the investigation of each of these possible causal factors.

Teacher characteristics.

Age and gender. The age and gender of bullying teachers was explored. The average age of bullying teachers was 41.54 ($SD = 9.40$; range $= 24 - 60$). Of the specific teachers for whom detailed bullying information was provided, 41% were male and 59% were female. More of the reported bullies were female, and the age range varied between younger and likely newer to the profession, to those who are older, and likely in the profession for a number of years.

Skills.

Job Performance. The total job performance score was compared between teachers deemed to bully and to not bully, and a significant difference was found, $t(153) = 10.37$, $p < .000$. Specifically, the mean job performance scores for bully teachers ($M = 14.12$, $SD = 6.40$) was significantly higher than was reported for nonbully teachers ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 3.96$).

Questions assessing BED students' impressions of bullying and nonbullying teachers' job performance, along with the mean scores for both groups are presented below (Table 8). Recall that responses could range from *never* $= 0$ to *always* $= 3$.

As can be seen in Table 8, issues related to job competence (i.e., such as lesson plans not varying and not capturing students' interests), and satisfaction with expectations and demands placed on them, were some of the main issues reported for bullying teachers. Mean scores between bullying and nonbullying teachers differ for most of the areas assessed.

Table 8.

Mean Responses to Job Performance Questions for Bully and Nonbully Teachers (n =108)

Job performance	Bully		Nonbully	
	M	SD	M	SD
Seems to dislike a lot of children	1.96	0.89	0.52	0.56
Is defensive about his or her teaching style and methods	1.90	1.03	0.38	0.55
Instructional strategies does not vary	1.85	0.91	0.60	0.65
Complains a lot about working conditions	1.79	0.88	0.59	0.52
Resents demands from the principal or school administration	1.61	1.03	0.47	0.60
Lessons fail to capture the students' interest	1.56	0.90	0.62	0.53
Denies has problems with students being bullied	1.55	0.97	0.36	0.62
Has problems keeping discipline with behaviorally disturbed students	1.51	0.95	0.68	0.63
Has low expectations for his/her students	1.49	1.02	0.44	0.54
Has not responded to changes in educational technology/software	1.51	1.09	0.68	0.73
Children do not appear to be engaged in meaningful learning experiences	1.42	0.75	0.62	0.65
Children do not seem to be progressing at an appropriate rate	1.38	0.89	0.46	0.54
Has not responded to changes in curriculum	1.35	0.91	0.62	0.73
Is poorly organized	1.27	0.91	0.63	0.64
Has difficulty accurately assessing students' work	1.22	0.94	0.43	0.56
Fails to set limits with students	1.01	0.92	0.54	0.64
Allows disruption in classroom without intervention	0.99	0.97	0.61	0.64

Does not seem to understand what is teaching the children	0.89	0.82	0.40	0.57
Sits back when there is trouble and lets others handle the problems	0.87	0.81	0.43	0.56
Is absent from school more frequently than other teachers	0.78	0.79	0.28	0.50
Is easily disorganized when there are school emergencies	0.76	0.73	0.36	0.64
Allows students to bully him or her	0.25	0.57	0.45	0.80

Most responses of job performance issues that were reported for bully teachers occurred between sometimes and often, whereas for nonbullying teachers they occurred between never and rarely.

To determine whether bullying behaviour was related to a teacher's job performance, correlations were conducted between the bullying total score and job performance total score for all teachers combined (see Table 9).

Table 9.

Relationship Between Bullying and Job Performance Total Scores ($n = 76$)

	Total bullying score
Job performance	0.89*

*$p < .001$

As can be seen, the relationship between the bullying and job performance total scores is very strong. The positive correlation indicates that those who engaged in more bullying behaviours also had more negative job performance and those who were not considered to bully were reported to have fewer negative job performance attributes (i.e., have more positive job

performance indicators). BED witnesses provided additional thoughts regarding possible causes

of bullying and their responses are outlined in Table 10.

Table 10.

Additional Reasons Reported for Teacher Bullying ($n = 54$)

Job performance	N	%
A lack of patience/frustration with students	15	27.8
Lacked appropriate classroom management techniques (competence)	11	20.4
They are negative people in general (mean/cruel/vindictive)	8	14.8
Burned out	7	13.0
Near retirement	7	13.0
Could not relate to children/Failed to connect with students	6	11.1
Taking advantage of power imbalance inherent in the classroom	5	9.2
Did not care for students	5	9.2
Teaching was not their first career choice	3	5.5
They may have teachers who bullied them/Learned behaviour	3	5.5
Lack of in-school support (dealing with exceptional students)	3	5.5
Lacked empathy	3	5.5
Their particular style of teaching	2	3.7
Lacked coping skills	2	3.7
Problems at home/outside school influences	2	3.7
Lacked energy necessary for the position	2	3.7
Class sizes	1	1.8
Job stress	1	1.8

Issues that reflect job competence and satisfaction (i.e., job performance) such as poor

classroom management, frustration, and burnout were listed as specific reasons as to why some

teachers bully.

Environment and Stressors

Table 10 above indicates that some BED students believe environmental issues and

stressors (such as problems at home or other outside influences), a lack of in-school support, job

stress, and class sizes may contribute to teacher bullying.

Class size. Class size of bullying teachers was investigated. Bullying teachers were

found to have between 19 and 35 students in their classes. The mean class size for bullying

teachers was 25.88 ($SD = 3.78$).

Impact

A number of BED students who did and did not witness a teacher bully while on their

placements reported on their impact of these behaviours.   Since it was possible that non-

witnesses to bullying during their recent practicum placement were thinking of other instances

when they have witnessed a teacher bully (i.e., previous volunteer experiences in elementary

school), it was important to compare these two groups. No difference in the nonbully teachers

behaviours were reported between those who did and did not witness a teacher bully during a

practicum. On the other hand, those who witnessed bullying during their practicum reported

significantly higher total scores for the bullying teachers (see Appendix I). Therefore, only the

responses from those who witnessed an elementary teacher bully while on practicum were

further examined to understand the affect of recently witnessing a teacher abuse.

Impact on witnesses. To assess the impact of witnessing a teacher bully while on a

placement, those who reported witnessing the behaviours were asked to complete questions

assessing the impact of this. Fifty-one of the 54 respondents who witnessed at least one teacher

bully a student completed the questions regarding the impact it had on them. Impact total scores

could range from 0 to 24 (recall that a score *above* 0 would indicate some although minimal

impact of witnessing bullying). Total impact scores were not related to the total male teacher

bullying ($r = -.15, p > .05$) or total female bullying ($r = .18, p > .05$) scores. The average

impact score was 5.54 ($SD = 4.17$) and scores ranged from 0 to 16. Of these, 47 (94%) reported

some impact (i.e., score of 1 = somewhat or higher). The type of impact, along with the

percentage of BED students who endorsed each impact type are presented below (see Table 11).

When the respondent did not indicate a level of impact, the missing response was considered to

be *no*.

Table 11.

Percentage of BED's Reporting Impact and Type of Impact ($n = 51$)

Ways Impacted	No	Somewhat	Yes	Definitely
Felt uncomfortable	5.9	9.8	37.3	47.1
Wanted to intervene	7.8	19.6	45.1	27.5
Distance self from bullying teacher	19.6	29.4	31.4	19.6
Wanted to speak to bullying teacher privately	33.3	27.5	15.7	23.5
Wanted to speak to principal about matter	43.1	23.5	15.7	17.6
Remain reluctantly silent	23.5	33.3	23.5	19.6
Wanted to speak to union representative	62.7	17.6	13.7	5.9
Questioned decision to join profession	72.5	9.8	9.8	7.8

Most of those who witnessed a teacher bully a student reported feeling uncomfortable and wanting to intervene on the student's behalf. On the other hand, fewer witnesses to teacher bullying reported wanting to actually speak to the teacher, principal, or union representative about the incident. With respect to the additional question of whether witnessing a teacher bully resulted in respondents *examining their own practice more closely* (see Measures, pg. 76), most ($n = 46$, 90%) reported that this occurred to some extent. In addition, one respondent indicated wanting to remove themselves from the BED program because of witnessing a teacher bully. A number of those who witnessed teacher bullying indicated a desire to report the bullying to others; however, many reported remaining reluctantly silent. The choice to report or not report abuse may be linked to impact; this issue was further investigated in the reasons BED's believe abuse is not reported.

Reporting teacher bullying. BED students were asked to indicate whether they feel that teacher candidates and contracted teachers are reluctant to report teacher bullying and, if so, why? Of those who reported that elementary teachers bully ($n = 99$), 87.8% indicated believing there is reluctance by pre-service and contracted teachers to report the behaviour. The following table presents a breakdown of the percentage of participants who endorsed each reason regarding why teachers may be reluctant to report (see Table 12). Those who did not respond to a question were included as *no*.

Most respondents indicated their belief that teacher bullying is not reported by contracted and pre-service teachers due to fears of job security and future employment, not wanting to comment on another teacher's practice or undermining another teacher's authority, and not wanting to appear to be divisive. Further, over half of respondents indicated that many might not report because: the bullying did not appear too severe, they are not aware of their obligations to

report, and they are not aware of the procedures in place to report. A fear of union reprisals was not one of the main reasons identified as to why contracted and pre-service teachers do not report.

Table 12.

Percent of BED Respondents Indicating Other Reasons Bullying May Not be Reported (*n* = 87)

Reasons	No	Somewhat	Yes	Definitely
Fears for job security/future job possibilities	5.7	18.4	42.5	33.3
Do not want to comment on another teacher's practice	5.7	16.1	41.3	36.8
Do not want to be seen as a divisive staff member	6.9	25.3	43.6	24.1
Do not want to undermine another teacher's authority	8.0	12.6	45.9	33.3
Not aware of reporting procedures	19.5	27.5	40.2	12.6
Bullying episodes did not appear to be too severe	22.9	48.2	25.3	3.4
Do not want to appear to be confrontational	29.8	20.1	43.6	26.4
Do not want to violate the "unwritten code of silence," that exists between teachers	35.6	21.8	25.3	17.2
Afraid of union reprisals	38.0	20.1	28.7	12.6
The students who were being bullied appeared not to be adversely affected.	43.6	43.6	11.5	1.1

Study 2

Undergraduate University Students' Recollections of Elementary Teacher Bullying

The following section of the results provides details regarding the occurrence of, possible causes of, and the impact of teacher abuse. As noted, the ages of the 307 undergraduate students (NUU) ranged between 16 and 49 ($M = 19.88$, $SD = 3.90$) (see Participants, pg. 78). To maintain as much of the sample as possible, and to ensure that respondents were not out of elementary school for too long a period of time, only those aged 16 to 24 ($M = 19.15$, $SD = 1.49$) were utilized in analyses ($n = 290$), which represented 95% of the original NUU sample.

Extent and prevalence.

Students were asked to report on how much of a problem teacher bullying was during their own elementary school experience. The rates of bullying during the NUU participants' elementary school experience are presented in Table 13.

Table 13.

Extent of teacher bullying in own elementary school ($n = 288$)

Extent of bullying	Frequency	%
Never	30	10.4
Isolated cases only	162	56.2
Frequently by few	88	30.6
Widespread problem/many teachers	8	2.8

Approximately 90% reported that teacher bullying did occur to some extent, with just over one-third indicating that such behaviours were ongoing for at least some of their elementary school teachers.

Respondents indicated the approximate number of teachers in their schools, as well as the approximate number of male and female teachers who bullied. The number of teachers in schools ranged from 3 to 70 ($M = 18.87$, $SD = 9.84$) for a total of 5551 teachers. The total number of teachers reported to have bullied ranged between 0 and 11 ($M = 2.1$, $SD = 1.9$). To determine prevalence, the total number of bullying teachers was divided by the total number of teachers in the school. This indicated that 10.8% of teachers in the schools were considered bullies. In addition, the percentage of teachers who bullied within each school ranged between 0 and 75% ($M = 14.28$, $SD = 14.41$), suggesting that in some schools, many of the teachers bullied, whereas in other schools, few bullied. Overall, 147 (50.7%) respondents reported that they were the target of teacher bullying at least once during elementary school; of these, 77 (52.4%) reported that it occurred rarely, 58 (39.4%) reported sometimes, 11 (7.5%) reported that it occurred often, and 1 respondent indicated that he or she was *always* bullied by teachers (0.7%). Approximately 24% of respondents were the target of teacher bullying on multiple occasions (70 of 290 reported being bullied at least *sometimes*).

The results support the extent of bullying by teachers noted in the results of Study 1: Teacher abuse occurs to some degree in Ontario's elementary schools. The behaviours engaged in by teachers are presented next.

Bullying methods

One hundred ninety-seven NUU participants provided specific details on 413 individual teachers who bullied. The bullying methods used, along with specific examples of bullying

behaviours, are presented below (Table 14) (see Appendix J for a breakdown of methods used by

teacher gender).

Table 14.

Bullying Methods Used by Teachers (*n* = 413)

	Total Sample	
Methods	*n*	*%*
Single Method		
Emotional only	230	55.7
Verbal only	47	11.4
Physical only	20	4.8
Sexual only	3	0.7
Multiple methods		
Emotional/Verbal	91	22.0
Emotional /Physical	10	2.4
Verbal/Physical	6	1.4
Emotional /Verbal/Physical	5	1.2
Emotional /Sexual	1	0.2

Most teachers were reported to only use emotional methods of bullying or to use a

combination of emotional and verbal methods of bullying. Of note, close to 10% of teachers

were reported to have physically bullied students, and close to 1% engaged in inappropriate

sexual behaviours.   Three of the 4 teachers who engaged in sexual behaviours against students were male.

  Specific examples of bullying. Participants who reflected on their experiences with teachers who bullied in their elementary school were asked to provide specific details regarding the types of behaviours the teachers engaged in. One hundred twenty two respondents provided detail of the bullying and, in a number of cases, more than one respondent reported similar behaviours. Due to the overlap in behaviours reported, those behaviours with a common theme were grouped into one behaviour, and each behaviour was then categorized as being an emotional, verbal, physical, and/or sexual form of bullying. The characteristics presented in respondents descriptions of the bullying behaviour, the number and percentage of respondents who reported behaviours fitting into each, and the category of bullying that each characteristic was best captured under is provided in Table 15.

Table 15.

Number of Respondents Providing Specific Characteristics of Bullying (n =122)

Bullying Behaviours	n	%
Emotional bullying examples		
Singling/Centering students out	50	40.9
Made low level students look/feel stupid	26	21.3
Playing favourites	26	21.3
Humiliating students	23	18.8
Isolating students	10	8.2

Publicly embarrasses student	6	4.9
Unrealistic work expectations	5	4.1
Allows students to bully one another	1	0.8
*Verbal bullying examples**		
Excessive yelling	68	55.7
Belittling students	68	55.7
Sarcastic	21	17.2
Intimidating/Threatening students	18	14.8
Rude comments to a student	11	9.0
Swearing at a student	3	2.5
Called a student names	2	1.6
Were sexist/prejudiced	2	1.6
Taunting a student	1	0.8
Racist comments	1	0.8
Physical bullying examples		
Physical methods to scare/threaten students	16	13.1
Pulling/grabbing student	14	11.5
Dumping desk onto floor/dragging desk	2	1.6
Hitting a student on the hands	2	1.6
Used pushups as a punishment	2	1.6
Spanked a student	2	1.6
Tied a student to a chair	2	1.6
Punched a student	2	1.6

Forced to wear a dunce cap	1	0.8
Hitting desk	1	0.8
Choked a student	1	0.8
Threw a student into a wall	1	0.8
Sexual bullying examples		
Sexually abusive/made sexual advances	2	1.6

* Examples of verbal bullying included: called me a "retard," called the class "fuckers," student's nickname was "idiot."

The descriptions of specific bullying behaviours included embarrassing students, yelling, threatening, as well as using various forms of physical contact against a student.

Teacher behaviours. To understand whether or not behaviours and job performance differ between teachers deemed to bully and to not bully, participants completed questions regarding the interpersonal behaviours of bully and nonbully teachers. A significant difference [t (885) = 33.85, p <.000] in bully total score was found between bullying (M = 26.39, SD = 11.57) and nonbullying (M = 7.43, SD = 5.46) teachers; teachers deemed bullies were reported to engage in significantly more bullying behaviours. Mean scores for bully and nonbully teachers for each question on the bully scale, are presented in Table 16.

As can be seen below, verbal behaviours such as *yelling* and *sarcasm*, as well as more covert behaviours such as having *unreasonable work expectations* and being *overly harsh or critical of work*, were reported for bullying teachers. Although many of the behaviours were reported largely for bullying teachers (i.e., sometimes to often) it is interesting to note that bullying behaviours were also reported for nonbullying teachers, but to a lesser extent (i.e., never to sometimes).

Table 16.

Mean Scores for Bullying Scale Questions for Bully and Nonbully Teachers

Bullying Behaviour	Bully (*n* = 492)		Nonbully (*n* = 508)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Often yells at students or the class	2.06	0.91	0.54	0.63
Is often sarcastic to students	1.98	0.88	0.52	0.63
Consistently punishes the same child	1.93	0.91	0.52	0.63
Assessment of student work is often harsh/overly critical	1.74	0.98	0.48	0.61
Humiliates students as a way of stopping a disruption	1.67	0.93	0.28	0.52
Suspends the same student over and over without success	1.60	0.99	0.53	0.66
Puts students down in order to get control of the classroom	1.59	0.91	0.27	0.51
Seems to have a lot of children on a black list	1.59	0.96	0.31	0.53
Seems often to be spiteful to students	1.55	0.91	0.28	0.55
Uses rejection as a form of discipline	1.55	0.91	0.33	0.55
Work expectations are not reasonable	1.43	0.92	0.45	0.57
Seems to take pleasure in hurting students' feelings	1.46	0.94	0.16	0.42
Is quick to put bright students, showing off in their place	1.39	0.99	0.36	0.57
Watches as students bully other students	1.20	0.83	0.31	0.58
Actively sets up students to be bullied by others	1.08	0.91	0.17	0.23
Has a negative attitude toward racial and cultural minorities	0.92	0.94	0.19	0.46
Uses needless physical force to discipline students	0.85	0.93	0.12	0.39
Makes fun of Special Education students	0.80	0.95	0.13	0.41

The following section explores the teacher characteristics, the environment, and stressors that may cause some teachers to abuse students. Recall that respondents provided details of specific teachers who bullied in elementary school.

Causes of Teacher Abuse

Teacher characteristics.

Age and gender. Respondents were asked to indicate the age of the bullying teacher; however, most reported that they were in their 20's, 30's, etc. The ages of teachers were grouped into 20 - 29 ($n = 13$), 30 - 39 ($n = 61$), 40 - 49 ($n = 84$), 50 - 59 ($n = 44$), and 60 - 69 ($n = 8$). Therefore, all ages were converted to 2 = 20's, 3 = 30's, and so on. Bullying teachers ranged from their 20's to their 60's in age ($M = 3.91$, $SD = .95$) suggesting that the mean age of bullying teachers was likely close to their early 40's. Of the bullying teachers reported on, 56.9% were female and 43.1% were male.

Skills

Job Performance. Job performance was compared between bullying and nonbully teachers, and the total scores were significantly different, $t(889) = 24.02$, $p < .000$. A review of mean scores revealed that those teachers deemed to be bullies engaged in significantly more behaviours that were indicative of poor job performance ($M = 19.02$, $SD = 10.86$) compared to nonbullies ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 6.17$). Mean scores for bully and nonbully teachers on each individual question used to assess job performance are presented in Table 17. As can be seen, bullying teachers engaged in most of the behaviours related to job incompetence and dissatisfaction. Of note, many of the questions indicating poor job performance were also reported to occur never to rarely for nonbullying teachers, indicating that some bullying is present for nonbullying teachers, just less often than those viewed as a bully (see Table 17).

Table 17.

Percentage of NUU Reported Indicators of Job Performance for Bully/Nonbully Teachers

Job performance	Bully (*n* = 476)		Nonbully (*n* = 491)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Seems to dislike a lot of children	1.68	0.90	0.40	0.57
Has problems keeping discipline with behaviorally disturbed students	1.66	0.96	0.74	0.66
Is defensive about his or her teaching style and methods	1.64	0.94	0.52	0.61
Denies has problems with students being bullied	1.53	1.01	0.42	0.68
Instructional strategies does not vary	1.48	0.89	0.65	0.69
Lessons fail to capture the students' interest	1.48	0.85	0.70	0.60
Children do not appear to be engaged in meaningful learning experiences	1.34	0.84	0.57	0.62
Complains a lot about working conditions	1.33	0.98	0.43	0.60
Has difficulty accurately assessing students' work	1.28	0.95	0.45	0.57
Has low expectations for his/her students	1.28	0.91	0.39	0.56
Children do not seem to be progressing at an appropriate rate	1.23	0.83	0.49	0.58
Is poorly organized	1.22	0.89	0.60	0.58
Resents any demands from the principal or school administration	1.22	0.92	0.37	0.56
Fails to set limits with students	1.16	0.92	0.57	0.63
Sits back when there is trouble and lets others handle the problems	1.13	0.93	1.45	0.61

Does not seem to understand what is teaching the children	1.11	0.92	0.38	0.54
Has not responded to changes in educational technology/software	1.09	0.87	0.54	0.66
Has not responded to changes in curriculum	1.08	0.86	0.43	0.61
Is easily disorganized when there are school emergencies	1.01	0.89	0.43	0.62
Allows disruption in classroom without intervention	0.92	0.88	0.58	0.65
Is absent from school more frequently than other teachers	0.91	0.92	0.33	0.57
Allows students to bully him or her	0.59	0.86	0.54	0.68

To determine whether bullying behaviours were related to a teacher's perceived performance in the classroom, correlations between total bullying scores and job performance scores were conducted. The results are presented in Table 18.

Table 18.

Relationship between Job Performance and Bullying Scores

	Bullying score
Job performance	0.89*

*$p < .001$

There was a very strong relationship between bullying scores and whether the teacher was reported to have poor job performance. The positive correlation indicates that those with higher bully scores were are also reported to have poorer job performance. Similarly, those who bullied less were reported to have lower, or more positive, performance scores. Environmental factors for bullying teachers are presented next.

Environment

Class size and grade. The class size for bullying teachers was reported to range between 10 and 40 ($M = 25.90$, $SD = 4.67$).   Most of the bullying teachers taught in the junior grades (42.8%), followed by intermediate (31.4%) and primary (25.8%). Most females taught primary or junior (77.6%) while 43% of males taught junior and intermediate (45.9%).   There was not a specific age group, class size, and grade taught for bullying. The final area examined when attempting to understand causes of teacher bullying is stress and stressors.

Stressors

Student needs. To examine potential causes of teacher bullying, learning, behavioural, or emotional difficulties were investigated to determine whether students with any of these issues reported more bullying than those without these issues. Chi-square analyses were conducted to compare those with and without self-reported difficulties and being bullied. Additionally, the same analyses were conducted to determine whether having difficulties or not was related to frequency of bullying, by comparing those who were bullied *sometimes*, *often*, or *always* to those who were *not* or *rarely* bullied.

Thirty-five participants (12%) reported having a learning disability (LD) and, of those, almost 66% reported ever being bullied by a teacher compared to just under half of those without an LD. There is a significant relationship between having an LD and being bullied at least once by one teacher, χ^2 (1, $N = 291$) $= 4.53$, $p < .05$. In most cases (85.7%), the teachers were reportedly aware of the student's LD. No difference was found regarding whether or not the student was bullied based on the teacher's awareness of the student's LD, χ^2 (1, $N = 35$) $= 0.52$, $p > .05$). Having difficulties or not was further examined to investigate whether those with or without disabilities were bullied more frequently (i.e., at least *sometimes* compared to those

rarely or *never* bullied); all difficulties were found to be significant. A higher percentage of self-reported LD students, χ^2 (1, $N = 291 = 35$) = 5.23, $p = .02$, and respondents with behavioural, χ^2 (1, $N = 290$) = 5.21, $p = .02$, and emotional difficulties, χ^2 (1, $N = 288$) = 5.68, $p = .02$, reported being bullied at least sometimes compared to those without these difficulties. Percentages of those who were bullied at least sometimes and their related difficulty are presented in Table 19.

Table 19.

Student Difficulties and Ever Bullied by a Teacher (*n* = 290)

Type of difficulty	Sometimes +	
	Yes	%
Learning Disability *		
No (*n* = 256)	63	24.6
Yes *(n= 35)*	15	42.9
Behavioural*		
No *(n = 272)*	69	25.4
Yes *(n = 18)*	9	50.0
Emotional		
No *(n = 236)*	57*	24.2
Yes *(n = 52)*	21*	40.4

Note: sometimes+ = *sometimes*, *often*, or *always*

* *p* < .05

Of the 18 students who reported behavioural issues, 8 (44.0%) reported having ADD or

ADHD, 4 (22%) reported anger issues, and 1 (5.5%) reported time management problems. The

remaining 5 (27.7%) did not disclose the behavioural difficulty they had. Of the 52 students who

reported emotional issues during elementary school, 20 (38.5%) indicated depression and 28

(54%) acknowledged anxiety. Other issues noted included: being shy, low self-esteem,

obsessive-compulsive disorder, lacking confidence, and having anger issues ($n = 4$, 7.7%). The

remaining students ($n = 12$, 23%) did not report the emotional difficulty they experienced. It

should be noted that 8 (16.4%) respondents reported more than one emotional difficulty;

therefore, the total percentage will not equal 100.

The stress of students with specific difficulties is likely a factor important to consider

when understanding why some teachers abuse students. Results of the investigation into the

impact of being bullied by a teacher are presented next. Respondents indicated whether they

were the target of a teacher and if so, how they were impacted by this abuse.

Impact

Of the 146 respondents who reported being the target of a bullying teacher, 142 indicated

whether they were impacted by this experience. Impact scores ranged from 0 to 23 ($M = 8.5$, SD

$= 5.51$). There was a difference in impact scores between males ($n = 34$, $M = 5.79$, $SD = 5.65$)

and females ($n = 108$, $M = 9.39$, $SD = 5.20$), $t(145) = -3.45$, $p = .001$, with females reporting

higher impact scores. Male and female respondents were investigated separately for analyses

related to impact.

The ways in which male and female respondents indicated being impacted by teacher

bullying are presented below. The type of impact along with the mean rating of each by NUU

respondents are presented in Table 20. Recall that each question was responded to on a 5-point

scale ranging from *definitely not* = 0 to *definitely* = 4.

Table 20.

Mean Scores for Male and Female Respondents on Individual Impact Questions (*n* = 142)

Ways Impacted	Male		Female	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Told friends about bullying teacher	2.16	1.42	2.63	1.09
Did not enjoy school	2.00	1.03	2.20	0.98
Told parents about bullying teacher	1.71	1.39	2.47	1.69
Scared to speak up in class	1.42	1.30	2.23	1.12
Self-esteem suffered	1.19	1.05	1.92	1.15
Unwilling to participate in extracurricular activities	1.16	1.27	1.55	1.21
Felt alone	0.90	0.98	1.30	0.99
Cried about how I was treated	0.90	1.08	1.93	1.29
Thought I deserved it	0.81	0.83	0.89	0.96
Parents did not understand	0.94	1.03	0.92	1.03
Had no one to turn to	0.67	0.88	0.82	0.95

Based on the above responses, it is clear that many of the respondents bullied by a

teacher during elementary school were impacted. For females, not enjoying school, fearing

speaking up in class, crying about how they were treated, and feeling their self-esteem suffered

were the issues with the highest mean scores.   As shown in Table 20, males reported fearing

speaking up in class, not enjoying school, and being unwilling to engage in extracurricular activities as the main impacts. In addition, some respondents told their parents and friends of the negative behaviours they were experiencing, felt that their parents understood, and felt they had a support person. However, close to one-third of the females who were bullied felt alone and most reported that they felt alone and did not enjoy school. As shown, on average, males reported little impact to many of the possible types, even though they did tell their parents and friends about the teacher's behaviour.

Other forms of impact or concerns that respondents reported separately included: hated teacher/class ($n = 3$, 2.1%); unsupportive principal ($n = 2$, 1.4%); lost motivation/initiative to try ($n = 2$, 1.4%); felt stupid ($n = 1$, 0.7%); felt violated ($n = 1$, 0.7%); left school ($n = 1$, 0.7%); feared public speaking ($n = 1$, 0.7%); and felt betrayed ($n = 1$, 0.7%).

For males, there was a strong relationship between the extent of bullying (*rarely, sometimes, often, always*) and the total impact scores ($n = 33$, $r = .57$, $p < .001$). Similarly, females who reported more bullying reported higher Impact scores ($n = 107$, $r = .44$, $p < .001$).

To understand gender differences regarding impact, impact scores were compared based on the bullying teachers' gender and the student's gender. One hundred and fifteen participants reported on the gender of the teacher who bullied them (note: 27 reported being the target but did not mention the teacher's gender and, therefore, were not included in analyses related to gender of the bullying teacher). An ANOVA was conducted to investigate *Impact* based on the interaction between respondents' gender and ever being bullied by a male or female teacher. Comparisons were made to determine whether teacher's gender affected scores for male and female respondents; the results for male respondents are presented in Table 21.

Table 21.

Impact of Bullying Teacher's Gender by Respondent's Gender

| | Bullied by teacher | | | | | |
| | Ever | | | Never | | |
Respondent x Teacher	n	M	SD	n	M	SD
Male x male	12	10.30[a]	6.60	12	5.50[a, b]	4.50
Female x male	54	11.37	5.70	41	10.14[b]	4.50
Male x female	21	8.00	5.83	3	7.00	8.66
Female x female	59	10.64	4.84	37	11.00	4.84

[a] $p < .05$, [b] $p < .01$; same superscript denotes difference

Results revealed a significant interaction between respondent gender and whether they were ever bullied by a male teacher, $F(2, 113) = 3.95$, $p = .02$. No interaction between respondent gender and whether they were ever bullied by a female was found, $F(2, 113) = 1.03$, $p > .05$. Therefore, the main effects for gender of respondent and ever being bullied or never being bullied by a male were investigated and are presented in Figure 1.

For male respondents, those ever bullied by a male teacher reported more impact compared to males bullied by females only, $t(22) = 2.06$, $p = .05$. For those bullied by only females, female respondents indicated more impact than males, $t(51) = 3.31$, $p < .01$. Within the female respondents only, they did not differ in impact based on whether or not they were ever bullied by a male teacher, $t(93) = 1.12$, $p > .05$.
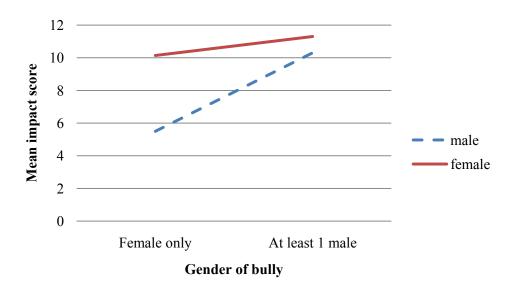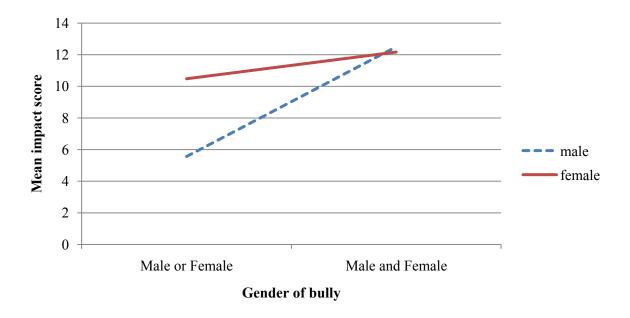
Figure 1. Interaction Between Ever Bullied by Male Teacher by Respondents' Gender

To further investigate gender impact, the gender of the respondent and whether they were bullied by both male and female teachers or by one gender (male or female) was investigated. A significant interaction between respondent gender and one or both gender bullies was found, F (3, 116) = 5.58, p < .001.   Figure 2 presents the interaction between the respondent's gender and whether they were bullied by teachers of one, or both genders.

An investigation of the main effects revealed that male respondents who were bullied by both male and female teachers reported more impact than those bullied by male only or female only teachers, $t(22) = - 3.13, p = .005$. Females who were bullied by one gender only reported higher impact than males bullied by one gender only, $t(93) = - 3.44 , p = .001$. No gender differences were found between male and female respondents bullied by both male and female teachers, $t(23) = .14, p > .05$. No difference in impact was reported between female bullied by one gender only and females bullied by both genders, $t(94) = - 1.20, p > .05$.

Figure 2. Interaction between Respondents' Gender and Being Bullied by Teachers of One or Both Genders

These results indicate that females are impacted, regardless of the teacher's gender; however, males are more impacted if they were bullied by males and by both male and female teachers. Therefore, it may be that males are most impacted if a male bullies them.

Summary

Results of the two studies reveal that some teachers do abuse students and this behaviour is witnessed and experienced by many. The common behaviours that teacher's engaged in include verbal an4d emotional abuse and neglect: physical and sexual abuses were also reported but they were not nearly as common. Both samples reported that abusive teachers do not perform many of their duties as well as nonabusive teachers and that the combined lack of competence and satisfaction may be key factors when trying to understand a teacher's use of abusive behaviour. Finally, those who witnessed, and those who were the targets of, teacher

abuse were negatively impacted. Although abuse of students must be addressed, respondents

provided a number of reasons regarding why it may not be reported.

The following chapter provides a comprehensive discussion of the results as well as

implications and recommendations based on the results. Limitations to the study are outlined in

the next chapter. The need for further research in the area of teacher abuse of students is

discussed along with specific studies that provide support and context for the results found in this

study.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to explore the nature, extent, and characteristics of teacher abuse in Ontario's elementary schools. Two samples of students were utilized: Nipissing University Undergraduates (NUU) and Bachelor of Education students in Nipissing University's one year Consecutive Faculty of Education Program (BED or pre-service teachers). The NUU participants were asked to reflect on their experiences of teacher abuse while in elementary school, whereas the BED students were asked to report on incidents of teacher abuse they witnessed while on their practicum placements. The results indicate that teacher abuse is present in Ontario's schools, that job performance is strongly related to abusive behaviours, and that witnesses and victims of teacher abuse are negatively affected. Teachers' employing abusive measures against elementary school students must be acknowledged, addressed, and prevented.

Teacher Abuse is an Issue

Respondents indicated that approximately 2% to 11% of teachers engage in abusive behaviours against students. These figures are alarming, considering that abusive teachers likely targeted more than one child. The Education Act states that schools must be a safe, nurturing, and respectful environment for learning (Ministry of Education, 2001) and any abuse is counter to these principles. Half of the NUU respondents reported being the target of a teacher's abusive behaviours and the vast majority reported that teachers do abuse students. Based on participant responses, it is easy to envision the high number of students who are the target of, or who have been exposed to, at least one abusive teacher.

More than half of the BED students (55%) witnessed a teacher abuse a student while on their practicum placements. The percentage of pre-service teachers who witnessed teacher abuse

is higher than the percentage of teachers who reported knowing one or more colleagues who had *bullied* a student during one school year (i.e., 32.5%) (Twemlow et al., 2006). This discrepancy in how many in the teaching profession witnessed a teacher abuse may be the result of one's own experience of teaching. Some in-service teachers may dismiss behaviours of colleagues because they too have engaged in similar acts, whereas pre-service teachers have not likely had an opportunity to engage in such behaviour and may more readily notice when a teacher is abusive. It is also possible that pre-service teachers were privy to behaviours that occurred behind a closed classroom door. Access and exposure may be important when understanding the amount of teacher abuse and, as such, students themselves or student teachers may more accurately reflect the prevalence of teacher abuse of students.

The rates of pre-service teachers witnessing abuse, as well as the behaviours teachers' reportedly engaged in, are concerning. Associate Teachers (AT) are responsible for supervising pre-service (BED) teachers; ATs are aware that pre-service teachers are recording detailed observational notes of teacher routines, instructional practices, assessment techniques, and classroom management strategies. Moreover, when a pre-service teacher is at a practicum placement, all teachers are aware of the student's presence and the need to model appropriate practice and professionalism. In-service (i.e., classroom) teachers know of the importance of their role in the in-service/pre-service teacher dynamic; therefore, it is surprising that so many teachers engaged in abusive behaviours. Although it is not clear whether these abusive teachers were the assigned AT or another teacher in the school, it is clear that the teachers reported on were all adults in a care giving role whose treatment of some students is abusive. It may be that incidents of teacher abuse would increase if another adult were not in the school observing, recording, and reflecting upon a teacher's best practice. However, it is also possible that some

abusive teachers do not alter their behaviours with the presence of pre-service teachers in their

classroom. Not altering negative behaviour suggests that the teacher's intent was not to harm the

student(s) or they were not aware of the impact of their behaviours. This is an important point

noted in the definition of child abuse; ultimately intent is not necessary for negative behaviour to

be considered abusive (CFSA, 1999).   On the other hand, since NUU responses were based on

up to 8 years of exposure to elementary teachers, it is not surprising that so many reported that

teachers abuse.   Elementary school students are also privy to abusive behaviours that may occur

in the classroom and out of sight of other adults.

It is important to note that the results of this study indicated that even those teachers

classified by participants as *not abusive* (i.e., nonbully) did still engage in some, albeit few,

abusive behaviours. There may be a number of reasons why not all teachers abused students

were considered abusive (i.e., bully). There may be a threshold point for pre-service and

elementary students when considering whether the behaviours of teachers are extreme enough to

warrant labeling the teacher as abusive (i.e., a bully). Therefore, it is possible that many teachers

engage in some form of abusive behaviour, but those considered nonabusive (i.e., nonbully) may

engage in behaviours that are considered less severe. It is also possible that whether or not a

teacher is considered abusive may be impacted by how well liked that teacher is. Therefore, it

may be that the likability of a teacher, or how their job performance is perceived (i.e., are they a

good teacher?) influences how their behaviours are interpreted.

Research has been conducted to determine what students and teachers consider to be the

key indicators of a *good* teacher. The main personal qualities students have described in *good*

teachers include being patient, responsible, creative, dedicated and caring, as well as treating all

students equally; others have reported *good* teachers as those who are calm, who see things in a

positive light, and who make students respect them (Beishuizen, Hof, van Putten., Bouwmeester, & Asscher, 2001; Liu & Meng, 2009). Differences in preferred teacher characteristics have been found between younger and older students. For example, younger students are reported to consider *good* teachers as those who have strong teaching abilities and who are caring, interesting, polite, and patient, whereas older students (Intermediate/Senior) judge teachers based on their personalities more so than their teaching ability (Bieschuizen et al., 2001; Murphy, Delli, Edwards, 2004). Elementary and high school teachers tend to agree with older students that a good teacher is one who establishes a personal relationship with students (Bieschuizen et al., 2001; Murphy et al., 2004). In addition, the top five characteristics of *good* teachers, as reported by pre-service teachers, included being caring, patient, engaging, polite, and well-organized (Murphy et al., 2004); consequently, whether the teacher who abused was considered a *good* teacher or not may have influenced how they were remembered or judged.   Regardless of whether or not personal biases influenced responses, both samples reported similarities in the characteristics of teachers considered to be abusive and nonabusive.

Based on the results of this and other studies, it is clear that some teachers do abuse students and this cannot be ignored. Teacher characteristics and skills, the work environment, and stress have all been linked in studies of abusive teachers. The aforementioned factors of abusive teachers have been highlighted in theories of child abuse. A number of theories have been established in an attempt to understand the genesis of abusive behaviour and many are applicable when trying to comprehend teacher abuse of students. Drawing upon current knowledge, theory, and the results of this study, the following section of the paper will address the causes of abuse in an attempt to try to understand why some teachers abuse students.

Causes of Teacher Abuse

Several indicators were identified in this study as likely contributing to teacher abuse; the factors reported included a teacher's skills and characteristics, the environment, and student characteristics. Theories of child abuse have also identified many of these factors as contributing to child abuse by a parent.

Applying theory to teacher abuse.

The Transitional Model of Child Abuse (Wolfe, 1999) is the most applicable model through which to understand causes of teacher abuse of students. The Transitional Model solidifies the link between child abuse and stressors, but acknowledges that the link between stressors and the resulting abuse may vary. The Model incorporates various theoretical viewpoints – including Frustration-Aggression, Cue-Arousal, Personalistic, and Social Learning – to explain how stressors may lead to child abuse. In addition, Wolfe (1999) includes a discussion of compensatory factors and indicates that if measures are not implemented to reduce stress, the likelihood that child abuse will continue is compounded (p. 78). A number of potential stressors for teachers were investigated in this study. Based on the Transitional Model, the results of the study suggest that teachers may be faced with a number of stressors, and those who do not cope well may be at risk to abuse.

The stressors investigated included job competence and job satisfaction, the school environment and culture, and student characteristics. The differences found between abusive and nonabusive teachers regarding the various stressors supports the Transitional Model's presumption that stress may precipitate, or indeed perpetuate, teacher abuse. For example, a teacher's feelings of inadequacy when teaching students with a range of difficulties, working in a negative atmosphere, and not being supported by school administration were all identified as

potential causes of abuse. Instead of being directly linked to abuse, each of these factors may instead cause stress and, according to The Transitional Model, it is this heightened stress that increases the likelihood that a teacher will abuse.

As noted in the Transitional Model, there is variance in how individual's cope with stress and it is coping, or lack of coping, that either protects against or instigates abusive behaviour (Wolfe, 1999, p. 68). The Transitional Model highlights the cyclical nature of stress, abuse, and coping. Wolfe (1999) also postulates that an individual's response to stressors can be reshaped via compensatory factors (p. 68). A number of factors found in this study to increase stress could be addressed in a compensatory manner. For example, respondents suggest that a lack of administrative support likely contributes to stress and abusive behaviour; conversely, increased administrative support could decrease stress and abusive behaviour and thus be compensatory in nature. Similarly, students with difficulties were found to be at risk of being targets of abuse. Providing support for teachers who experience stress when dealing with students with specific needs and difficulties would be compensatory. Therefore, addressing the causes of stress would, according to the Transitional Model, reduce the likelihood of child abuse.

A discussion of the various causes of teacher stress and compensatory factors is provided below. As noted, the Transitional Model reflects various theories of child abuse; therefore, each of the stressors found in this study will be discussed with respect to a specific theory of child abuse it may be best understood through. The following discussion provides an overview of how and why a specific stressor investigated in this study may contribute to teacher abuse. Following the discussion of stressors, an overview of applicable compensatory measures is included in order to address specific teacher needs.

Stressors.

Job performance and environmental factors are the primary categories under which

stressors will be discussed. Within each of these categories are a variety of potentially stress

inducing precipitators. The following discussion is divided into job performance, under which

teacher characteristics, competence, and satisfaction will be discussed. The second general

category, environmental factors, includes a discussion of student characteristics and needs,

school culture, and administrative support as potential stressors. A discussion of each potential

stressor as well as the utility of the Transitional Model to understand each stressor are provided

next.

Job performance. Job performance was a measure that combined satisfaction with the

profession and competence as a teacher and both were shown to be related to teacher abuse. The

very strong relationship between job performance and the use of abusive behaviour is not

surprising given that a teacher's sense of self has an influence on the ways in which he or she

perceives and interacts with students, and on the teaching and learning strategies implemented

(Hargreaves, 1975; Nias, 1989). Incompetence and dissatisfaction may be pre-cursors to stress

or may be caused by stress. Regardless, the link between stress, incompetence, and satisfaction

must be understood and addressed to reduce the risk of teacher abuse.

Job competence and satisfaction may be impacted due to struggles with evolving

technology, difficulties managing a classroom, and having an overall negative impression of self

and one's effectiveness, which are characteristic of teachers with poor job performance. Lacking

confidence and skill may lead to overwhelming frustration and stress and, for some, this stress

may lead to aggression (i.e., Frustration-Aggression hypothesis). Regardless of the order in

which stress, competence, and satisfaction occur, understanding that stress is a key dimension of

job satisfaction and competence is important when attempting to discern why some teachers are abusive.

Communication, both verbal and nonverbal, is an important dynamic between teachers and students (Halberstadt & Hall, 1980) and teachers who are dissatisfied in the profession, or who do not feel competent, will convey a different message to students than those who are competent and content. Teachers who are not satisfied, or who do not feel competent, will bring this – consciously or unconsciously – to the classroom. Dissatisfied or incompetent teachers may convey their negative feelings to students through their: a) actions, b) teaching practices, and c) verbal and nonverbal communication. In turn, students whose teacher is dissatisfied may intuitively sense that their teacher is not accessible to them, and thus tension is created in the classroom (Adalsteinsdottir, 2004). Student reactions to classroom tension may be to either to 1) disrupt or defy, which could then increase a teacher's stress and lead to abuse (i.e., Frustration-Aggression hypothesis), or 2) respond as the teacher wishes, which would reinforce the teacher's negative interactions (i.e., Social Learning Theory). Ultimately, stress associated with feeling dissatisfied or incompetent may initiate and reinforce abuse.

It is important to note that the relationship between job performance and abuse does not indicate that one is causing the other, instead poor job performance and abuse are merely occurring at the same time. Therefore, it is possible that teachers viewed as dissatisfied or incompetent are also viewed as abusive; conversely, it may be that a teacher who is abusive is also considered, by virtue of their personality or behaviour, to be dissatisfied and incompetent. Therefore, personal and perhaps biased perceptions may have contributed to the strong relationship between teacher abuse and job performance. Various issues may impact how a teacher is viewed such as a teacher's gender and age.

Gender and age. Specific teacher characteristics such as age and gender may have impacted how teachers were judged by respondents. Both male and female teachers were reported to abuse students. The majority of respondents indicated that no more than two male and female teachers abused and there were no gender differences in the rates of abusive teachers. In an American study, close to half of the respondents (47%) reported three or more abusive teachers in their school (McEvoy, 2005). The discrepancy between this and other research regarding the gender of abusive teachers may be related to the age group being taught. This study's respondents reflected on elementary teachers, whereas McEvoy's sample consisted of high school students. It is also possible that more teachers do indeed engage in abuse at the high school level; however, it is also possible that personal biases impacted which teachers were considered abusive and nonabusive.

Male teachers were overrepresented in the sample of teachers reported to abuse. Respondents' indicated that 41- 43% of abusive teachers were male even though males accounted for 7.5% of all full-time equivalent public and Catholic elementary teachers and administrators during the year in which the data was collected (i.e., 2007/2008) (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2010a). Although it is possible that many males do in fact abuse students, there may be other reasons why males were overrepresented. Recent research regarding which bullies are accepted by peers may help to explain the overrepresentation of males as abusive teachers.

Researchers have found that the gender of the bully's target has an impact on whether the bully is rejected or not. Boys who bully boys are rejected by male, but not female peers; however, when boys bullied girls, it was the female, not male, peers who rejected them (Dijkstra, Munniksma, Lindenberg, & Veenstra, 2010). Therefore, it is possible that a teacher is judged

and labeled according to whom they abuse. Since the majority of respondents in this study were

female, the possibility of the teacher's gender effecting which teachers they recall, or choose to

report on, must be considered. Although no gender bias was found in this study, a larger sample

of males may provide further insight into whether gender influences reporting or recall.

The average age of abusive teachers in this study was approximately 40 years, suggesting

that many had been teaching for a number of years. On average, it is likely that abusive teachers

are in the profession for well over 5 years, which is the time point at which more abuse by

teachers occurs (McEvoy, 2006).   Although this study did not allow for a measure of years of

teaching, given that most abusive teachers were in the average age of those in the profession

(Lin, 2008) it may be that age is a marker for the years in the profession and so either age or

years teaching may be important when understanding stress and abuse by teachers.

Those teaching longer may experience increased stress due to a variety of job

performance related issues such as changes in curriculum and the needs and demands of

students. Over time, and as the educational system evolves, teachers who were once confident

may feel less so as they attend to persistent shifts in pedagogy. Competence, dissatisfaction, and

abusive behaviour are likely cyclical and impact each other. Teachers who have difficulty

capturing and maintaining students' interests and who fail to adapt to new technology (i.e.,

competence) will no doubt add to student frustration. Frustrated students may act out due to

boredom and a lack of validation which may result in students' challenging the teacher's position

in the classroom (Kohn, 1993). Once a teacher feels challenged, openly questioned, and possibly

disrespected by students, he or she will certainly feel less competent and satisfied and experience

increased levels of stress which, in turn, leads to abuse. Teachers in the profession longer are

perhaps less willing or able to alter their teaching methods and so may be experiencing heightened stress as the demands on them increase.

Seniority and security are normally related to the number of years in a profession. Those teaching for several years may not fear any consequences for abuse; it is also possible that some teachers have been engaging in abuse for years without being cautioned. Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977a) suggests that when behaviour is rewarded, or not punished, the behaviour is likely to continue. However, of note, newer teachers may also struggle to adapt to the demands of the profession, which may explain why there was a wide age range for teachers identified as abusive. Also, newer teachers may model behaviours of more established teachers (i.e., Social Modeling Theory) and, in some instances, the models will be abusive. If a newer teacher witnesses their teacher model abusive behaviour and the outcome is positive (i.e., well behaved class) they too might adapt such strategies. Age or years teaching are important factors to consider when understanding the causes of teacher abuse.

Therefore, a lack of job competence and job satisfaction will contribute to teacher stress and that stress may cause abuse. There are many factors, such as those discussed above, that could contribute to feelings of job dissatisfaction and incompetence. Other potential stressor that may contribute to abuse are related to the school environment. It may be that the school environment is an independent stressor; however, it is also possible that the school environment contributes to feelings of competence and satisfaction, which in turn influence stress and then the potential for abuse. The school environment as a possible stressor is discussed next.

Environment. The school environment may be highly influential in supporting, encouraging, or contributing to stress and teacher abuse. It is also possible that the school environment influences competence and satisfaction as well as stress and abuse. Issues such as

class size, classroom dynamic, and school atmosphere may affect a teacher's stress levels. Each

of these environmental issues is discussed with respect to their role in abuse.

    Class size.   Although class sizes ranged for abusive teachers in this study, they were

similar to average class sizes reported by the Ministry of Education (i.e., between 24.6 and 25.6,

depending on the year) for elementary grades (Ministry of Education, 2010b). According to the

Ministry of Education, less than 6% of classes in grades K-3 have 25 or more students and no

primary classes in Ontario currently have more than 23 students (Ministry of Education, 2010c).

Therefore, smaller class size in the primary grades may artificially decrease overall average

elementary class sizes. If average class sizes are larger in higher grades, a teacher abusing in a

higher grade may have more student. However, the design of the study did not allow for a

comparison of class size between abusive and nonabusive teachers, but such an investigation

would certainly provide insight into whether class size is a factor in abuse.

    The belief that class size affects abuse, as noted by some respondents in this study and

teachers in other research, has not been demonstrated. This discrepancy between belief and fact

may be explained by what teachers *perceive* to be related to abuse. There is evidence to

support that smaller class size is associated with higher student achievement (Angrist &

Lavy, 1999; Finn & Achilles, 1990; Krueger & Whitmore, 2001) as student success has been

found in classes with fewer than 17 students compared to classes with more than 22

students (Gerber, Finn, & Achilles, 2001). Of note, researchers have found that student

achievement is an important factor in a teacher's sense of job satisfaction (Bandura, 1977b;

Verdugo et al., 1997). In addition, researchers report that teachers who have smaller

classes (e.g., 18 or fewer students) compared to those with larger classes, have more

positive interactions with their students (Finn, Pannozzo, & Achilles, 2003). Teachers

reportedly interact with students close to 80% of time in-class and this time is divided into

individual interactions (70%), entire class interactions (20%), and interactions with smaller

groups of students (10%) (Galton, 1989). In a study of 166 elementary teachers, higher teacher

satisfaction was associated with small class size (Terry, 2002). Focus groups indicated that

teaching fewer students provided teachers more time with students, positively influenced parent-

teacher relations, and provided opportunities for teachers to get to know their students better

(Terry, 2002). Based on this research, smaller classes may influence student-teacher interactions

and relationships which, as noted, may influence how a teacher is perceived by students. In

larger classes, teachers may feel increased stress due to a lack of individualized assistance that

they can provide students. Competence, satisfaction, and/or stress may be related to the amount

of time a teacher can devote to the class, instead of being related to the size of the class.

Although teachers in larger classes may be more apt to abuse, these behaviours may be linked to

the stress associated with student achievement and a lack of appropriate interaction time, which

are by-products of a larger class.

The needs and characteristics of students may impact stress and in larger classes, the

needs of students may vary greatly. Teachers assigned to larger classes composed of students

with varying needs may experience heightened stress due to the variance in student abilities,

behaviour, and learning difficulties. On the other hand, even teachers working in smaller classes

may experience stress if they have a number of students with diverse needs. Therefore, it may

not be class size, but instead student achievement, feelings of effectiveness, and being able to

address diverse student needs that increases a teachers stress, which then may lead to abuse.

Student characteristics and specific needs will be addressed next in an attempt to contextualize

stress and abuse.

Child characteristics and difficulties. Student characteristics may impact teacher stress

and abuse. Classroom management difficulties have been linked to classrooms composed of

mixed ability students (Reid, Clunies-Ross, Goacher, & Vile, 1981; Veenman, Voeten, & Lem,

1987). Teachers in training have often noted that they are neither fully prepared nor confident

when assisting students who require additional teacher assistance (Burnard & Laxley, 2000).

Researchers have found that managing difficult students (i.e., behavioural and disciplinary

challenges) may be one of the most emotionally draining and challenging dimensions of the

teaching profession (Barton & Vlachou, 2004; Shaalvik & Shaalvik, 2009). Behavioural,

emotional, and student learning difficulties will be discussed next with respect to teacher stress

and abuse.

Age. With age, children move from a) avoiding punishment by accepting and following

rules to b) questioning rules and learning that not all negative behaviours will be punished (see

Kolhberg, 1976; Piaget 1952). As children begin to question teachers and challenge their

authority, teachers may become frustrated. Teacher stress may increase when students begin to

move away from their traditionally prescribed roles as outlined by the tenets of the hidden

curriculum.

The hidden curriculum is a systemic means in which to shape the way people think and

act. The hidden curriculum operates on two distinct levels (Osborne, 2001). The first level

includes the obvious rules of conduct and behaviour that school personnel continuously impress

upon students; the second level is far less obvious and has a profound effect on how teachers and

students interact (Osborne, 2001). The hidden curriculum reinforces conformity, unquestioning

obedience to authority, and passivity from students; in addition, the hierarchy of power within a

school requires that students be deferential to teachers and school administration (Osborne,

2001). Researchers have found that educators reward behaviours such as subservience, silence,

and being well-behaved, which are student characteristics that meet the criteria for the hidden

curriculum (Mancus, 1992). As noted, younger students are likely to conform to these

expectations; however, students may challenge hidden and overt expectations as they age.

Repeated student challenges likely increases a teacher's stress while, in turn, impacting job

satisfaction and competence. A teacher who is stressed due to student challenges and who does

not cope well with such stress may resort to abuse. Since up to half of the abusive teachers were

reported to teach in the intermediate grades, there may be increased stress associated with

teaching older elementary students. However, it is also important to note that more practicum

students were placed in higher elementary grades versus the primary aged classroom.

Additionally, students recalling their elementary teachers may be more likely to recall those in

the upper levels due to the recency of those experiences. Although this study did not provide

specific evidence, it is quite possible that student age, or grade taught, may bring with it unique

stressors for a teacher which may, ultimately, contribute to abuse.

    Once a teacher and student(s) have established a problematic relationship, a cycle of

continually escalating confrontation may ensue. The cyclical nature of aggression, and

retaliation, termed *the coercive cycle*, has been studied at length (Patterson, 1982).   The coercive

cycle has been applied to families and could be informative when examining abuse by teachers.

Researchers have found that aggressive behaviour of one family member can produce an

aggressive response from another, which in turn escalates the aggressive response by the first

person; each party responds to the first with elevated levels of aggression (Patterson, 1982;

Patterson et al., 1989). Parents resort to abusing their child, or children, in order to gain power

and control in their relationships with them (Montminy & Straka, 2008) and the same dynamic

may be occurring in Ontario's classrooms. Within families, it is believed that each aggressive

response is intended to stop the other person's aggression but, conversely, each response is likely

to promote further aggression (Patterson et al., 1989); a similar pattern could be occurring within

a classroom. A teacher may react with aggression to a student's behaviour and this may initiate a

pattern of coercion, as the student and teacher engage in a power struggle to end the other's

increasingly antagonistic retort. The teacher will certainly feel increased levels of stress as the

cycle unfolds, which may then lead to abuse.

Therefore, challenges to a teacher's authority, issues in managing a classroom, and

negative student behaviours would individually, or in combination, elevate teacher stress. This

stress may result in abuse by the teacher and, in some instances, perpetuate a cycle of aggression

between a teacher and student(s). Ultimately, a teacher is the adult in the relationship and must

act appropriately and be mindful of the best interests of the student, regardless of the stress and

stressors under which they work. Along with the behaviours (ie., challenges to authority,

defiance, etc.) that may be typically found within a classroom, an additional stressor may be

experienced when a classroom is composed of students with learning difficulties or behavoural

concerns.

Learning, emotional, behavioural difficulties. Having a learning or emotional difficulty

was shown to be related to whether or not a student was targeted by an abusive teacher.   As

noted above, some students with learning, emotional, or behavioural difficulties may increase a

teacher's stress if they do not conform to the expectations of the hidden curriculum. However,

other issues may also be important when understanding the affect student exceptionalities have

on teacher stress.

There are several reasons why children with learning, behaviour, and emotional issues may be targeted by teachers. Interestingly, most of those in this study who had a learning disability and were abused reported that their teachers were aware of their learning difficulty. Therefore, knowledge of a student's exceptionalities did not deter teachers from abusing a student; on the other hand, this knowledge may have been instrumental in the abuse. For example, learning disabled (LD) students may be targeted because they are less likely to successfully defend themselves or may not have peers who are willing to protect them (McEvoy, 2005). Teaching children with exceptionalities may be both frustrating and stressful as such a student may negatively affect the classroom dynamic, require extensive teacher time, or may interrupt the teacher's goals for the day (i.e., get through a lesson, all students working quietly) and, as such, the teacher may see a student with exceptionalities as a source of stress.

There is longstanding recognition of the link between frustration and aggression (Dollard et al., 1939) and it may be that having a number of students who require additional support or attention causes teacher stress and frustration. The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis postulates that frustration precedes aggression; frustration is caused when an individual's intended goals are blocked and aggression is used to alleviate any source of frustration (Dollard et al., 1939). The link between frustration and aggression is reported in families with a history of abuse. Frequent problems when attempting to curtail a child's negative behaviours are related to an increased likelihood that parents will utilize abusive and punitive measures (McElroy & Rodriguez, 2008). The same may be occurring with teachers and students; those students who require additional attention, who do not understand the material regardless of a teacher's efforts, or who need extensive support and assistance may increase a teacher's frustration or stress if the student is viewed as preventing a teacher from achieving their lesson's goals (i.e., pay attention to all

students, successfully teach a lesson, etc.). The teacher, out of frustration, may then consciously

or unconsciously abuse (i.e., yelling, name calling, denigrating). Although the source of stress

(i.e., a student who does not understand) may lead to frustration, this theory suggests that the

teacher will aggress specifically toward the source – in this case the student – or arbitrarily, such

as to the entire class.

The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis was further discussed by Berkowitz (1989), who

suggested that frustration alone will not produce aggression; instead, frustration *prepares* the

frustrated to aggress and that actual aggression depends on stimulus cues found in the

environment (i.e., Cue-Arousal Theory).   According to the Cue-Arousal Theory, if a teacher is

frustrated, then the potential for aggression is present; however, the teacher will not aggress

without a cue (i.e., such as a student not understanding the material or requiring additional help)

or without significant negative affect being aroused. The role affect plays may be important

when understanding why one teacher may abuse while another teacher under the same

circumstances does not. Any negative affect associated with feelings of dissatisfaction and

incompetence may separate teachers into those who do and do not use abuse students.

Stress, or coping with stress, may result from inadequate teacher training. Teacher

education programs may not provide the preparation necessary for educators to meet the many

and varied needs of today's students (Burnard & Laxley, 2000). Without appropriate training, a

lack of confidence and knowledge in programming alternative lessons may lead to heightened

levels of frustration and stress for teachers. In addition, a lack of administrative support for

teachers adapting to the varying needs of students with LD's has been found to be related to

increased teacher frustration (Barton & Vlachou, 2004). The fact that students are bringing

pronounced emotional, social, and behavioural problems to school compounds the dilemma of

inadequate teacher training (Burnard & Laxley, 2000). The result may be that teachers have

heightened anxiety and feelings of inadequacy on the job which, in turn, negatively affects

teacher-student interactions (Burnard & Laxley, 2000). A lack of teacher candidate preparation

in the areas devoted to classroom management and special education instruction may affect the

ways in which teachers assess their competency, relate with their students, and appraise their

overall job satisfaction. This may account for the higher rates of teacher abuse found in this

study for those students designated as having either learning or behavioural difficulties.

     There is no strong evidence that indicates having a larger class is related to, or causal in,

abuse by teachers. Instead, the dynamic within a class may be the important factor when

understanding teacher abuse and class size may simply increase the risk of a negative dynamic.

Teachers will feel more competent and satisfied if they have a class that is performing well, if

student and teacher interaction and communication are positive, and if there is time and

resources available to address the specific needs of all students. Thus, the general atmosphere

and the needs of the class may precipitate stress and lead to abuse. It is possible that the

classroom and the culture within a school contribute to the stress that precedes teacher abuse.

School culture is discussed next with respect to the causes of stress and subsequent abuse.

     School culture. Interestingly, this study revealed that between 0 and 75% of the teachers

in schools reportedly abused. Social Learning Theory may help to explain these rates. It may be

that witnessing abuse and its benefits, or certainly any lack of repercussions, may entice others to

use similar methods to maintain or establish certain goals (i.e., specific behaviours, interactions,

etc) within the school. It may be that some schools nurture a culture that permits abuse while

other schools do not. Given that abusive behaviours are not necessarily intentional; some

schools may have more teachers who lack appropriate child management skills and ultimately

abuse students. Regardless, the notion that some school cultures promote rather than negate such interactions cannot be discounted.

Research has shown that school-based peer bullying does not always occur in private (Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2005); instead, child and adult bullying frequently occurs around bystanders (Bullying Survey, 2005; Tracy, Lutgen-Sabuandvik, & Alberts, 2006). With respect to peer bullying, research by Pepler and colleagues (Pepler, Craig, Connolly, Uyuile, McMaster, & Jiang, 2006) suggests that those who watch in silence and do not intervene (i.e., passive bystander) in bullying may be inadvertently promoting such negative behaviours. Specifically, the researchers speculated that the bystander provides an audience for the bully, and the bully may interpret the presence of others as nonverbal support for their behaviour. Pepler and Craig (2000) found that 71% of teachers report *usually* intervening in peer bullying episodes; however, only 25% of students reported that teachers do indeed intervene. Additionally, in a study of self-reported school bullies, only half of the bullies acknowledged that a teacher spoke with them about their behaviour (Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2005). These results suggest that teachers are aware of peer bullying, but do not always intervene.

Teacher abuse is likely similar to bullying in that others are aware of the behaviour but are not intervening. Researchers have shown that teachers are aware of their colleagues' negative treatment of students (Twemlow & Fonagy, 2005; Twemlow et al., 2006). A caregiver (i.e., teacher) who is a passive bystander to a student's experience of bullying or abuse is, as noted in the Spectrum (2006), is demonstrating a "failure to act" in a situation that may be putting the child at risk for emotional harm (p. 50). Teachers who are bystanders to their colleagues' abusive behaviour are not only silently encouraging the behaviour, but they are also

culpable. By not intervening when a teacher abuses a student, adults are contributing to a school

culture that supports the mistreatment of students and permits abuse; a permissive culture likely

explains higher rates of abuse in some schools found in this study.

Just as abuse may be a byproduct of a school's culture, so might abuse of teachers by

students. Teachers who are the target of a student's abusive behaviours will no doubt feel stress

and perhaps be at risk to abuse others. Similar to teacher abuse of students, teachers being

bullied by students is known to occur, but is often not reported (Twemlow et al., 2006). Between

4.0% and 57% of teachers report being a target of students' verbal, emotional, or physical

bullying (National Centre for Education Statistics (IES), 2009; OSSTF, 2005; Twemlow et al.,

2006). Specific to physical abuse of teachers, 7.5% of American elementary school teachers

reported being *threatened* with physical harm during 2008 and between 4.5% and 5.7% of

elementary teachers and between 2.1% and 7% of secondary school teachers report actually

being physically attacked by students (IES, 2009; Matsui, 2005). Although detailed statistics are

not available for Ontario's elementary school teachers, US based data reveals that the rates for

physical threats and physical attacks against teachers have remained consistent between 1993

and 2008 (IES, 2009).

A study conducted some years ago revealed that student aggression is an issue faced by

many of Ontario's secondary school teachers (Matsui, 2005). Specifically, this study indicated

that 36% of secondary school teachers reported being bullied by students: of those bullied, 61%

were part-time, and 34% were full-time teachers. In addition, 39% of male teachers and 35% of

female teachers reported being bullied by students; 10% of teachers reported taking time off

work and 53% reported suffering health-related issues as a result of student bullying.

A history of being bullied by students may increase teacher stress and perhaps impact a

teacher's coping abilities. Similarly, a history of childhood abuse may impact current stress as

well as one's ability to cope. A teacher's history of abuse has been linked to teacher abuse of

students. For example, a moderate relationship was found with regards to being an abusive

teacher, the number of students the teacher abused, and being abused as a student in school

(Twemlow et al., 2006). In addition, these same researchers found a moderate relationship

between the number of students the teacher abused and being abused in their classrooms by their

students. The impact of being abused by students likely influences a teacher's sense of

competence and job satisfaction. For those abused by students, this dynamic may add to what is

already a potentially stressful work environment, which may result in stress that some teachers

have difficulty containing.

Teacher's who are targeted by students, who work in a school environment where

negativity is commonplace, or who have colleagues who engage in abuse, may feel heightened

stress. The school's atmosphere may be causing teacher stress, but how a teacher copes with

stress will impact whether or not they abuse. As noted by Wolfe (1999) in his discussion of the

Transitional Model of Abuse, coping styles will impact how a situation is assessed and whether

individuals abuse. Environmental stressors will be assessed differently depending on one's

coping style and variables such as a teacher's history of abuse, and this may determine whether

environmental stressors contribute to abuse. Another factor in a school's environment that is

important to consider is a school's administration. A discussion of administrative support as it

relates to stress and abuse is provided next.

Administration. A lack of administrative support was noted by respondents as one of the

possible explanations for teacher abuse; this could certainly affect a teacher's job satisfaction,

competence, and stress. Since minimal research has been conducted to understand the impact administration has on teacher stress and abuse, a review of research regarding leadership and employee satisfaction outside of the teaching profession will provide a context in which to understand teacher abuse.

A number of investigations have revealed that a work environment that lacks respect and ethical interactions between colleagues have been linked to workers who are less committed to their positions (Bulutlar & Unler 2009), and researchers have determined that those who do not receive supervisory support experience job strain (Seiger & Bettina, 2009). In addition, Mageroy, Lau, Riise, and Moen, (2009) found a linear relationship between supervisor equality and workplace bullying. It was shown that fair leadership and equality were related to less observed bullying. Others have found that job security (Agervold, 2009; Tuckey, Dollard, Hosking, & Winefield, 2009) and visible support (Tuckey et al., 2009) are related to less conflict and fewer incidences of workplace bullying. This research suggests that inadequate leadership is related to workplace bullying. Although much of this literature is on peer vocational bullying, it is applicable to teachers' behaviours.

A lack of administrative support could affect a teacher's job satisfaction and perceived or actual competence. Administration plays a role in why some teachers may feel that they are ineffectual classroom practitioners (Burnard & Laxley, 2000). As noted, teachers who feel, or are, incompetent likely experience increased stress and may be at risk to abuse. Minimal support when addressing the many challenges teachers face may compound pre-existing stressors and impact one's coping abilities. Without administrative support, a teacher who is struggling to cope may resort to, or unintentionally engage in, abuse. Administrative support may be a key determinant when hoping to minimize teacher abuse.

For teacher graduates, their most pressing needs focus on developing classroom management strategies and dealing with disruptive and problematic students (DePaul, 2000). The difficulties inherent in starting in the profession could be alleviated with additional administrative support, which would, in turn, may reduce the likelihood of teacher abuse. School boards that offer highly structured support systems for their staff and provide initiatives for their teachers who are experiencing difficulties in the classroom have a higher degree of success of retaining teachers (Goodwin, 1999). Formalized support programs for new teaching staff have proven to be beneficial for all strategic players in the school environment. Research has revealed that with teacher supports in place, student academic achievement is improved, teacher effectiveness and confidence in the classroom is enhanced, there is observable growth in a teacher's classroom management skills, and teachers report an overall improvement in their sense of accomplishment and job satisfaction (Hammerness, 2000). By addressing the specific needs of new and seasoned teachers, it may be possible to improve teacher competence and satisfaction, reduce a teacher's risk to abuse, and increase the chance that teachers will intervene should they witness a colleague abuse a student. Therefore, the atmosphere developed and nurtured by a school's administrative team may not only effect job satisfaction and performance, but may also minimize a teacher's stress and their potential to abuse.

A school's culture could play a vital role in understanding teacher abuse. Those who are victimized by students, those who are bystanders to their colleague's abusive behaviours, and those who abuse students all contribute to an environment that does little to dissuade such behaviours. School administration has an integral role to play when they ensure that teachers are supported and when they make sure that a school's culture does not promote abuse.

Summary.   Using the Transitional Model to address the causes of abuse provides a basis on which to understand how school-based factors may contribute to teacher stress. If teacher stress is not addressed appropriately, it may lead to abuse. There are a number of school-based issues that are likely to increase a teacher's stress, some of which include the needs and characteristics of students and the school environment. Regardless of the teacher's level of stress, the care-giving role expected of a teacher by society does not, and should not, allow for any form of abuse.   Stress plays a role in potential causes of abuse and, as such, stress must be considered when investigating the etiology of teacher abuse.

Based on evidence presented in this study, and that of other researchers, it is apparent that there are a many potential causes of abuse by teachers. Factors such as a teacher's feelings of competence and satisfaction, as well as the school and classroom environment may singly, or in combination, contribute to feelings of stress that may lead to abuse. The following discussion brings each potential causal factor discussed above together; doing so is necessary when attempting to understand the complicated nature of abuse by teachers.

Muli-Factors as Causal to Child Abuse

An unhealthy classroom dynamic, students not feeling validated, having to manage students with multiple needs, colleagues' negative behaviours, and a lack of administrative support would surely contribute to teacher stress. It may be that each of these factors cause stress and impact a teacher's real or perceived competence and job satisfaction. As noted by this study's participants, the reasons why some teachers abuse their students seem to be related to competence and satisfaction with their job and the plethora of challenges that teachers face on a daily basis. Being able to manage a classroom filled with unique personalities and learning exceptionalities is a daunting task and is compounded when collegial and administrative issues

must also be contended with. Managing children and resolving conflicts in a suitable manner is

a skill that takes years to nurture and develop and may not be taught to the extent that is

necessary in Ontario's Faculties of Education. For example, there has been some question as to

whether those teaching Classroom Management and Special Education classes are as well versed

on the subject matter as they need to be (Burnard & Laxley, 2000). Additionally, the

environmental stressors that may impact teachers are not sufficiently addressed in teacher

training programs.

The relationship between abuse, incompetence, job satisfaction, stress, environment, and

the needs of students may be cyclical in nature as each may affect the other. Teachers who are

seen as less competent by their own students may feel less competent as teachers, which could

adversely impact job satisfaction. Being less competent, and also abusive, would impede the

rapport building that is vital for a healthy student-teacher relationship. As relationships between

teachers and students erode, a teacher may feel less satisfied with their job. Applicable and

implementable teacher strategies to address these complex issues are necessary and have been

outlined in detail in this paper (see Chapter 6, p. 190).   The relationship between teacher abuse

and its many potential causes is a complicated issue; therefore, future investigations must be

conducted to determine whether each of the factors identified in this study are indeed causal of

abuse by teachers and, if so, how?

Research suggests that teacher dissatisfaction has grown since the 1970's (Frase &

Sorenson, 1992; Greabel & Olsen, 1986). The inclusion of new curriculum and assessment

strategies, growing administrative demands, emerging educational technologies, an increasingly

diverse and challenging student population, a lack of professional prestige, additional non-

teaching duties, and a perceived scarcity of teacher support may lead to increased stress for

teachers. Heightened stress levels impact a teacher's ability to effectively teach and manage

their classrooms, which, in turn, may lead to teacher burn out (Marlow & Hierlmeier, 1991).

These conditions nurture negative feelings in a classroom and may be passed on to students

(Bobbit, 1991; Boland & Selby, 1980; Chapman, 1984; Marlow & Hierlmeier, 1991).

As noted, The Transitional Model of Child Abuse (Wolfe, 1999) may be most useful

when attempting to explain teacher abuse. The environment, perceived stressors, and an adult's

personal characteristics all play an integral role when trying to comprehend abuse. The abuse

perpetrated is dependent upon multiple environmental and/or situational factors that may lead to

acts of aggression (Wolfe, 1999). Within this model, the background of the adult (parent or

teacher), along with existing child rearing/classroom management practices, are factored in to

how an adult caregiver responds to perceived environmental stressors. The likelihood of abuse

increases with heightened levels of personal stress combined with an interaction of associated

variables; for teacher, this may include the classroom environment and student needs. Each may

ultimately impact the parent/teacher's behaviour. Low frustration and tolerance levels for adults,

and being isolated from familial/school administrative support, compounds the problem for

caregivers (Wolfe, 1999). Parents and teachers who are inconsistent, inflexible, lack creativity,

and see themselves as inadequate or incompetent in their role (lesson planning/ implementation

for educators) are more likely to abuse the children/students under their care (Wolfe, 1999).

Each of these issues has been highlighted by respondents in this study as well as other

researchers of teachers who abuse.

The Transitional Model also includes compensatory factors and, as such, this model

allows for a discussion of intervention methods that could be used to alleviate abuse. According

to the Model, reduced tolerance for stress and the use of aggression is caused by poor child

management practices, a diminished sense of control, and stressful life events (Wolfe, 1999, p.

69).   Compensatory factors such as a support network, positive colleagues, a healthy working

environment, supportive administration, and knowledge of classroom management techniques

may all help to alleviate stressors (or at least assist in coping with them). A brief discussion of

compensatory measures is provided below. A detailed discussion regarding various

compensatory factors and how they can be utilized by teachers is provided in the next Chapter

(see Teacher Workshop, p. 190).

        Compensatory factors. Compensatory factors are intervention methods used to reduce

the risk that stress will lead to abuse. As previously noted, the various stressors that may

contribute to a teacher engaging in abuse could be compensatory if they are addressed

appropriately. For example, job incompetence and job dissatisfaction were found to be related to

abuse. Feelings of competence and satisfaction may be compensatory against any stress that

leads to abuse; measures to elevate teacher competence and satisfaction must be implemented to

lessen the likelihood that abuse will occur. Similarly, the needs of students could elevate stress

levels that precipitate abuse; however, reducing the stress attributed to planning and managing

students with special requirements may help curtail abuse.

      Acknowledging the relationship between abuse and child behaviours, along with a better

understanding of student maturation, may help address the problem of student abuse. Too often,

teachers who plan curriculum related classroom work for students lack a depth of understanding

and formal training to assist them in implementing age and developmentally appropriate

activities. Banerjee and Horn (2009) note that a student's individual level of development and

learning potential, along with student strengths, interests, and individual needs, must be carefully

factored into lesson planning; not including these requirements may be factors that contribute to heightened student and teacher frustration.

Based on the results of this study, it is clear that various factors contribute to a teacher's stress. These factors must be recognized if abuse is to be reduced. Unfortunately, not all stressors are easily addressed. Compensatory factors that may be difficult to implement could include those required to alter a school's culture. For example, to alleviate teacher stress, administration may be required to enforce specific school rules and to provide support for teachers when addressing the many difficult learning, emotional, and behavioural needs of students. Conversely, there are stressors that teachers could work toward reducing. Additional classroom management and child development training may help teachers apply new strategies to replace those that may have been ineffectual; increased training in new technologies may nurture feelings of job competence; and allowing students to take on a more active role in their learning may reduce students' negative behaviours. Changes in a classroom's dynamic and improved teacher-student interactions may help teachers feel more satisfied and competent. Increased support measures, and fewer stressors, may help prevent teacher abuse. The inclusion of compensatory factors may not immediately reduce all of a teacher's stress, but the benefits of such actions will be experienced with time. With administrative, teacher, and student interventions occurring in a consistent manner, some teachers may not feel stressed to the point where they resort to abuse. The reader is referred to Chapter 6 for a discussion of viable options for changing a classroom's atmosphere, along with strategies on how to implement such suggested changes.

Given that students with learning, emotional, or behavioural issue(s) may be at risk of abuse, it is incumbent upon teachers to receive appropriate training regarding child development

and learning strategies from either Faculties of Education or Additional Qualification courses. If

students are not meeting a teacher's work expectations or are behaving in a developmentally

inappropriate manner that conflict with a teacher's expectations (i.e., questioning information,

expressing curiosity) then teacher frustration may ensue. It is well known that children and

students respond well to less punitive and coercive measures (Skinner, 1974; Wolfe, 1999) and

alternative methods of managing classrooms must be incorporated. To assuage teacher abuse,

increasing classroom management hours as well as a greater focus on child development

programming in Faculties of Education may be beneficial.

Summary. As noted throughout this section of the paper, a variety of theories of abuse

are applicable to many of the factors found to be likely causal in abuse. However, The

Transitional Model incorporates many of those discussed and helps to account for the likely

dynamics between stress and a teacher's abusive behaviours. In addition, The Transitional

Model provides a framework for a discussion of compensatory factors that may be used to assist

in reducing the risk of abuse. Although some compensatory factors, such as altering the role of

school administers, may be difficult, there are a number of issues that can be addressed by

teachers which may help to reduce their own stress. Although more research is required to fully

understand the intricacies of teacher abuse, this study has provided a strong basis upon which to

build.

Teachers who do not fit the transitional model.

Although the Transitional Model is useful and applicable when trying to understand

teacher abuse, not all teachers who abuse students will be captured within this theory. One group

of teachers who may not fit within the models of child abuse outlined are those teachers who

experience pleasure in degrading, demeaning, and humiliating students. Teachers who enjoy

harming others have been referred to as *sadistic bullies* (Twemlow et al., 2006). The power a

teacher has in a classroom is broad in scope and the way in which a teacher conducts him or

herself and interacts with students could be beneficial or detrimental to a child. The vast

majority of teachers use their power and influence in a positive manner. However, there are

teachers who may knowingly and repeatedly abuse their power in the classroom with the intent

of causing student distress. Therefore, any discussion of teachers who abuse must consider that

some consciously and willingly abuse their students, either overtly or covertly. Any professional

teacher who knowingly and repeatedly misuses his/her power with the intent of harming a

student should be viewed as a sadistic individual who enjoys inflicting fear or harm on a child

under their care.

It is possible that some of the teachers discussed in the results are indeed sadistic. For

example, even with other adults present, some very detrimental and abusive behaviour were

demonstrated in the classrooms. A review of the specific examples (see Results, pp. 87 and 102)

indicates that some teachers' behaviours appear to be motivated by embarrassing or harming a

student. Sadistic teachers are those least likely to benefit from any intervention or attempt to

alter their classroom behaviours since their behaviours are possibly not stress induced. If aware

of the impact of their behaviours, sadistic teachers will not be impacted because either they will

not care or will feel satisfaction in meeting their intended goals. Sadistic teachers, who are likely

the vast *minority* of abusive teachers, are potentially the most dangerous and could have the

greatest negative impact on students. There is no way to know whether any of the teachers

reported on were indeed sadistic. Unfortunately, intervention and compensatory initiatives may

not be successful for all teachers.

As noted within the CFSA, child abuse is any behaviour engaged in by a caregiver that is not in the best interests of a child. The following section discusses the impact reported by participants in the study along with links to the impact of victims of parental abuse.

Impact

The impact of teacher abuse may be direct, as in the case of a student who is targeted by an abusive teacher, or indirect, as in the case of a teacher candidate who is present while the abuse occurs. Not surprisingly, both students and pre-service teachers reported a negative impact based on their exposure to abusive teachers.

Male and female pre-service teachers were equally impacted by the abuse they witnessed. Interestingly, the total abuse scores for male and female abusive teachers was not related to pre-service impact scores. Since impact could not be explained by the extent of abuse, it is likely that impact does not increase with more abusive behaviours; instead, simply witnessing a teacher abuse and repeatedly witnessing abuse, regardless of the seriousness, may be sufficient for a negative impact. The impact experienced by pre-service teachers' may result from being exposed to a child being harmed; however, it is possible that witnessing unanticipated dimensions of the teaching profession were also impactful.

Many teachers who are new to the profession experience a radical disconnect between their vision of what constitutes an idealized classroom and their actual in-class experiences. Novice teachers often experience a reality shock when they enter the profession (Veenman, 1984). Along with embarking on a new career, first-year teachers are often appointed to difficult teaching assignments that include problematic students and children who may challenge their authority in the classroom (DePaul, 2000). Up to 30% of new teachers decide to leave the profession because of emotional and physical exhaustion, job disillusionment, a lack of

confidence in their ability to manage a classroom with a wide range of student needs, and a perceived lack of administrative support (DePaul, 2000). Interestingly, the reasons cited here for leaving the profession were also noted in why some teachers abuse. Moreover, in a sample of 1200 teachers, over half of the respondents (53.8%) noted that professional prestige was lower than what they had expected (Marlow & Hierlmeier, 1991). Expectations of the teaching profession may differ from actual experiences for new (as well as seasoned) teachers, which may account for the impact experienced when new teachers witnessed a colleague abuse a student, even once.

It is also possible that the pre-service teachers' response to abuse may have contributed to their impact. The first step for a pre-service teacher with professional concerns in their placement is to speak with their university Faculty Supervisor/Advisor (Nipissing University, 2010). No student was known to have formally reported teacher abuse or misbehaviour to their faculty advisor and, in fact, no such reports have been made over the two years prior to this study (Dr. C. Richardson, Associate Dean, Nipissing University, personal communication, February, 2010). Therefore, although the abusive behaviours were witnessed, none were reported, even though CFSA guidelines stipulate that teachers are required to report cases of abuse, and the OCT states that such behaviours are indeed a form of professional misconduct (CFSA, 1990; OCTA, 1996).

The affect of witnessing teachers' abuse of students is evident. Not only would a new teacher's exposure to such behaviour be distressing, but the realization that teaching, and the requirements of being a teacher, may not be as originally envisioned. Unfortunately, along with the many benefits of the vocation, teachers will be faced with difficult decisions, one of which will be whether or not they report a colleague's

inappropriate behaviour. When deciding whether to proceed with a formal report, pre-service and in-service teachers will ultimately weigh the reasons for, and against, initiating such an action.

      Barriers to reporting. It has been shown that the environment, culture, collegiality, and one's own characteristics are factors likely to contribute to teacher abuse; however, these same issues may impact whether an abusive teacher's colleague(s) chooses to formally report the abuse, or to deal with having knowledge of abuse in another manner. Instead of reporting, pre-service teachers who witnessed teacher abuse decided to distance themselves from the abusive teacher and examined their own practice more carefully. On the other hand, less than half of those who witnessed a teacher's abuse wanted to speak to the teacher, the principal, or the union regarding the incident; however, few did question their decision to continue in the profession. Reasons pre-service teachers remained silent included not knowing their responsibilities, and not wanting to jeopardize potential employment with the school board. It is likely that once a pre-service teacher moves into a contracted teaching position, these same issues will continue to contribute to their silence. Twemlow and colleagues (2006) found that nonabusive teachers avoid the problem and become bystanders for several reasons: teachers fear the strength and possible retaliation of teacher unions, they do not wish to appear to be divisive, they weigh the conflicting loyalties that exist between protecting fellow teachers and ensuring student well-being, they lack knowledge regarding how to respond, and they feel that school administrators are not amenable to discussing the problem (Twemlow et al., 2006). Therefore, issues reported in the pre-service sample were also noted by a group of in-service teachers.

      Fear and internal conflict ensure that pre-service, and likely in-service, teachers do not intervene when witnessing abuse. To remain reluctantly silent, pre- and in- service teachers must

rationalize that their silence is beneficial. The unspoken collusion in teacher abuse will no doubt

heighten the impact of having witnessed a colleague abuse a student. In addition, the culture

within the school environment may discourage those who want to report the abuse. As noted,

lacking knowledge regarding reporting requirements, as well as the environment and school

administration, effect whether or not abuse is reported. Therefore, knowledge and requirements

for reporting must be reinforced and teachers must be reminded of their responsibilities in this

regard.

Strategies must be implemented to encourage, if not ensure, that teachers report their

abusive colleagues. Reducing the barriers to reporting will benefit these efforts. By identifying

and addressing barriers, teachers will likely feel empowered to report incidents of abuse. Little

research exists specific to elementary school based barriers to reporting; however, knowledge in

this area of concern can be gained from research regarding barriers to reporting workplace

aggression. Cunningham, Richardson, and Wheeless (2008) indicated four key predictors as to

whether or not a colleague will disclose wrongdoings of any kind by their peers. Reasons taken

into account when deciding to report a colleague included: the reporter's confidence and

competence level; the prevailing attitudes in the work environment regarding mandated policies;

the perceived receptivity from personnel regarding potentially problematic disclosures; and the

overall participatory culture found within the workplace itself. The researchers described a

participatory culture as the likelihood that ideas, best practices, and pedagogical beliefs are

shared and articulated amongst staff members. Interestingly, just as a building's culture may

contribute to abuse, as noted previously, the culture itself may also contribute to maintaining

silence regarding abuse.

Staff members are more likely to remain silent if there is *not* a history of shared ideas, collegiality, and openness to address issues worthy of meaningful discussion and critical reflection (Cunningham, Richardson, & Wheeless, 2008). The fact that many of the pre-service students may not have known the teachers at their placement, this lack of a shared history did not increase their likelihood to report. On the other hand, it may be that some of the practicum placements for pre-service teachers were in their home towns and perhaps even at schools they attended, which may have affected their decision to not report teacher abuse. As such, it may be reasonable for Faculties of Education to require that a practicum student not complete their placement in a location that they have had a previous connection to. Doing so may assist in encouraging students to come forward and report teacher abuse.

The decision to remain silent is grounded in self-preservation in the workplace. Not surprisingly, researchers have found that acting against a colleague's errors may be inviting strained, and possibly permanently damaged, work relationships (McLain & Keenan, 1999). Therefore, it is no surprise that pre-service teachers noted fearing future employment prospects and not wanting to comment on another's practice as reasons for not disclosing. Attitudinal beliefs regarding school policy also influence whether or not a fellow teacher is willing to report a colleague's behaviours (McLain & Keenan, 1999). If a teacher is not willing to accept the merit of a policy in place, they are less likely to believe that any violation has occurred at all (McLain & Keenan, 1999) and lacking knowledge of policy, which has been found, would surely impact a decision to report. For example, in a sample of teachers, 76% were unaware of whether there was written policy in place which addressed a colleague's actions (Twemlow et al., 2006). Guidelines regarding behaviours that are deemed child abuse must be stressed for both pre- and

in- service teachers. However, even with any knowledge of the policies in place, there still must be a willingness or acceptance on a teacher's part to report professional misconduct.

As certain teacher's behaviours qualify as child abuse, it is important to realize that many teachers believe that they should *not* be mandated to report child abuse (Kenny, 2001a, b); however, others have found that teachers believe that reporting is their responsibility and that all professionals should be required to notify authorities of such behaviours (Hawkins & McCallum, 2001; Rodriguez, 2002). The personal views and knowledge of teachers obviously impacts their decisions, even when a student is in need of protection. Training and education regarding child abuse and reporting requirements must be reinforced for pre- and in- service teachers as well as all adults (i.e., support and custodial staff) working in Ontario's schools.

Another barrier to reporting is that a teacher's behaviours can be seen as ambiguous and open for interpretation (McLain & Keenan, 1999). Discussions between professionals after the fact can be explained away and minimized, thus discouraging a teacher from disclosing another teacher's behaviour.   If a teacher's behaviours did not seem too severe and if the target did not appear adversely affected (which were reasons identified regarding why some teachers do not report their colleagues), then eyewitness accounts could be disregarded or second-guessed. Individuals lacking confidence in their responsibility to report and in what they believe they witnessed they will be less likely to report the behaviours.

As teachers may be faced with having to report suspected abuse, either while on placement or once they move to a contracted position, it is notable that little evidence of the pre- or in-service teachers' confidence in reporting suspected abuse exists.   On the other hand, the issue of identifying and reporting suspected child sexual abuse has garnered considerable attention. In a study of 81 pre-service teachers in Australia, participants reportedly recognized the prevalence

and problem of child sexual abuse and most reported that primary school teachers are important when confronting the issue. However, the majority (i.e., 78%) did not feel confident that they could accurately identify characteristics of child sexual abuse (Goldman, 2007). In addition, the researchers found that many respondents (i.e., 75%) felt unprepared to assume the role of mandatory reporter of child sexual abuse and less than half felt confident in their ability to report evidence of their suspicions of abuse to the principal (Goldman, 2007). It is unknown whether, over time, pre-and in- service teachers' confidence with their duties and obligations to report, aside from the academic requirements, change and if so, in which direction? Clearly, one aspect that may impact whether a teacher reports abuse is their own knowledge and confidence in taking the required action.

There are a variety of reasons why teachers do not report the abusive behaviours of their colleagues. Little research exists regarding the decision making process for teachers when reporting their peers; however, it appears the environment, knowledge, and ones confidence are key factors to address when hoping to increase reporting, or even acknowledging, abuse by teachers. Addressing these barriers will take time and further education; however, a starting point may be better informing teachers of their duty to report and any repercussions should they decide not do so.

Ontario's teachers are govered by legislation (i.e., CFSA, 1990; Education Act, 1990, O.C.T. A., 1996) that clearly stipulate that professionals, such as teachers, are *required* to report any suspected child abuse that may cause a child harm. By definition, a child in Ontario is anyone under age 16 (CFSA, 1990) and this is above the age of Ontario's elementary school students. The degree of certainty required for professionals to report abuse is that they must have *reasonable grounds*, *reason to believe*, *reasonable suspicion*, or *reasonable and probably*

cause that a child is being harmed (CFSA, 1990). With mandated reporting laws in place, it is

concerning that there are so many barriers which discourage a professional to report abuse.

Teachers are in a position to observe common indicators (i.e., behavioural and emotional

extremes) of child abuse and, as has been shown, they may witness various harsh and

unwarranted behaviours against students by their colleagues. The issue of whether a teacher's

behaviours constitute child abuse to the extent that it must be reported upon will be debated;

however, terms such as *degrading*, *berating*, and *intimidating* were used by pre-service

respondents to describe what they witnessed; these descriptors suggest the behaviours were

impactful, and thus abusive. Based on the reports provided, there were many overt examples that

suggest reasonable harm to a child. These incidents should have been reported, at the very least,

to the principal. Providing pre- and in-service teachers with this knowledge, along with

information stressing the fact that a professional's failure to report is a finable offence, may

prompt teachers to overcome some of the aforementioned barriers.

It is apparent that some teachers' behaviours are not appropriate, although it is not known

whether a respondent actually considers these behaviours abusive. Pre-service teachers, through

their training, are conscious of their rights in the classroom as a teacher and the rights of

students, which include being instructed in a safe, nurturing classroom environment built on a

foundation of mutual respect between adult and child (Ministry of Education, 2001). Even with

knowledge of students' rights, some teachers seemingly chose to ignore or rationalize their

silence regarding the behaviours of their colleagues. Distorted notions of teacher collegiality,

workplace harmony, and fear contribute to maintaining a teacher's silence and complicity

regarding teacher abuse.

Teachers and school administration must provide and maintain a Ontario Safeworking environment and teachers are responsible for the well-being of the students under their care (Parkey, Stanford, Vaillancourt, & Stephens, 2009). As well, clear guidelines are in place pertaining to the course of action that a teacher must take if he/she has a colleague whose conduct is unprofessional (see OCTA, 1996). However, there are no measures in place to *ensure* that a colleague's abusive behaviour is reported. Although the teacher's duty to report is known, it is generally discussed with respect to parental child abuse; therefore, many teachers may not consider that a colleague's behaviours may fall into the category for which there is a duty to report.

Reporting abuse. As noted, teachers are mandated to report any suspected child abuse to a Society and not reporting suspected abuse can result in a fine being levied against a teacher (CFSA, 1990). The duty to report includes any suspected abuse by a caregiver. Teachers are caregivers and if warranted, their behaviours must be reported to a Society. As previously noted, the OCT has very clearly outlined that *any* sexual behaviour between a teacher and student *must* be reported directly to a Society (CFSA, 1990, O.C.T., Professional Advisory, 2002). However, aside from sexual behaviours, teachers may not be clear on when, and to whom, they should report a colleague's abuse of a student. Although some adult to child interactions may not be in the child's best interests (and be, by definition, abusive), most will not be at a level that requires reporting to a Society; the same is true of teacher – student interactions. Most of the abusive behaviours engaged in by some teachers will not meet CFSA reporting criteria. In other words teacher abuse of students will qualify as needing intervention, but this intervention does not necessarily require the involvement of a Society. As was found in this study, abuse by teachers is impactful regardless of whether it warrants reporting under the CFSA. Even though the

mistreatment of students by teachers may not be reportable, this does not suggest that it should

be minimized or ignored. There are a number of guidelines that stipulate when and to which

body (i.e., OCT, principal) abuse of a child must be reported. Aside from contacting a Society,

options for a teacher to report on a colleague's negative behaviours include reporting to the OCT,

the principal, or speaking directly with the teacher of concern (OCTA, 1990).

   If a teacher determines this/her colleague's behaviour is not serious enough to report to a

Society (i.e., the child is not in imminent need of protection and is not likely to be severely

impacted), then he/she must determine if the behaviours qualify as professional misconduct, as

outlined by the OCT (O. Reg 437/97).   Conditions outlined by which teachers and principals are

to judge another teacher's conduct include arbitrary terms such as *unfair*, *suitable*, and *lack of*.

Thus, judgment of another's teaching will be done so subjectively and based on one's own

morals, values, and standards with respect to practice and what is perceived to be appropriate

student-teacher interactions. The core beliefs regarding teacher and student parameters may

differ between new teachers, who are still in the process of adapting to a school's environment,

and seasoned teachers, who may have firmly established ideals and practices in the school. A

new teacher will no doubt judge his/her own practice based on what is modeled by other

teachers; new teachers may ultimately wonder if they are not firm enough, not strict enough, or

not skilled enough and thereby not feel qualified to judge another teacher's practice fittingly.

  Teachers may benefit from documentation that outlines the types of behaviours that would

warrant speaking with a teacher of concern, behaviours that must be reported to the principal,

behaviours that should be reported to the OCT, and behaviours reportable to a Society. Such a

document could outline specific behaviours on a continuum with examples and the appropriate

course of action for a teacher to undertake. For example, decisions on reporting suggestions to

assist teachers could include the following format and examples:

Course of Action	Verbal behaviour	Physical Behaviours
Discuss with teacher	- One time occurrences of: name calling, yelling - Entire class or one student targeted	- One time occurrences of: Holding, blocking path Invading student's personal space
Report to principal	- Repeated occurrences of name calling, yelling - Any occurrences of intimidation, berating a specific child	- Repeated occurrences of holding, blocking path
Report to OCT	- Excessive and repeated screaming, berating, humiliation	- Any "hands on" behaviour not meant to protect, used for intimidation or fear

As part of training and re-training initiatives, reviews of cases that have been reported to

the OCT may assist teachers to determine which behaviours must be reported and to whom.

Teachers could be provided both documented and fictional scenarios for which they must decide

the appropriate course of action. For example, the following documented scenario (see

Appendix K) could be provided: If you see a teacher grab a student's coat hood and then proceed

to yell very aggressively in a student's face, how should you address the situation? Variations on

the scenario could also be provided to assist teachers in recognizing their own biases regarding

what is, and what is not, appropriate. For example, in the above, teachers could be asked

whether their decision to report and to whom would differ based on the student's gender, grade,

or functioning (i.e., behavioural or learning difficulties). Some teachers may recognize that they

would speak with the teacher if the student was a male with behavioural difficulties, but would

report to the principal if the student was female and in grade 1.   Similarly, teachers may base

decisions on the gender of their colleagues or on their personal opinions of the teacher (i.e., is the

teacher well liked, is the teacher a good teacher?).   Such inconsistencies in what is considered

acceptable, and personal biases that would influence how a teacher responds, must be

acknowledged and addressed to ensure that all students are treated equitably. As previously

discussed, specific student characteristics and environmental issues may increase the likelihood

that abuse occurs and these factors must be recognized if teachers are expected to intervene to

protect students.

Speaking with a colleague, principal, or reporting to the OCT would no doubt be

intimidating for teachers new to the profession. Moreover, if the complainant's first prescribed

course of action is to approach the teacher they have concerns with, it is likely that new, as well

as seasoned teachers, will avoid this possible confrontation to reduce the potential for being

ostracized, as well as fearing the risk of reprisals, from both the teacher in question and their

peers.

If a teacher has concerns about a colleague, the OCT advises that Dispute Resolution (DR)

can be initiated at the school level (OCT, nd).   According to the Annual Report (OCT, 2008a),

242 complaints were received by the OCT and of those, 26% were submitted by College

members, 31% were submitted by members of the public, and the remaining complaints were

submitted by the Registrar, which are generally the result of a School Board notification (OCT

2008a). Should a complaint be made to the OCT, the Investigation Committee (IC) of the

College Council reviews the complaint to determine whether the review process should continue

(OCTA, 1996, s. 26(1)).   The Investigation Committee decides whether the complaint is with or

without merit, outside the jurisdiction of the College of Teachers, or whether further

investigation is necessary (OCTA, 1996, s. 26(2)). Decisions of the IC may include: 1) dismissing the complaint against the teacher, 2) suggesting other means by which to resolve the dispute (DR), 3) to cautioning or admonishing the teacher in question both in writing and in person, 4) referring the matter to the Discipline Committee for a formal hearing if the information alleges professional misconduct or teacher incompetence, or 5) refer the matter to the Fitness to Practice Committee for a hearing if the information provided suggests that there may be health-related issues affecting the member's ability to teach (OCTA, 1996, s. 26(5)).

Recent statistics indicate that a small percentage of the cases received by the OCT are referred to the OCT Disciplinary Committee (i.e., between 18% – 20% between 1998 and 2008; OCT, 2008a) or the Fitness to Practice Committee (i.e., 1% to 1.8% between 1998 and 2008; OCT, 2008a). Therefore, the vast majority of complaints made against a College member do not result in the teacher's removal from the school. As such, teachers who report to the OCT about their colleague's professional misconduct will continue to work with that member and may be subjected to professional distancing or being ostracized. The possible consequences of reporting will surely impact a teacher's decision regarding whether or not they are willing to document inappropriate behaviour by their colleagues.

Witnessing teacher abuse affects the witness, and although the witness may want to report the abuse to protect the child and to alleviate his/her culpability, there are many barriers and issues that reduce the chance that such a report will be initiated. Once a report is made, either to the principal or to the OCT, those willing to report may be subjected to environmental politics. A number of cases of abuse by teachers have been collected and are presented in Appendix K and, of note, most of those teachers for whom their behaviour was addressed by the

OCT returned to their current teaching position. Therefore, if the complaint is lodged by a colleague, there may be ramifications once the disciplinary decision is finalized.

The results of this study show that adults who witness teacher abuse are impacted. Although witnessing abuse may be important when understanding why some are affected, the fact that an adult did not intervene cannot be discounted in understanding impact issues. Ultimately, if a teacher's abusive behaviours are not addressed, the behaviour will likely continue, ultimately affecting both the adults and the students in a school. The impact on students who were exposed to teacher abuse is discussed next.

Student impact. Along with the impact of pre-service teachers who witness teacher abuse, students are also affected by these behaviours. The responses and details provided by this study's undergraduate respondents regarding their negative experiences with their elementary school teachers indicate that memories of abusive teachers persist into young adulthood. Although the information provided by former elementary students may not accurately represent exactly how they felt at the time of the incident, responses signify that they recall being impacted at the time. In addition, just as causes of teacher abuse are complex, so are the impact issues for students. The gender of the teacher and the victim seem to be important, even though similar impact characteristics were reported between male and female respondents.

To date, little research has been conducted to investigate the impact of being abused by a male compared to a female. Although some research has been undertaken to understand the impact of bullying based on the gender of the recipient and/or bully, little is known of a gender based impact regarding teacher abuse. In this study, the gender of the teacher and student seem to be important in understanding the impact of teacher abuse. Male and female students reported differential affect based on the gender of the abusing teacher. For males, being targeted by at

least one male teacher had the greater impact than only being targeted by females; however, impact for females did not differ based on the gender of the abusive teacher. Therefore, females were impacted by teacher abuse and males were more impacted if the abusive teacher was ever male.

Research indicates that most physically abused children are harmed by their mother alone, by their fathers alone, or by both parents (DHHS, 2005, Trocmé et al., 2001). In addition, 95% of the time, Canadian children are physically abused by at least one relative (Trocmé et al., 2001); therefore, it is not surprising that little research exists regarding the impact of abuse by nonfamily members. In a study of college students (M_{age} 19 years), researchers investigated the impact of childhood physical abuse based on the gender of the parental abuser (Howells & Rosenbaum, 2008). The researchers found that male victims of abuse by their fathers did not differ from nonvictims in reports of aggression or depression; however, female victims of a father's abuse reported more depression as young adults than those not abused. Therefore, impact may certainly differ based on the victim's and abuser's gender. However, the gender based impact for students and teachers may be better understood through the role of the teacher in the student's life.

As noted, opinions regarding whether or not a teacher is considered abusive may indeed hinge on how the teacher is viewed (i.e., are they considered a good teacher?). Impact of teacher abuse could also be linked to a student's beliefs and personal opinions of that teacher. As such, beliefs attributed to male and female teachers could help to explain gender-based impact of teacher abuse. Most elementary teachers are female and most male teachers are in the intermediate grades, it may be a number of years before a child is exposed to male teachers. Male students may look forward to having a male teacher as they may envision similarities with

this role model. If the anticipation of having a male teacher is confounded with their own or

their peers' mistreatment, impact may be two fold. Male student impact may result from the

treatment specifically, but also from feeling disillusioned by a potential role model. Since boys

report similar impact when abused by either a male or female parent (Howells & Rosenbaum,

2008) but differential impact based on gender of the teacher who is abusive, it may be the role

that a male teacher has in a young boy's life that explains why there is greater impact from male

versus female teachers.

   The impact for males who are exposed to a male abusive teacher may be explained by

Mancus (1992) who investigated student opinions of teachers. Compared to female teachers,

male students view male teachers as more academically competent; in addition, boys are more

likely to express nurturing behaviours when they see male teachers demonstrating these

attributes in the classroom (Mancus, 1992). Therefore, the behaviours of the male teacher may

influence opinions and behaviours of male students. Treatment of male students by male teachers

may also influence how the young boy's peers view him. Recent research on class popularity

and peer acceptance has revealed that male victims of bullying have a lower level of acceptance

amongst their male peers (Dijkstra et al., 2010). Although the peer impact of being abused by a

male teacher has not been investigated, it may well be that being the target of a male teacher

effects peer relationships for male students. The treatment of the male teacher and subsequent

treatment of male peers may compound the impact of a boy being the target of a male teacher

who abuses. Therefore, male teachers may have a qualitatively important impact on shaping a

male student's behaviours, opinions, and friendships.

   It is also possible that male teachers who abuse do so in a more aggressive or threatening

manner, particularly to male students. Researchers have revealed that abuse by males is more

severe than abuse by females (Hegar, Zuravin, & Orme, 1994; Rosenthal, 1988). Additionally,

males are more likely to injure male children (Rosenthal, 1988). Therefore, it may not be the

gender of the student and teacher that explains the impact, but rather, the level of aggression that

a male teacher uses against a male student. Further investigation in impact, based on student and

teacher gender is important to fully understand teacher abuse. As this study only investigated

internalizing impact, it is not clear whether gender is also important when understanding

externalizing behaviours of students who are the target of a teacher's abuse.

Male students who were abused by male and female teachers experienced greater impact

compared to males who were abused by male only, or female only, teachers. Again, the female

respondents were equally impacted regardless of whether they were exposed to abuse by one or

both genders. Students abused by both genders may sense that they have no teacher to align

themselves with and a lack of a trusting adult with whom to share their feelings (Ungar et al,

2009). Feeling that there are no trusted adults in the school may also be a reason why students

do not report teacher abuse. Research has shown that many teachers are aware of their

colleagues' abuse of students; the fact that others do not support the student while multiple

teachers abuse them may leave the target feeling isolated. Similar results have been found in

studies of child abuse by parents; those who reported that both parents abused them, or who

witnessed their sibling being abused by both parents, reported more aggression and depression

than those who did not have these experiences (Howells & Rosenbaum, 2008). Challenges to a

male child's beliefs on masculinity may also help to explain impact. Masculinity is represented

and produced through culturally nurtured behaviours such as dominance, control, authority,

strength, toughness, and the willingness and ability to fight (Phillips, 2007). Male students

targeted by multiple teachers, both male and female, may be more impacted if they believe they

should be able to protect themselves and the fact that they cannot alleviate the situation may increase their impact.

Males subjected to teacher abuse appear to differ than females in impact. Impact does not differ for females, who seem to be equally affected regardless of who or how many teachers are abusive. Males, on the other hand, seem to be more affected if the teacher is male or if both male and female teachers are involved. These results could have implications on how student impact is addressed; therefore, further investigations of gender-based impact are warranted. Although the extent of impact seems related to student and teacher gender, many males and females reported similarities in how they were impacted.

In reviewing impact characteristics, it appears that many of the same issues were present for both male and female respondents in this study. A number of respondents recalled fearing attending school and speaking in class because of an abusive teacher. In addition, many students admitted crying, having lower self-esteem, being unwilling to participate, and not enjoying school as a result of their interactions with abusive teachers. Although students reported speaking to family and peers about teacher abuse, many did not feel that significant others understood the situation entirely. In addition, the reluctance among teachers to intervene or report their colleagues' abuse, and the failings of administrators to encourage or support anti-teacher abuse practices, likely also contribute to the impact on students. Additionally, most of the abuse by teachers involved emotional and verbal methods, which could be difficult for students to prove and for some professionals to recognize, all of which could contribute to a lack of suitable interventions.

In order to report abuse by teachers, the victim must recognize that it is occurring. Elementary school students may lack knowledge regarding what defines or constitutes

emotionally abusive behaviour. A lack of understanding may prevent students from disclosing such behaviour and, as such, it is not surprising that emotional abuse by a primary caregiver is a less often reported form of abuse (Ungar et al., 2009). Along with not recognizing abuse, other obstacles that may deter a student from reporting abuse may include: family and cultural values, fear, a lack of confidentiality, perceived negative responses to their disclosure, and just how to appropriately report such incidents (Ungar et al., 2009). These barriers to a student reporting abuse are similar to those noted for teachers regarding why they do not report their colleagues' abuse. The age of the child, the nature of the abusive behaviour, the context in which the abuse is taking place (Ungar et al., 2009) as well as an ability to identify verbal and emotional abuse may all deter a student from disclosing.

Regardless of whether abuse by teachers is reported, it is clear that the impact is tremendous and far reaching: teacher abuse harms the victim as well as witnesses to such acts. There are many reasons that may elucidate why abuse by teachers is not reported; however, these reasons must be addressed to ensure that both colleagues and students feel free and able to notify authorities of any abuse. Overall, the results of this study indicate that teacher abuse has a detrimental impact. It is evident that respondents are affected by the abuse they have endured or witnessed.   Regardless of who is abusing and who the target is, the impact of these behaviours is damaging. This study focused on the impact of those who were the target of the abusive teacher as well as those in the teaching profession who had seen a student being abused. It is likely that students who are not the target, but who witness a peer being abused by a teacher, are also impacted by what they see and by their inability to help the victim. Future research is required to understand the many effects teacher abuse has on all school stakeholders.

Teacher abuse violates the rights of all those in the elementary school system, including students, as well as pre- and in-service teachers. It is important to reiterate that teacher candidates have the right to be mentored in a professional environment where students and teachers are free from harassment and undue stress (Nipissing University, 2010). Similarly, children have the right to attend a school that is free from prejudice or harassment (Ministry of Education, 2001). The results of this study demonstrate that some teachers violate the principles of the Education Act and the Code of Conduct.

Conclusions

This study investigated causes and impact of teacher abuse from adult witnesses (i.e., pre-service teachers) and students (i.e., undergraduates reflecting on their elementary school experiences) experiences. There are teachers who engage in behaviours that qualify as abuse and, unfortunately the behaviours of many of these teachers are not reported. Issues such as the characteristics of the teacher, their skill set, the environment in which they work, and the stressors and demands placed upon them may all intertwine and contribute to, or at least assist to explain why, some teachers abuse. With the likely causes noted, it must be stressed that outlining these in no way justifies or excuses abuse by teachers. Students are impacted, witnesses are impacted, and no doubt the entire school environment suffers when teachers abuse students. This study provides valuable knowledge upon which to consider policy modifications, intervention efforts, and changes to the curriculum for Faculties of Education. By revealing teacher abuse, the issue may be acknowledged and procedures can be implemented to eradicate factors that increase its risks. The following section provides several implications and recommendations that are based on the results of this study.

Implications and Recommendations

There are numerous implications and recommendations that can be based on the outcomes of this and other research on teacher abuse. Several key implications and recommendations are presented below and discussed in some detail; these recommendations may assist to reduce the risk and occurrence of teacher abuse.

Acknowledge that a problem exists.

First and foremost, it is important that the Ontario College of Teachers recognize that some teachers do abuse students, regardless of whether the extent of this abuse warrants reporting to authorities. Teachers and principals may benefit from a Professional Advisory regarding physical and emotional abuse of students, presented in a similar manner to the published advisory regarding sexual abuse (see OCT, 2002). Although exact rates cannot be determined, teachers and administrators must be conscious that colleagues, pre-service teachers, and students are aware of abusive behaviours that occur in schools. Further education regarding the spectrum of abuse, behaviours considered abusive, and consequences, as well as interventions for teachers who engage in any type of abuse, may help reduce teacher abuse.

Annual re-education for teachers on their Duty to Report.

By acknowledging the issue of teacher abuse, teachers and administrators will be reminded of their duty to report abuse. It is recommended that teachers and administrators review legislation regarding their duty to report any known or suspected abuse and remind teachers that this duty is not limited to the behaviours of parents. A discussion of the duty to report to a CAS, as well as reporting professional misconduct, should occur at the beginning of each school year.

A simple training or re-education process may include providing teachers and

administrators with a number of case studies that outline various abusive behaviours that fall

along the spectrum of severity. Training participants would then be required to determine

whether they would report a behaviour and to whom. By requiring an annual review of the Duty

to Report and the guidelines for reporting a colleague's professional misconduct, a level of

standardization in reporting abuse may be achieved while also reminding teachers that their own,

and their colleagues, behaviours are not exempt from being reported.

Evaluating competencies and enhancing teacher accountability.

Alterations to the current Teacher Performance Appraisal, as well as implementing

methods to assess teacher satisfaction, competence, and stress will benefit those at risk for abuse.

Performance appraisal. The Education Act of Ontario stipulates that contracted teachers

receive principal-driven performance evaluations on a 5 year cycle in which they are assessed at

least once during their appointed evaluation year (O. Reg. 99/02, Schedule 1). A teacher's

overall classroom performance is assigned a rating of either *Satisfactory* or *Unsatisfactory* based

on an observation of his/her teaching. Teachers themselves are aware that a one period, one

judge evaluation system is both problematic and limited in its scope (Epstein, 1985). In addition

to observing the teacher for a short period of time, the principal's evaluation is often shaped by a

teacher's additional work in the school (i.e., committees, extracurricular activities for students,

etc.) (Epstein, 1985). The teacher performance appraisal for seasoned professionals currently in

place in Ontario is too narrow in its capacity, excludes important stakeholders in the educational

system, and must be reconfigured in order to authentically assess a teacher's effectiveness in the

classroom. A predetermined principal evaluation period can not accurately capture a teacher's

skill level or their ability to manage a classroom. Principals are mistaken if they assume that the

classrooms behaviours of students and teachers they are privy to on a designated assessment day is typical of the classroom dynamic. What is normally presented by the teacher is a "showcase" lesson which more often than not highlights a teacher's particular subject-matter strength (Epstein, 1985).

To address the deficiency in current evaluation methods, multiple principal visits that assess various subject content and delivery are advisable (Epstein, 1985). Allowing a principal to visit the same classroom several times to assess broader and more comprehensive subject matter may provide a more accurate appraisal of a teacher's instructional and classroom management skills. Principals with greater knowledge of the teacher's performance will be in a better position to identify a teacher at risk to abuse. Principals must know which teacher to offer assistance to regarding professional practice (i.e, lesson planning, classroom management techniques), stress management intervention, and to identify a teacher who does not seem satisfied. Additional support from principals will assist to improve a teacher's job performance and subsequent feelings of job satisfaction. The added principal responsibilities in this proposed teacher evaluation model, and the required follow-up discussions regarding planning, classroom management, coping with student difficulties and exceptionalities, and addressing stressors may help reduce the likelihood that teachers will abuse.

Stakeholder input. As of 2002, the Education Act mandates that parental and student input in teacher assessment be included for "those parents, pupils and teachers who are interested" (O. Reg. 99/02 5(1)). According to this regulation, it is incumbent upon individual school boards in Ontario to develop such surveys with applicable input from school councils, principals, special education advisory committees, parents, students and teachers. Parents and students are integral stakeholders in the education system and both must be considered in the evaluation of a teacher's

success in the classroom. More importantly, parents and students can reflect upon a teacher's treatment of students and help determine if teachers are treating students fairly, equitably, and with respect (Peterson et al., 2005). Having multiple judges consulted for a teacher's evaluation may help assess teaching practices that are important to student learning, development, and their well-being (Epstein, 1985). The input from a multiple judge perspective may help identify *at risk teachers* who require remediation and additional classroom support. Having data from principals, parents/guardians, and students will offer administrators a more valid and reliable measure of teacher effectiveness and may help principals provide the needed administrative support teachers in Ontario require (Leithwood, 2006).

It is also advisable to include teacher satisfaction surveys as part of a teacher's performance appraisal, or as an annual method through which to identify teachers who may be at risk. A simple, yet effective, survey that reflects a teacher's satisfaction with their position in the school, the administrative support they may or may not be receiving, areas of professional concern, classroom management needs, feelings of competence and confidence, and stress or stressors related to the workplace may help school administrators identify those who may be at risk and allow for proactive support to be implemented. Such a survey may help bolster a teacher's morale and job satisfaction, encourage workplace collegiality, improve working conditions for all school stakeholders and, more importantly, may lessen the likelihood that teachers resort to abuse. Rethinking a teacher's performance evaluation, including the voices of all school participants in the evaluation process, and encouraging teachers to critically reflect upon their role as a primary caregiver for students will surely provide teachers with the necessary ways and means in which to help their students and themselves.

Changing the manner in which teachers are evaluated and incorporating methods to identify those at risk may curtail some of a teacher's negative behaviours toward students. However, for these methods to be effective, administrators must ensure that they are supportive and that the information ascertained will be used to assist teachers. Additionally, principals and school administration must be more visible in their schools. Teachers may be less likely to abuse their students when they feel that a member of the administrative team is either close by or will be making an unscheduled stop in their classroom. Taking away the agreed upon time of a teacher's appraisal and having an impromptu visit by a principal may provide an assessor a better opportunity to genuinely evaluate a teacher's effectiveness. Similarly, parents must be informed of their rights regarding classroom visits (via an open house, curriculum night, newsletter, etc.) and begin to have greater access to their child's classroom.

Opening doors that have traditionally been closed may prove to be an invaluable measure when attempting to address the problematic issue of teacher abuse of students in Ontario's classrooms. Along with altering teacher evaluation protocols, supporting teachers and students in shifting classroom dynamics will help minimize teacher abuse.

Support for teachers.

A number of issues were reported that may impact whether or not a teacher uses abuses. Teachers who are experiencing stress due to a lack of administrative support and are not feeling competent or satisfied may be at risk to abuse. Supports should be implemented to reduce the stressors that could result in abuse.

Administrative support regarding student's whose behaviours are causing a teacher undue stress or dissatisfaction will benefit educators. Clearly defined student consequences for any violation of the Code of Conduct must consistently be enforced to protect both students and staff.

Having safeguards in place may help a teacher better manage his or her classroom and improve

job satisfaction and competence. As discussed above, encouraging teacher feedback via a

satisfaction survey may help identify issues in which teachers do not feel supported, or where

additional administrative measures are required. A lack of support and inconsistency in

implementing rules and consequences could leave a teacher feeling incompetent, dissatisfied, or

both.

      Mentors. Each school in Ontario has a chosen Health and Safety Officer who oversees

classroom work conditions and ensures that they meet provincially mandated standards; in

addition, each school has a Union Representative that guarantees that a teacher's rights are

protected. Along with these positions already in place, additional measures that could benefit the

school environment would be to include a trained teacher to act as a counsellor (McEachern,

2008) or teacher mentor. Although new teachers to the profession are automatically assigned a

mentor for up to two years (Ministry of Education, 2007), no such person exists for experienced

teachers. Since the average abusive teacher was at an age suggestive of many years in teaching,

a nonjudgmental supporter may be beneficial for seasoned teachers. The teacher mentor could

assist with lesson planning for those struggling with new curriculum demands (i.e.,

implementation of new technologies) and classroom management strategies for those challenged

by the needs and characteristics of students. Mentors could help mediate between parents,

teachers, and school administrators when problems arise, impress upon all parties involved the

need to fairly and equitably implement appropriate problem solving techniques, help and

reinforce a teacher's and a students' rights in the classroom. A trained teacher mentor could also

help teachers understand the implications of teacher abuse, aid in education regarding the legal

parameters of abuse and the laws that pertain to it, support teachers to understand the short- and

long-term impact of teacher abuse, and be involved in devising and implementing appropriate

coping strategies to proactively curtail negative teacher behaviours (McEachern, 2008). A

trained mentor to may help colleagues in a confidential manner and could assist to bolster a

teacher's job performance and improve their interactions with students.

     Managing stress. Stress, and more importantly a teacher's ability to cope with stress, are

likely key reasons why some teachers abuse. Along with supporting teachers when managing

students and implementing appropriate coping strategies, school administration should

acknowledge and address the issue of teacher stress. Teachers who are experiencing stress

exhibit many of the characteristics of poor job performance – dissatisfaction and competence –

as seen with increased absenteeism, poor classroom performance, less sympathy toward students,

less commitment to their jobs, lower tolerance for disruptions in the classroom, and being less

productive (Blasé & Greenfield, 1985; Farber & Miller, 1981). Therefore, addressing this

problem is one of the many necessary steps required when improving a teacher's mental health,

career perspective, job satisfaction, and their ability to manage and coexist with students.

Teachers must be educated about, and willing to accept, the help available to them should they

feel that they are not coping with the stressors inherent in their profession. Teachers at risk often

feel vulnerable, but are reluctant to seek outside agency assistance for fear they will appear to be

weak or incompetent classroom managers (Lee, 2006). A shift in perspective is required and

teachers must view obtaining support as an investment in themselves and in their students. It

may be helpful to establish an anonymous help line specifically for teachers as a place where to

discuss professional problems with another qualified teacher who is trained and able to assist in

developing coping strategies. Support with lesson implementation strategies, classroom

management techniques, and measures to reduce stress from a fellow teacher may provide much

needed assistance for those not willing to seek public assistance. Support must be provided to

teachers who may be at risk or who are at risk; additionally preventative measure to combat the

impact of stressors may lessen, and indeed prevent, teacher abuse.   Supports for students may

help them cope with teacher abuse.

   Student supports and knowledge. Supports must be in place for students who experience

or feel that their teacher has engaged in abuse. Apple (1975) suggests that students may benefit

from a Student Ombudsman whose role is to deal with concern from fellow students. A

respected upper level student could assume the role of Student Ombudsman and help mediate

and resolve student-teacher conflicts in a responsible manner. The Student Ombudsman could

work with a Teacher Mentor to ensure that abusive teachers, as well as defiant students, address

their negative behaviours.

   Just as ensuring that teachers have knowledge of issues pertinent to their profession (i.e.,

child development, classroom management, stress management, teacher rights and student rights

etc.), elementary school stakeholders must also be aware of the important legislation in place and

their rights in the classroom. By informing parents and students of their rights, while ensuring

that students are familiar with the rights of teachers, there will be increased knowledge of when

rights are being infringed upon and when supports must be introduced.

   It is recommended that classroom time be scheduled to include a discussion or lesson

outlining the: 1) United Nations Charter of Rights and Freedoms for Children, 2) the rights of

students in Ontario, and 3) the rights of teachers. Information regarding the duty of teachers to

report suspected abuse and the protocol that will be followed regarding such allegations should

also be shared with students. Ensuring that students are aware that they must be protected,

regardless of who is harming them (i.e., peers or caregivers, with clear stipulation that teacher's

fall into the category of a caregiver) is essential. It is also recommended that teachers work with students to make certain that they are aware of their rights. In addition, teachers can also ensure that students are aware of their peers and their teachers' rights. Teaching students about self-advocacy is important (McEachern, 2008) and ensuring students' understand their own and the right of others they will be in a better position to advocate.

Implementing a democratic classroom.

It was evident from this study's results that practitioner competence and job satisfaction are strongly related to teacher abuse. As noted, abusive teachers openly complained about their jobs and working conditions, were defensive about their teaching style, appeared to have difficulty with the curriculum or subject content, and did not vary their instructional strategies to meet the differential needs of students. Capturing and maintaining student interest with lesson delivery, as well as being poorly organized, were reported as challenges faced by abusive teachers. Students who are frustrated that their needs are not being met and that their interests are not being tapped into, may engage in negative behaviour out of frustration; a student's frustration, paired with a teachers dissatisfaction, may result in teacher stress and feelings of incompetence, which may lead to abuse.

A student's attitude and behaviours in the classroom (e.g., frequent disruptions, challenges, defiance) may be the product of having little or no say regarding what happens to them throughout the course of a school day (Kohn, 1993). A democratic classroom is on in which students' interests are heard and integrated. Ultimately, a teacher decides how to best run a classroom and instruct, but by tapping into the interests of students the teacher may make lessons and learning more meaningful to students. Once students are more engaged and interested, teachers will feel more competent and satisfied which may, in turn, reduce abuse.

The following chapter (Chapter 6, p. 190) presents a workshop designed to provide teachers with pertinent information on the democratic classroom and provides practical methods through which to implement the model.

       Summary.

       The recommendations outlined are suggested as a means of combating teacher abuse. By first acknowledging that some teachers do abuse students, it is likely that true rates will become known and the extent of the problem revealed. A better understanding of the extent and causes of teacher abuse will allow for the implementation of proactive strategies and policy alterations in an attempt to address the problem.

Conclusions

       The results from this study indicate that abuse by teachers in elementary schools in Ontario is a problem that affects those who witness it. A number of recommendations have been presented based on the implications of this work. Continued research into the nature and impact of teacher abuse in Canada will shed light on a too-often ignored problem in our classrooms. Taking a closer and more critically reflective look at the teacher-student dynamic may not only ensure that students and their rights are protected and safeguarded, but it may also open the door for at-risk teachers to receive the support they require to improve their stress levels, job competence, and satisfaction.

       More importantly, an atmosphere of open dialogue between colleagues regarding best practices and strategies could evolve to reduce the risk that teachers who are experiencing difficulties with stress succumb to it. Students, unfortunately, are often on the receiving end of a teacher's frustration. Colleagues who observe abuse of students are drawn into a state of being passive bystanders, as fear and condemnation prove to be deterrents for not intervening on a

student's behalf. A greater sense of awareness of the problem, and the appropriate means in

which to address teacher abuse, may prevent some of the suffering too many students and

teachers endure. The teacher workshop provided includes applicable suggestions that may prove

to be beneficial when attempting to combat abuse.

Limitations

This study was an important step towards understanding the negative behaviours

perpetrated on students by some teachers; in addition, this study provides further knowledge

regarding the impact of a teacher's abuse on both the targets and observers of the behaviour.

Although the results of the study are informative, it is important to note that a study of this nature

also has a number of key limitations, which may affect the interpretation of the results.

Statistics used in this investigation are similar (i.e., descriptive and nonparametric) to

those reported in previous studies of this topic. Although I have not applied a uniquely

integrated statistical design, I have attempted to complete this work with statistical rigor. I have

drawn on a number of important studies to understand the trends and patterns regarding abuse of

students by teachers; I believe that my research has added to the growing evidence of teacher

abuse and I hope this work stimulates further investigation and integration of current and future

evidence.

The major limitation of this study is the reliance on the memories of the respondents.

Both teacher candidates and university students were required to recall instances of teacher

abuse. For the pre-service teachers, the incidences reported on were witnessed several months

prior to completing the questionnaire; however, for the university students, they were asked to

recall their elementary teachers' behaviours which would have been, for many, over four years

prior to completing the questionnaire. Many issues have been noted with respect to memory and

recall, all of which may have impacted the information provided by the participants. For

participants to recall specific incidences of teacher abuse, they would have needed to access

information encoded into their long-term memory. Information stored in long-term memory

depends on details that a person originally paid attention to, as well as the information encoded

from short- into long- term memory (Wade, Tavris, Saucier, & Elias, 2006). Retrieval of

memories regarding witnessing or experiencing teacher abuse would require participants to use

recall memory (i.e., reporting the details of a prior event or circumstance) (Wade et al., 2006).

There are concerns with relying on the accuracy of reports based on recall memory, which may

have affected the results. For example, the Misinformation Acceptance Hypothesis (McCloskey

& Zaragoza, 1985) postulates that witnesses guess answers to please the questioner and in this

case, the participants may have chosen to report instances of abuse to meet the needs of the

researcher. The Source Misattribution Hypothesis (Lindsay, 1994) states that individuals

maintain both accurate and inaccurate memories of an event and when questioned choose the

inaccurate one, suggesting that respondents in this study may have an accurate memory of the

abuse events but may not have relied on these to respond to the questionnaire. A third memory

hypothesis that must be considered is that of memory impairment (Loftus, 1979). The theory

postulates that a new memory replaces an old one, thus not allowing the original memory to be

accessed. Memory impairment suggests that participants may not have accurately recalled the

events that led to a teacher being described as an abuser (i.e., bully). Although these issues with

memory must be considered, it is important to remember that there was considerable agreement

between the pre-service teachers on what they witnessed within the past few months and with

what the university students reported experiencing years earlier.

Another limitation of this study is regarding the appropriateness of having a lower status individual report on the behaviours of their superior and, in this case, pre-service teachers reporting on their Associate Teacher's behaviour. Of note is whether a pre-service teacher is qualified to assess a certified teacher's job performance (i.e., job satisfaction and teacher competence), let alone be objective in their opinions of an AT's performance. Having said this, the presence of a student teacher could have compromised the authenticity of the AT's behaviours and incidents of teacher abuse may have been curtailed. It is also possible that the stress of being observed exacerbated abusive behaviours. Although the similarities in responses between the two samples suggest that the results are valid, there is always legitimate concern when memory and objectivity intertwine in the recall of events.

Along with the questions of accuracy in the recall of the events considered to be abusive, questions regarding the accuracy of reported impact from witnessing or being abused must be noted. Again, university students recalled the impact at the time of being abused by a teacher and many of the same issues discussed above may have affected their responses. For example, asking respondents to reflect upon how they felt at the time of the abuse relies on accurate memory and recall; therefore, although they may recall the incident as having a negative impact, respondents may not have accurately recalled the details of the impact (i.e., wanting to stay home from school, etc.). Similarly, for pre-service teachers who reported impact from witnessing abuse of a student, it is possible that they had not actually considered how these events affected them until they completed the questionnaire. Therefore, it is possible that participating in this study triggered thoughts of impact, which may not necessarily have been present at time of the abusive event.

The questionnaire required participants to discuss and reflect on two categories of

teachers: those who do and do not *bully* their students. It is possible that a number of teachers

were recalled as not fitting clearly into one of the two categories; therefore, the behaviours of a

segment of the teaching population may not have been reflected upon, or not accurately reflected

upon, in this study. For example, it may be that those teachers who did not fit a category were

dismissed when recalling the characteristics of abusive (i.e., bullying) and nonabusive (i.e.,

nonbullying) teachers. Conversely, some participants may have forced one of the categories on

teachers who did not logically fit into either group. For example, as noted in the results, even the

nonabusing teachers did engage, albeit to a lesser extent, in some of the behaviours investigated

suggesting that the behaviours they engaged in did not warrant being viewed or categorized as an

abusive teacher. Therefore, perhaps a third group option would have been useful to capture the

behaviours of teachers who were not considered to fall into a strict category of *bully*, but for

whom the *nonbully* category did not seem appropriate (i.e., a group to represent those teachers

that the respondent was not sure where they would fit).   Regardless of how the participant acted

on their recollections of teachers who could not be categorized, this issue may have influenced

the interpretation of the results since some of those teachers considered when reporting on

nonabusing teacher behaviours may actually have been abusive by definition. With that said, the

definition and, in fact, using the term bullying must be considered when interpreting the results.

The definition of teacher abuse (i.e., bullying in the questionnaire) provided to

participants (see Appendix C for the definition on the questionnaire) included a statement

indicating that bullying was defined as teachers using measures against students that were

"beyond what would be a reasonable disciplinary procedure." By not operationally defining

what is meant by the term *reasonable* necessitates that respondents must determine for

themselves whether or not certain behaviours or procedures were reasonable. As noted above, the subjective beliefs and experiences of each respondent will have influenced their responses and each may have a differing interpretation of what is *reasonable*.   Prior to their participation, teacher candidates received the same courses, background preparation, and legislation as to what is considered acceptable teaching practice. Given the similarity in background preparation, it would seem that pre-service teachers should interpret similar situations in a consistent manner; however, personal biases and experiences cannot be discounted and it may be that behaviours interpreted by one teacher candidate as *unreasonable* would be considered *reasonable* by another. Similarly, for the university students, what is *reasonable* to one may differ significantly from what another considers reasonable.

Examples of behaviours considered abusive (i.e., bulling in the questionnaire) were provided below the definition, to aid the respondent in identifying circumstances under which a behaviour would be considered unreasonable (i.e., frequent, unnecessary, unfair, harsh, overly, and unrealistic). Again, it is important to note the potential for discrepancy in interpretation and judgment between respondents as to whether the behaviour was indeed unfair or frequent. Provided descriptors included terms such as a *repeated act*, *intentional*, and *harmful* and without an operational definition of these terms, the interpretation regarding whether behaviour fits the criteria relies upon those responding to such issues. For example, using the requirement of *a repeated act* could constitute for some that the behaviour must occur at least daily, but for others it may have needed to happen on at least more than one occasion. Consideration as to the ambiguity and potentiality for subjective interpretation must occur, not only in this study, but also with respect to any study utilizing personal reflections when assessing abuse.

Although the respondents' subjectivity as to what constitutes abuse cannot be discounted, the similarities in responses between what the teacher candidates witnessed and what the university students recalled, as well as between male and female respondents in both groups, suggests that there was consistency, or at least similarity, in the opinions of what constitutes *bullying* by teachers. With respect to the choice of terminology, the definition of bullying, if applied to an adult in a care giving role would constitute abuse. Therefore, it is the belief of the researcher that deciding to use the term *bullying* rather than *abuse* allowed for an accurate view of both more and less severe abusive behaviours and did not dissuade participants who may have been concerned about reporting on teacher abuse. That said, it is probable that differing results would have been found had participants been asked to report on teacher abuse. The term abuse conjures extreme behaviours; therefore, behaviours at the nonreportable end of the continuum may not have been provided. Therefore, between reluctance to participate and biased views on what abuse is, the results of a study investigating teacher abuse may have revealed far less information than the current study of teacher bullying.

In an attempt to explore the rates of teacher abuse, participants recalled how many teachers were *bullies* and how many teachers taught in the schools. The results indicated that less than 12% of teachers engaged in abusive behaviour; however, this information may not be reliable due to the exploratory nature of the study. As noted with the issues of memory and recall, participants may not be accurately recalling how many teachers were in the school, how many were abusive, how many others would agree they were abusive, and whether the teachers' behaviours would be seen as abusive by experts. The treatment received from various caregivers (i.e., parents, older siblings, extended family, etc.) may have impacted not only memories, but also the respondents' personal impact as well as their definitions of caregiver behaviours that are

reasonable, unrealistic, and so on. Regardless of whether the respondent was a teacher candidate or university student, if they had a caregiver who was abusive, neglectful, or absent, this may have impacted their own views on how they deserve to be treated or their subsequent interpretation of their treatment by their teachers. As with all research of this nature, the mood of the respondent at the time of participation may have influenced how carefully and accurately they answered questions.

Participation in the study was voluntary and, prior to agreeing to participate, all potential participants received detailed information about the study and the content of the questionnaire. Therefore, those who agreed to participate and their responses provided may not reflect the experiences of those choosing not to participate. In addition, all participants were either in a first year university program or in a Faculty of Education (i.e., had completed an undergraduate degree) in northern Ontario. Therefore, it is likely that the experiences of the participants do not reflect those same-aged individuals who are not attending university or who are attending urban universities. The majority of participants were female, which poses the question regarding how accurate the reflection of the male experience is. Even though there were no differences between male and female respondents for most areas investigated, the impact of having fewer males is important to consider.

Finally, the cross-sectional design of the study allowed for exploration of relationships and group differences; the utility of the results are limited in the type of information collected. For example, the relationship between job performance and abuse does not shed light on whether one of these factors is causing the other, but simply indicates that both are occurring. Therefore, the results do not provide insight into causes of teacher abuse; they simply highlight areas related to abuse. The benefit of this study was, however, the identification of factors such as job

performance, learning disabilities, and competence that are worthy of investigation in a more time consuming and costly longitudinal study designed to identify teachers at risk to abuse.

Future research

To fully understand the dynamics of elementary teachers' abuse and its impact, investigators must assess experiences of current elementary school students. Investigating abusive behaviours very close to the time that they occur will alleviate some of the issues inherent in research relying on memory. However, such a study would be very difficult to conduct as teachers, parents, school boards, administration, and the students must all consent to an investigation. In addition, a study of this nature, although valuable, still relies on the students' interpretation of a teachers' behaviours. To eliminate the issues inherent in a self-report methodology, observation of teachers' behaviours by trained personnel would provide valuable information on abuse in the elementary school system. Observations of the same classroom behaviours coded by more than one trained observer (i.e., interrater agreement) would assist when attempting to accurately identify and describe how, when, where, and why teachers abuse. However, as noted in the limitations, the behaviours of teachers under observation may differ and information collected may not actually reflect their typical manner. No matter how a study at the time of abuse occurs, there will always be questions as to its validity and reliability. Nevertheless, these limitations do not detract from the need for such an investigation.

Although abuse is highly related to job competence, no evidence exists to indicate that competence is causing teachers to abuse; therefore, a longitudinal study to determine whether competence precedes abuse is necessary as a cross-sectional study cannot answer this question. A longitudinal study following teachers from pre-service through their teaching careers would be ideal. As this study found a strong relationship between job competence and abuse, continued

assessment of competence would indicate whether competence changes over time, which would provide valuable insight into the role of competence in abuse. For example, by continually assessing competence and abusive behaviours, it is possible to determine 1) the level of competence that is detrimental, 2) if there is a period in which competence changes and when abuse starts, and 3) whether abuse is always present or if the degree of abuse changes over time.

In addition, a longitudinal study following students who have and have not been the target of teacher abuse would provide insight into both the short- and long- term impact of abuse. As noted, this study investigated only recalled memories of impact.   Researchers must investigate the impact of teacher abuse to determine whether there are differences in abuse for those who do and do not attend university, whether teacher abuse predicts school dropout, as well as how emotionally affected targets of teacher abuse are. It is possible that being abused by a teacher, or having an exceptionally negative experience with teachers during elementary school may be a causal factor in why some individuals either choose not to attend, or do not feel confident in their academic abilities to pursue higher education.

Future investigations into teacher abuse must include information from actual elementary students, pre-service teachers, in-service teachers, educational assistants, special education and other resource support staff, parents, in-class volunteers, and principals for a comprehensive investigation of teacher abuse. As has been noted, it is important to have information about 1) the behaviours and characteristics of teachers considered abusive, 2) personal experiences of all those who witness a teacher abuse a student, 3) why there is resistance from teachers to report a peer who is abusive, and 4) the measures that are taken once an abusive teacher is reported. It would be invaluable to question principals regarding whether they have, or have not,

encountered teacher abuse and how they responded to it. Equally important is research to

explore the support needed to alleviate stressors in the profession.

Further investigation into the history and characteristics of abusive teachers is important.

Issues such as the number of years teaching, gender, age, the grade taught, class size, complexion

of class, requirements of the job, and administrative support must all be investigated to determine

whether these factors do indeed increase the likelihood that a teacher will abuse. It is also

important to include consideration of the views of teachers when investigating why they abuse

students. For example, it may be that teachers feel their role in the classroom has changed from

being purely academic to one in which they must assume parental responsibilities. This may

account for feelings of overwhelming stress and less satisfaction and competence with the

profession. In addition, teachers who abuse may have previously experienced a lack of respect

or support from parents, peers, administrators, and students, which may have increased their

stress and thus their risk to abuse. Further exploration of these issues is necessary before teacher

abuse of students can be fully understood.

Culture is an area requiring additional investigation when attempting to comprehend

teacher abuse. The teachers' cultural background may influence their interpretation of student

behaviours and the culture of the student may influence their analysis of a teacher's behaviour.

Students and a teacher's expectations derive from cultural beliefs and these affect opinions on

what is tolerated and acceptable behaviour; thus, culture should be included in studies of teacher

abuse. Along with culture, examination of specific student disabilities, as well as their sexuality,

would indicate whether these factors explain who teachers target. It is also important to

investigate if methods of abuse differ based on which student is targeted. If speculation about a

child's sexuality is a causal factor in being targeted, then it is important to determine whether

abuse toward that child is specific to sexuality (i.e., derogatory comments). For example, research regarding the treatment gays and lesbians receive from teachers may effectively expand the research to encompass problems that have plagued these individuals, and other minority groups, for generations.

A school's culture may encourage or dissuade teacher abuse. Therefore, a comparison of rates of abuse between various schools and school boards would aid in identifying policy and practices that alter, or impact, teachers' behaviours. An investigation into administrative support, administrative involvement, accountability practices, teachers' awareness of educational legislation, the requirements for implementing legislation, peer collaboration, and the availability of professional growth opportunities that addresses teacher concerns would determine whether specific school or school board issues encourage, or do not dissuade, teacher abuse. Research on school culture and teacher abuse will allow for policy and practice changes to be implemented where they are required.

Additional research exploring areas into other noncustodial caregivers would be of value. For example, coaches who abuse children under their care is worthy of exploration. Also, initiation rites and hazing rituals that are commonplace in adolescent and adult sports may draw appropriate comparisons to the results from this study. It is also important to investigate school sports and other extracurricular activities as abusive behaviours may also be an issue.

Evidence has been presented regarding the need to alter current teaching practices in order to reduce stress and abuse by teachers. Although there were a number of limitations to this study, the information gleaned is valuable. As noted, future research is necessary to truly understand the nature of teachers' abuse. A way to move forward is to rethink the training of teachers and re-educate teachers on best teaching practices. The following chapters will present

a detailed examination of power and curriculum in the classroom and reflect on how such beliefs

may be best utilized to reshape the classroom dynamic.

Chapter 6

Workshop for Teachers

Power and Curriculum: Engaging all Classroom Stakeholders in Program Planning,

Implementation, and Evaluation

The following workshop has been developed to address the recommendations regarding needed supports for teachers and to implement classrooms modeled on the principles of democracy (see Recommendations pp. 173-177). Both of these recommendations were specific to addressing increasing levels of stress teachers feel in the classroom. Teacher stress has been linked to teacher abuse with stressors such as student behaviours, job satisfaction, and teacher competence. Ultimately, by alleviating some of the stressors, teacher may be less likely to resort to abusive behaviours. Changes to the classroom environment, the ways in which students and teachers interact, and a reconceptualization of curriculum implementation may all be important to reducing teacher stress and are addressed in this chapter.

The overriding goal of this chapter is to provide an intervention program for teachers who may use, or may be employing, abusive behaviour against students. The discussion in this workshop is based on the results of this study, as well as existing evidence, regarding teacher abuse of students. A key objective of this workshop is to encourage the establishment of a democratic classroom by providing teachers with strategies to reshape the roles that they and their students have assumed. It is recommended that all teachers, both those new to the profession and experienced professionals, become familiar with the strategies discussed in this chapter. Based on the current study and existing evidence, it is clear there is not one specific typology of teacher who abuses students. Therefore, there may be varying levels of risk for teachers who may abuse their students.

The measures and suggestions made in this chapter, as well as the proposed changes in pedagogy, are not meant to condemn teachers. Instead, the intention of this workshop is to recognize that teacher abuse of students exists in Ontario and to suggest applicable solutions to the problem. Ignoring the fact that some teachers engage in abuse – which is often *hidden* behind closed classroom doors – is not acceptable. The complex and multilayered problem of abusive behaviour by teachers must be examined in an open, honest, and forthright manner. Addressing the problem directly may help those who require additional support (i.e., teachers who abuse students, witnesses to abuse, teachers who may be at risk to use abuse) and will improve the working environment for all.

An examination of the traditional power bases held in a classroom will be disseminated and critiqued in order to formulate the tenets of a democratic classroom. It will be shown that altering a teacher's behaviours may be an effective approach to undertake in a modern and progressive classroom. The notion of democratic classroom (i.e., the recognition of a child's and a teacher's rights in the classroom) will be discussed within the guiding parameters of Ontario's Provincial Code of Conduct. It is important to recognize that the developmental stage and age of student in the classroom as well as the characteristics of students must be considered when determining how a democratic classroom will be implemented. For example, the number and complexity of the choices presented to student will differ based on grade. Curriculum implementation strategies will be provided to encourage teachers to interact with students in a manner that will be mutually satisfying. Ideally, the strategies suggested should help alleviate some of the negative behaviours found in the study. How to make the transition from theory to practice, and the positive effects the democratic classroom environment will have on a teacher's

work are discussed. The rights of teachers and students will be reviewed along with providing

suggestions for alleviating teacher burnout and appropriately managing stress.

In addition, details regarding how to employ some of the suggested changes to the

classroom environment are provided. A workshop instructor could provide the lesson ideas

included here. It is recommended that teachers complete each of these lessons prior to them

being introduced to their classes. Preparation for each lesson will help a teacher to identify the

issues that must be addressed to ensure that each aspect is integrated. By anticipating student

responses and having predetermined the content that must be included, teachers will be in a

better position to guide their students. Preparation will allow the teacher to add to, or shape,

student responses in order to meet the desired lesson objectives.

It is important to note that the strategies discussed in this chapter need not be thrust upon

teachers as a perceived additional work requirement, instead the practices suggested should be

modeled to teachers via an open format. The following will be a discussion of the various

strategies that may assist to alleviate a teacher's feelings of incompetence and dissatisfaction;

this background information will be followed by a discussion of how to implement such changes

in the classroom.

Establishing a Democratic Classroom

Traditional power bases in the classroom

Background. For centuries, schools have been marked by a basic and definable

delineation between the powerful (i.e., teachers) and the powerless (i.e., students) (Giroux,

Penna, & Pinar, 1981). Students in a conventional classroom environment are encouraged to

remain silent, obedient, and subservient. In the conventional classroom, the ability to control a

child's behaviour was a key indicator of a successful teacher; maintaining rigid control in the

classroom was viewed as an essential teaching skill (Connell, 1985; Giroux, 1985). In the time-honored classroom, control, and not authentic student learning, were given high priority (Giroux, 1985). The concept of power and control in the classroom may be conflicting concepts; broadly, the notion of power can be both a positive and a negative entity. Power provides the core concepts for redefining the nature of social control and its relationship to a classroom's structural dynamic.

Power sharing can help liberate teachers and students. Students must be given a *real* voice in what they learn and how they are going to embrace the curriculum provided to them. Encouraging student input helps pupils develop the skills set necessary for critical thought and eventual leadership (Giroux, 1993).

Students are rarely included in the shaping of their education. The educational process has typically focused on imparting knowledge on students instead of working with students. Provincial policy makers, curriculum designers and teachers who shape and implement the curriculum fail to consult with those who are on the receiving end of it (Kohn, 1993). By expanding the power bases in the classroom and critically reexamining the ingrained roles players assume, teachers will be in a better position to engage students (Giroux et al., 1981). Adopting such a mindset may provide teachers with the foundation required for establishing a democratic learning environment. The following section examines the tenets of a democratic classroom.

Theory into practice. Establishing and facilitating the democratic process early in the school year is imperative. Letting students know on the first day of school that they will be involved in establishing, modeling, and nurturing classroom expectations allows students to

sense the importance of such an endeavor. Involving student helps them to feel respected in that they observe that their opinions will matter (Kohn, 1993).

There may be reluctance from some students to engage in this process. This hesitation may reflect how students are conditioned to see themselves regarding their "place" in the classroom. However, once the students are assured that the dynamic being established will be acted upon, they will begin to feel free to express. Students may take some time to adapt and may test their limits; however, the teacher, ultimately, is responsible for guiding students and setting limits on what is plausible. The teacher is the eventual decision maker, but decisions should be based on a process where students' interests are incorporated.

A democratic classroom is one in which students have a voice in their learning and where teachers acknowledge the interests of the students. By providing students with a say and respecting their thoughts, teachers help encourage students to value the democratic process.

The desire to promote responsible citizenship in students is imbedded throughout Ontario's curriculum (e.g., courses in Social Studies, Healthy Living, Adopting and Implementing Positive and Appropriate Conflict Resolution Strategies, etc.). Schools are more than institutions that foster and broaden a child's intellectual capacity; schools are at the core of helping to develop caring individuals who are capable of making sound choices and solving problems in a fair and equitable manner (Kohn, 1993). How then can schools and teachers expect children to act and behave responsibly if we do not acknowledge their worth and give them real responsibility? Children learn how to make responsible choices by making meaningful decisions, not by simply following a teacher's unyielding instructions (Kohn, 1993). Students are less likely to comply with a classroom or school rule when they have had little or no say in its

establishment (Kohn, 1993). The behavioural expectations for students must reflect the needs of the students.

Key points for teachers.   Students can share power in the classroom by being encouraged to take an active role in the establishment of behavioural guidelines. The language used in these expectations must be those of the students. The agreed upon behavioural guidelines must be articulated and shared by posting them in the classroom and on school walls. Once students feel that their thoughts are appreciated, they may be less likely to challenge a set of expectations thrust upon them.

Implementation.

Responsibilities/Accountability Lesson. This lesson should take place in early September, if possible, and should require approximately 70 minutes. Initially, teachers should define *with* students what the terms responsibility and accountability mean to them. Teachers should brainstorm meaningful examples of the people who are responsible and accountable in society and who provide essential services for Canadians (police, ambulance, fire department personnel) and then explore each with students and discuss their specific responsibilities and how they are responsible and accountable to society. It is important to guide students throughout the discussion and to record their thoughts. At this point, display the agreed upon definitions of what accountability mean and how being a responsible and accountable person is an integral facet of citizenship in Canada.

Next, break students into equal groups and provide each group with chart paper and markers. It is advisable that the classroom teacher designate group membership in order to ensure that ability levels are mixed and that group cohesion is optimal. Explain to students that they must fill in their chart paper under the following headings: Parental Responsibility/

Accountability, a Student's Responsibility/Accountability, a Principal's Responsibility/

Accountability, and a Teacher's Responsibility/Accountability. Have groups designate a

recorder and a speaker. Inform students that they will have between 20-30 minutes to discuss and

record their answers (additional time may be given according to student needs). It is important

for the instructor to circulate around the classroom to ensure that students are on task and to

address any questions that may arise. Stopping the class periodically and sharing group

responses reinforces positive group work and may give other groups the prompts they require to

finish the task.

Once students have completed their charts, the class should regroup as a whole. Divide the

blackboard into sections according to the four groups (i.e., parents, students, principal, and

teacher) to be discussed. At this stage in the lesson, have each group share their responses while

recording them on the blackboard; discussing points as they arise will help students understand

the concepts being covered. Four students should be assigned the task of recording blackboard

answers on Bristol board, which will be placed upon the classroom walls. It is also useful to

designate a student (age permitting) to type up student responses for a note that will go to school

administration and to each child's home; this will ensure parents and administrators are aware of

the importance of the lesson and the group responsibilities that have been agreed upon.

An important next step would be to develop a Responsibilities/Accountability Contract that

all parties can sign, acknowledge and support. It is important for teachers to use this

Responsibility/Accountability Chart/Contract in a positive, proactive manner. Highlighting what

students have done positively, versus negatively, is imperative. An example might shape itself

this way…. "I do appreciate how Tim has…..this demonstrates how responsible and accountable

he is…well done Tim." Encouraging students to alert their teacher when someone is not

modeling responsible or accountable behaviour is important. It is imperative teachers model how they wish students to inform others of the breach of agreed upon behaviours and how to address potential differences in an agreeable manner.

Rules and guidelines. Along with nurturing responsibility and accountability, teachers will also want to implement a lesson to establish rules and expectations for students and teachers. The previous lesson plan on responsibility/accountability can be duplicated. Including student thoughts when establishing classroom behavioural expectations allows students to understand and internalize guidelines that they have developed, collectively, as a cohesive unit. Teachers must be sure to guide students and record 6 or 7 appropriate classroom rules. Again, share the classroom guidelines with administration and parents via a note home (or any other means that teacher has designated as a way of keeping the lines of communication open and transparent). The student, parent, teacher, and administrative team can sign an additional Behavioural Contract so that all are aware of the behavioural expectations students have established. Again, the classroom teacher must be sure to highlight what a student is doing that is in accordance with the guidelines established versus what the student(s) are doing that is not.

It may take time and practice for students, and the teacher, to feel comfortable addressing agreed upon responsibilities and rules in a positive manner, it is important that all involved accept that any benefits will not be immediate and that it will take time to implement the plan. Consistency, patience, and dedication to the process are required.

   Having students understand their roles and the behavioural expectations in place will be beneficial for all.   Ideally, students will interact in a more appropriate manner and teachers will begin to feel more satisfied and competent if their students are following rules and treating others with respect. Job satisfaction and competence were issues related to abuse by teachers. This

step toward providing a more inclusive classroom may help foster positive teacher-student

interactions. Along with taking ownership over classroom guidelines, students must also be

aware of their own and their teachers' rights. A discussion of rights, as well as a method to

implement a lesson on student and teachers rights, is provided next.

      Students' Rights – Teachers' Rights.

      It is important for teachers and students in Ontario to understand their rights and the

rights of others in the classroom. Having knowledge of rights will help establish a responsible

educational setting in which all parties are equally respected (Apple, 1975). Stakeholders must

be aware that teachers have the right to be treated with respect and dignity and students must be

provided with a Ontario Safeschool environment in which to learn (Apple, 1975).

      Each child in Ontario receives a school agenda. Within the agenda is a section devoted to

Ontario's Provincial Code of Conduct (Ministry of Education, 2001). The Code of Conduct

covers a child's rights, a teacher's rights, behavioural expectations, and criteria under which

students will be suspended or expelled from school; this document outlines expectations for all.

Teachers must know the rights that students have. It is also important that children,

parents/guardians, and teachers are aware of the rights that teachers have. It must be impressed

upon teachers, students, and parents/guardians that teachers have the right to instruct in a

learning environment that is safe, and that conflict should be addressed in a fairly. Just as a

student's rights must be ensured, it is vital that a teacher's rights also be protected.

      It should be mandatory that teachers know the rights that children have in the classroom

and the rights they have. Principals must make certain that the Provincial Code of Conduct is

understood (via a talk with staff and a proposed assembly) and consistently followed by all

school employees and students in order to ensure that the rights of all stakeholders are respected.

The core concept of Ontario's Code of Conduct is for all to work, learn, and teach in a secure

environment (Lee, 2006). To ensure that the goals of the Code of Conduct are understood,

teachers should discuss with students what behaviours necessitate such an environment.

Key Points. There are a number of ways in which a discussion of rights can be initiated.

Including advocacy group participation in the classroom and highlighting historical documents

that delineate rights and responsibilities is a suggested first step. Public groups such as the

Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA) provide schools with classroom visits and

discussions that help students know their rights as Canadian citizens. Inviting such groups for

assemblies would be invaluable and would help students avoid victimization (McEachern 2008).

Learning opportunities such as these will help stakeholders be aware that students and teachers

have clearly defined rights.

As mentioned, all students in Ontario must be familiar with the expectations outlined in

the Provincial Code of Conduct (Ministry of Education, 2001). An assembly sharing the

concepts embedded in the code is necessary. Students must understand that there are

consequences (not punishments) for their misbehaviors and that clearly defined consequences are

in place. To ensure that a school is a Ontario Safeand respectful place, the rights and

responsibilities of teachers and students must be recognized; a lack of consistency for the

standards in place may impact a teacher's job satisfaction and feelings of competence.

Rights, responsibilities, and the Code of Conduct must be upheld. A lack of

administrative support may be an important factor in understanding why some teachers abuse. If

teachers feel there is a lack of administrative support, they may resort to unacceptable methods

for dealing with problematic student behaviours. Inconsistency, or a failure to in implement the

Provincial Code of Conduct, may erode a teacher's confidence and satisfaction; teachers need to

trust that they can elicit assistance from administration. Too often teachers and administrators

fail to enforce the guidelines outlined in the Code of Conduct because they do not want to appear

weak classroom managers, or school administrators (Leithwood, 2006). Therefore,

administrators *must* implement the outlined consequences, as stipulated in the Code of Conduct.

Consistency, as well as fairness and equity, must be in place for all students. Teachers must be

assured that they will receive the administrative support they require. A lesson on rights is

presented next.

      Implementation. An effective manner in which all participants are given an opportunity to

articulate their thoughts regarding rights is to have an open discussion with students. Creating a

Rights Chart is a strategy that can be used by teachers to encourage dialogue. To complete a

Rights Chart, students are encouraged to share what they believe to be their rights as students in

Ontario. A teacher's primary responsibility is to facilitate the discussion and to record student

responses. Once a list has been completed, the students then must consider what rights a teacher

may have in a classroom. Giving students the opportunity to think about rights is an effective

way for them to establish a collective voice. It is important that a Rights Chart be posted, shared

with administrators, and provided to parents/guardians. Parents must be aware that all

stakeholders in the classroom have rights as well as responsibilities. A similar method for

teaching students their rights and the rights of others can be undertaken.

      Your Rights/My Rights. This lesson is divided into two smaller lessons; the first lesson

focuses on the rights of the child and the second focuses on the rights of the teacher. Overall,

this lesson will require approximately 60 minutes. It is important to present the rights of the

child first as this will allow students to grasp the concept of their own rights, which in turn

encourages them to take the perspective of the others. Nurturing perspective taking will help

students understand the rights that teachers have.

Rights of students. To start this lesson, ask students what they think the phrase "a person's

rights," means; guide students as some may struggle to understand what rights might entail. For

example, pose to the class questions such as, "Can a person go through your knapsack and take

your lunch, why or why not?" "Can a person walk in to your house and take your television set,

why or why not?" "Can a police officer stop you on the street and go through your belongings,

why or why not?" Teachers must guide the discussion and be prepared to assist with rights that

may be less obvious to students. Next, ask students what they believe a person's rights in

Canada are. After a brief discussion, pose the questions, "Do children/students have rights?" and

"What do you think a child's rights are, and why?" and record students' answers.

At this point, introduce the United Nations Charter of Rights for Children. Provide a copy

for each pair of students. Teachers can now guide students through a shared and modeled

reading exercise. As students read from the Charter, record key points of the Charter on the

blackboard and discuss the central points to ensure that students understand. Ask students if they

are surprised that there is a Charter for *all* children around the world? Why are they surprised?

Ask students if they believe it is important to have a Charter of Rights for Children. At this

point, probe into the idea regarding what may, or should happen, if a child's rights are violated at

home, on the playground, or in the classroom? Guide students in a discussion of who a student

could talk to if their rights are violated, how they could go about getting help if they needed it,

and who they, specifically, could talk to. In addition, discuss with students what they could do if

a student or a teacher in the school was violating their or their peers' rights and be sure to record

student ideas.   Stress the belief that these problems can be resolved in a positive manner. Ask

students what resolving problems in a positive manner means and what this may look like by guiding them in a discussion of how they have resolved problems in a positive manner in the past.

It is important to reinforce, revisit, and to nurture these points regarding rights throughout the year by focusing on how students are respecting the rights of one another. Display the United Nations Charter on the walls of the classroom and also introduce, throughout the year, literature, films, and other materials that may nurture the concepts covered.

Rights of teachers. Review some of the points that were raised in the previous lesson regarding a child's rights and then ask students if they believe teachers have rights. Brainstorm with students what a teacher's rights may be. Display, within the classroom, the rights of teachers (as determined by the students) adjacent to where the student's rights are posted. Students will see the similarities in the rights of students and teachers; it is compelling to see students make the connection that they share many of the same rights that teachers do. Teachers must highlight, in a positive manner, when students are mindful of a teacher's rights.

As part of a democratic classroom, it is important to have all participants know their rights (McEachern, 2008); a discussion of rights must include both those of the student and teacher. By understanding and appreciating specific roles, responsibilities, accountability, and rights, teachers are beginning to establish classrooms based on the pillars of democracy. The next stage in developing a democratic classroom is to elicit student involvement in curriculum planning and assessment.

Curriculum implementation.

In traditional classrooms, curriculum is selected and implemented by the teacher; however, democratic classrooms allow students a say in what and how they learn. A democratic

classroom includes not only what teachers think is important to include in each unit of study, but also the questions, concerns, and interests that students have about themselves and their world. In such a model, students shed their roles as receptacles into which teachers impart knowledge; instead, students begin to make connections with lesson content in which they have help formulate.

Knowledge and course content takes on new meaning for students and teachers when it is connected to something that is serious and relatable to real-life problems and issues that students may face (Apple, 1995). Rather than being lists of concepts, facts, and skills that students regurgitate for testing, knowledge becomes something that is connected to the lives of the students and the people around them. Students learn that knowledge makes a difference in their lives (Apple, 1995) and that power, information, and application of what is meaningful are of paramount importance. Curriculum implementation includes involving students in understanding the curriculum that is going to be used and selecting relevant and meaningful topics for them to study. These important points are discussed below.

Understanding and selecting curriculum. If students are involved in selecting curriculum content, they will become invested in their learning. It is important that students and teachers engage in collaborative planning and decision-making that respond to the concerns and interests of both student and teacher (Apple, 1995). Giving students input into what they learn acknowledges their experiences (Connell, 1985). The first stage of curriculum implementation is to guide students through the curriculum. Once students are aware of the boundaries within which decisions regarding curriculum will be made, they are in a position to negotiate their own interests within the content. Students who have knowledge of grade mandated learning

requirements are in better position to select dimensions of the curriculum that would be most interesting to them.

Evaluation. The issue of student assessment often confounds educators. Teachers must determine how well a student is demonstrating their knowledge of the content for each unit of study. A democratic classroom allows students to be involved in determining how they will be evaluated and how best they can demonstrate their knowledge.   As part of the evaluation process, it is important to involve students in the discussion of why they are learning specific material and how such learning is going to be evaluated (Kohn, 1993). In this paradigm, students in the classroom help determine the assessment criteria upon which to evaluate their work (Kohn, 1993). This is not to say that students will write their own tests, it merely suggests that students have a say in how best they feel they can demonstrate what they have learned. For example, instead of administering a multiple-choice assessment, students may prefer to write a short story that incorporates concepts learned to demonstrate their knowledge and ability to apply the information; others may prefer to develop a website that incorporates their understanding. As long as students are able to show that they have met curriculum requirements, the methods through which they demonstrate their knowledge may be negotiable.

Key points for teachers. By sharing power in the classroom, redefining the roles students and teachers have played, and rethinking tried assessment measures may appear to require a leap in faith and a change in pedagogy; however, this need not be the case. Having meaningful dialogue with students may be an important step when establishing a democratic classroom.

Careful planning of any introductory lesson is of the utmost importance, as this will set the tone for the classroom. By actively involving students, a unit of study becomes "theirs," (i.e., "ours," "my art piece," and "my drama suggestion") versus a series of tasks forced upon them.

Like students, teachers who are told material to cover, how to cover it, when to cover it, and how

to evaluate it, lose enthusiasm for their work (Kohn, 1993).

      Implementation. Introduce a curriculum document to the group; the Grade 6 Social

Studies/Aboriginal Canadians unit will be used as an example. Before dispersing the curriculum,

let students know that they will have a hand in the creation of the unit, the activities used, and

how their work will be assessed. It is important to stress that it would be almost impossible to

cover all of the curriculum highlights and that it is important that the class complete 6 or 7

highlights well versus doing the majority of them poorly. Hand out the required Curriculum

documents to each pair of students and lead them through a guided, modeled, and shared reading.

Remind students that as they read along, to put up their hand and share their work ideas with the

class. Stress the need, as the teacher, for students to try to generate ideas that can be addressed in

math, geography, physical education, art, drama, reading, and writing. Record ideas as they are

generated by capturing them under the specific subject areas; for example, mark each suggestion

as an art idea, a writing idea, a math connection, a drama dimension. Encouraging students to

share their cross-curricular lesson ideas validates their thoughts and helps students make

important connections to their work. Dividing the blackboard into curricular sections is

advisable in order to record student-generated ideas. Be certain to record the student's name

beside his or her idea as this motivates students to get involved in generating activities. As the

lesson continues, solicit from students what they think would be considered applicable critical

thinking questions for a written paper and pencil summative assessment piece; record these ideas

and build upon them. Once students' ideas have been shared, it is advisable to have those

students who introduced a specific idea assist in preparing *their* lesson (i.e., art preparation,

leading a drama idea, introducing a writing piece). If a student has suggested an applicable

written assessment question, be sure that their name goes beside the specific question: for example, Joan's Question: "How are Aboriginal and European Cultures alike?" "How are they different?" Explain with pictures and with words. An additional idea would be to place a suggestion box in the classroom in order to collect further ideas.

The unit of study implementation scheme adheres to the principles of *The Backward Design of Unit Preparation* (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005). The Backward Design starts with culminating/summative tasks and assessment pieces before formally beginning a unit. This gives a unit of study a direction. The unit becomes "our unit of study." By rethinking what is taught, how it is taught, and how learning is assessed, students may feel greater ownership of what they learn. Teachers will feel competent and satisfied with their jobs when their students are learning with enthusiasm.

Summary.

Effective teaching focuses on the importance of providing learning and growth opportunities for students that are designed to engage students (Friesen, 2009). The result in this shift is a deeper commitment by students to explore and internalize their ideas and for them to establish meaningful connections to their work. Involving students in curriculum decisions is a significant step when ensuring that enduring and authentic understanding take place (Friesen, 2009).

Students and teachers must fully understand their roles and responsibilities in a classroom. Students' rights and a teacher's rights in the classroom must become an integral part of the school dynamic. All parties involved must realize their overlapping accountability to one another. Embracing the tenets of responsibility and accountability must be initiated early on in the year and nurtured continuously. Administrative corroboration plays an important role when

supporting students and teachers so that students' and a teachers' rights are protected. For

example, administrators can intervene when an issue of a right violation is brought to their

attention. Giving students an opportunity to shape the activities they engage in allows them to

feel connected to their learning. Teachers can map out activities for students that reflect their

varied interests. Sharing responsibility, accountability, and the planning of curriculum related

subject matter is an attempt to rethink the traditional roles that students and teachers have played

in the traditional classroom. Realizing that students have a right to have their thoughts and

opinions validated may provide the necessary vehicle for positive change in the student-teacher

dynamic. Bringing parents, teachers, students and administrators together with a common vision

and shared responsibility is an integral dimension of collaborative education; teacher

accountability is at the heart of this movement (Canada, 2006).

The discussion, sharing, and shaping of lessons by all classroom participants is

empowering. This investment in time, and a teacher's willingness to share power in the

classroom, may pay immediate dividends. Giving students a voice when determining

behavioural guidelines, course content, lesson delivery, and assessment may benefit at risk

teachers. A discussion of the effects of the democratic classroom is presented next.

Effects of the democratic classroom.

Teachers and students benefit from a democratic classroom. The result of including

student interests when planning and implementing lessons may be a more harmonious, cohesive

classroom unit with all participants moving in a predetermined, agreed upon, and mutually

fulfilling direction.

Teachers may feel more competent and satisfied when students show interest and

enthusiasm for their work. Students who are invested in their learning are likely to be focused

and interested in tasks and thus less likely to misbehave. A teacher is more likely to feel competent, confident, and satisfied with their job when students are engaged. By reshaping the power dynamic in the classroom, there is likely to be an improvement in the overall health of the classroom.

Summary. The ways in which schools are structured may require a shift in pedagogy. To affect a teacher's sense of job competence and satisfaction, students must be given many opportunities to learn to be responsible. Teaching students how to be responsible may be accomplished by implementing teaching strategies that embrace student ideas regarding course content and evaluation, which ensures that students' voices are heard and valued. Ideally, the result would be reflected in a student's greater sense of commitment to themselves, their fellow students, and the classroom teacher. Sharing power in the classroom and its inherent advantages may improve a student and teacher's interactions. This, ideally, will help a teacher positively reflect upon his or her practice and gain a greater sense of self-worth and job satisfaction. In addition, having all school participants aware of their rights and that these rights are articulated, shared, and become public knowledge is a foundational principle that should be impressed upon all. Teachers and students need assurances that their rights will not be infringed upon and that there are consistent behavioural expectations for both; not protecting rights likely contributes to unacceptable levels of stress for both teachers and students. Teacher stress and burnout must be addressed. The aforementioned strategies may assist in decreasing the alarming rates of teacher abuse reflected in this study. Addressing issues in the classroom will benefit teacher and student interactions; however, teacher specific interventions may also assist in reducing the risk of teacher abuse.

Workshops of this nature have proven to be invaluable for staff development, cohesion and a better sense of morale between colleagues and students (Burnard & Yaxley, 2000). Staff members need to know that there is a place and a forum to discuss the difficulties they are having in the classroom in a non-judgmental environment in which teacher's dialogue and share their concerns and the success strategies they have been able to implement. A collective "shared brain," is initiated through dialogue and contributes positively to a teacher's sense of job satisfaction and competence (Burnard & Yaxley, 2000). The most effective schools are the ones that bring the many problems associated with classroom management in to sharp focus with all staff contributing, listening, and empathizing with one another (Burnard & Yaxley, 2000).

Reexamining stereotypical roles and dispersing power in the classroom may help a student and a teacher to see themselves in a new and mutually beneficial manner. Training both pre-service and veteran teachers to work collaboratively with students, managing the many issues that may negatively affect teachers, and soliciting support from school administration could be accomplished in a number of ways. For example, on-line workshops and information sessions could be provided or small group sessions that focus on training teacher mentors could be initiated. Regardless of who attends and how the workshops are provided, it is evident that alterations to teachers' thinking, behaviours, and practice must be encouraged at every level to reduce the risk that teachers will abuse.

A number of strategies to implement a democratic classroom have been provided. Teachers can use these to help students understand the responsibilities of those in the school setting. In addition, details on how to assist students in taking ownership in the units of study to be addressed through the school year were included. Ultimately, the goal of including students in the decision-making is to encourage a fair, equitable, and healthy classroom and school. This,

in turn, may improve a teacher's feelings of competence and satisfaction and thereby reduce the

risk of abuse.

Chapter 7

Review and Conclusions

Research to date has demonstrated that some teachers engage in abusive behaviours against students. Although there is a discrepancy in the terms used to describe a teacher's negative behaviour against students, a review of the definitions and requirements for bullying and abuse indicate that any behaviour that is not in a child's best interest, and that is engaged in by a caregiver, is abuse. Regardless of the term used in research and discussions, the mistreatment of students by teachers must be seen as abusive and must be considered worthy of study; doing so will help ensure the well-being of students.

Researchers have reported that some teachers – across multiple countries – engage in verbal, emotional, and physical abuse of students. Although there is a lack of evidence in specific studies of teachers, evidence from child welfare and police reports also indicate sexual abuse of students by teachers. Therefore, various methods of abuse have been linked to some teachers and are courageously reported by teachers as occurring by themselves and their colleagues. Although little research exists on the causes of teacher abuse, researchers and teachers have suggested a number of possible causes. The causes of teacher abuse include issues related to the teachers' characteristics, their competence and satisfaction with the job, and the stressors they face. In addition, multiple theories of abuse implicate causal factors to child abuse, which are similar to those reported for why some teachers abuse students. However, to date little research has demonstrated a link between theories of abuse and teachers who use abusive behaviours against students.

One criterion for understanding the severity of teacher abuse is to investigate the impact on students or other witnesses. Qualitative studies have indicated that students are impacted by a

teacher's abusive behaviours with some suggesting that the impact is significant and long-term.

Overall, teacher abuse of students is reported to be a serious problem with negative

consequences. The causes of teacher abuse have been speculated on; however, much of the

evidence to date is based on observations of teachers' practice or empirical research conducted at

the high school level and based on reports from teachers about themselves or their colleagues.

Much less is known about the abusive behaviours of teachers at the elementary level or of

teachers in Canada. Therefore, a study was designed to investigate abusive behaviour by

elementary teachers in Ontario and the impact of such behaviours.

The study to address issues related to the use of abusive behaviours by teachers was

designed to answer three main questions: 1) whether teachers in Ontario use abusive behaviours

against students and if so, what they are, 2) what issues may contribute to teacher's engaging in

abusive behaviours, and 3) do the behaviours of some teachers impact witnesses and targets of

the behaviours? To answer each research question, a retrospective self-report methodology was

used to collect information from samples of pre-service teachers and undergraduate students.

Pre-service teachers reported on the abusive behaviours they witnessed during their practicum

placements as well as what they believe to be reasons why some teachers act in an abusive

manner. Undergraduate students reflected on the behaviours of their elementary school teachers

by reporting specific details of abusive behaviour they witnessed or experienced. Both the pre-

service and undergraduate samples responded to questions regarding the impact on them from

being targeted by, or witnessing, a teacher's use of abusive behaviour. Responses from the pre-

service teachers and undergraduate students were analyzed separately; however, similarities were

found in responses from the two samples.

The data was collected using the terms bully, bullying, and nonbully instead of abuser, abusive, and nonabusive in an attempt not to dissuade potential participants due to the negative connotation abuse entails. Since the term bullying is widely used to discuss the negative, interpersonal behaviours engaged in on school property, potential participants might have felt more comfortable with the term. The results revealed that a number of teachers use abusive behaviours against students and based on responses reported by pre-service teachers, some engage in abusive behaviours in full view of other adults. The fact that abusive behaviours are not always hidden is also reflected in previous research where teachers have reported on the abusive behaviours of their colleagues (see Twemlow et al., 2006). Emotional and verbal abuse was reported by both samples as the most common method of abuse; however, both groups also reported teachers engaging in physical behaviours. In addition, the undergraduate sample, but not the pre-service sample, indicated teachers engaged in sexual behaviours. The pre-service teachers did not witness similar behaviours; this may be a behaviour that tends to be engaged in out of sight of other adults. Both samples reported significant differences in the abusive behaviours engaged in by those they considered to be bullies and nonbullies; of note though is that those who were not considered to be abusive still engaged in some abusive behaviour. Responses from both samples also indicated that nonbullying teachers perform their jobs much better than the bullies do. This suggests that nonbullies are less competent and satisfied in their jobs. The very strong relationship found between job performance and abusive behaviours indicates that competence and satisfaction may be important to understanding teacher abuse of students. Finally, both samples reported some impact because of the abusive behaviours of teachers. The results clearly indicated that some teachers in Ontario engage in abuse of students,

that using abusive behaviours against students is related to job performance, and that those who witness and are targets of a teacher's abuse are negatively affected.

The result of the study, coupled with evidence from countries other than Canada, indicate that the use of abusive behaviours by teachers is an issue important to address as it infringes upon the rights of children. Legislation specific to teachers as well as the general rights of children is in place to ensure that teachers do not misuse their power in the classroom or violate the rights of children. This study, amongst others, has revealed that teachers have, and continue to use, abusive behaviours against students. There is a need to implement specific actions within the school and to intervene at the teacher level to reduce abuse by teachers. Based on the results of this study, the Transitional Model of Child Abuse appears to be the best theory under which to contextualize the intricate factors that combine to cause teacher abuse. Within the Transitional Model, issues such as teacher competence and satisfaction, student characteristics, and a lack of administrative support may increase a teacher's level of stress. If the teacher is not able to cope with high levels of stress, the result may be abuse. Based on this Model, it is incumbent upon teachers to seek out factors that may assist them in coping with stress and for administrative personnel to provide teachers with the supports that will alleviate stress. Strategies such as measuring and addressing teacher dissatisfaction, providing teachers with additional training to ensure competence, and receiving consistent support from administrators, could address each of these potential causal factors. Along with recognizing teacher and school specific issues that may contribute to teacher abuse, students and parents must also be involved in the process to minimize this issue by providing them a voice. Teaching children about their rights and how to assert themselves should these rights be infringed upon is a significant undertaking. The findings related to the affect of abuse on students and witnesses are also important. Both the pre-

service teachers who witnessed a teacher abuse and the undergraduate students who were

targeted by abusive teachers reported negative consequences. Pre-service teachers are in a

precarious situation as they are mandated to protect students but many reported a fear of future

employment as a reason they did not intervene on behalf of the student even though many

wanted to. Undergraduate students who were targeted by a teacher recalled an impact on their

overall view of school; it would be interesting to explore whether teacher abuse was a factor for

students who did not continue their education past high school. Overall, the results of the study

indicated that teacher abuse occurs, it may be triggered by the teacher's feelings of competence,

satisfaction, and stress, and the impact of such behaviours is widespread.

Based on the results of the study, a number of recommendations were provided in an

attempt to develop strategies to reduce the chance of teachers abusing students.

Recommendations included re-educating teachers on their duty to report abuse and stressing that

this includes any abuse by colleagues; implementing strategies to assess teacher competence,

satisfaction, and job stress as well as methods to address these should they be shown to be

problematic. Teacher mentors, additional training, and a revision to the current mandated

process for evaluating teachers may be useful when alleviating the problem of abuse by teachers.

In addition, changes to the functioning of classrooms and the school to reflect the interests and

values of students may assist to address some of the school and classroom-based stressors as well

as a teacher's sense of job competence and satisfaction. As such, a workshop as well as

classroom based strategies, were included to support a shift in pedagogy.

The information presented in the teacher workshop was designed to aid teachers in

providing a democratic classroom in which all parties involved contribute. By providing

teachers with information on the importance of such a shift, what a democratic classroom would

include, why a modification in how the curriculum is taught may be beneficial, and how all of these concepts can be applied is a potential asset for all teachers. Implementing a democratic classroom may curtail the development of the negative teacher-student dynamic that can evolve, increase job satisfaction, and bolster a teachers' confidence, which ultimately will improve the classroom and school's atmosphere. As noted, administration must be supportive of this change in direction to ensure its success. In addition, ensuring that all stakeholders are heard and that their opinions are valued may be an adjustment in pedagogy, but as the practice of some teachers improves, the tone in Ontario's schools may shift to one that is primarily positive in contrast to what was too often reported by this study's participants. The first step in addressing a problem is recognizing that one exists. This study has provided important insight into the issue of teacher abuse; this knowledge now must be accepted and addressed, as the protection of all children must be a priority.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Theories of abuse and aggression and their applicability to teachers

Theories of Aggression

A number of theories have been postulated to explain aggression and many of these may be applicable to understanding teacher bullying. Theories of aggression potentially relevant to explaining why teachers abuse students are presented below.

Frustration/Aggression Hypothesis. Frustration/Aggression Hypothesis (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower, & Sears, 1939) states that when an individual is prevented from achieving a desired end or goal, the resulting feeling is frustration. This sense of internal frustration then leads the individual to an aggressive response. An individual's level of frustration increases when he/she encounters something that is unexpected. Levels of frustration increase with the closeness of the individual to the desired goal and their prevention from attaining that goal.

Applicability to teachers. With an increase in a teacher's workload, assessment expectations, and attempting to plan and manage a plethora of student exceptionalities, teachers may become increasingly frustrated and act out in an aggressive manner against students.

Cue-Arousal Theory. Cue Arousal Theory (Berkowitz, 1974) is an extension of the Frustration Aggression Hypothesis. This theory acknowledges that frustration does indeed lead to anger, but not necessarily aggressive acts. Instead, Cue-Arousal theory suggests that a stimulus (or cue) must arouse aggression; therefore, the link between frustration and aggression is not direct, but instead, aggression arising from frustration is dependent on whether a cue in the environment triggers an aggressive response.

Applicability to teachers. As related to the previous example, a teacher with multiple tasks to manage may experience frustration as a result; however, the teacher may not act in an aggressive manner until a colleague irritates him/her or a student disrupts the flow of a lesson.

Relative Deprivation Theory. The Relative Deprivation Theory of Aggression (Runciman, 1966; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972) states that people become more aggressive when they feel that they deserve more than they have received; this feeling of deprivation leads to frustration and subsequent aggression.

Applicability to teachers. This theory could be applied to the school environment. If a teacher is not getting support from a school's administration regarding planning/teaching strategies and if negative student behaviours are not addressed sufficiently, teachers may resort to overly punitive/restrictive/abusive behaviours as a retaliatory measure against students.

Excitation-Transfer Theory. Excitation Transfer Theory postulates that stimulus from one situation can be transferred to another situation, which could result in subsequent aggression (Zillman, 1983; Zillman & Bryant, 1974). According to this theory, when the source of frustration is attributed to a person, the frustrated individual is more likely to respond aggressively than they would have had their frustration been attributed to a situation.

Applicability to teachers. In the classroom, a teacher may respond to an individual child who is being disruptive and subsequently lash out at the entire classroom of students. Alternatively, a teacher could initially be frustrated by one student, but end up lashing out at another student.

Social Learning Theory. Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1963) states that if a person is rewarded for their negative behaviour, they are likely to repeat it. In addition, if you see another rewarded for behaviour then you are more likely to engage in that same behaviour.

Applicability to teachers. This theory may also be applicable to the classroom setting. If a class is misbehaving, the teacher lashes out with a verbal tirade, and the class then responds by quieting down, the teacher's negative behaviour (aggression) has been reinforced. In the future,

there is a greater likelihood that the teacher will repeat the behaviour to gain a more compliant

group of students.

   Deindividuation. According to the theory of Deindividuation (Festinger, Pepitone, &

Newcomb, 1952), people are more likely to commit acts of aggression when they are in larger

groups. In this context, an individual assumes the group mentality and acts in accordance with

the group's beliefs and actions.

   Application to teachers. If the majority of teachers act in a specific way (aggressive), a

teacher who may not normally act this way may take on such behaviours. This speaks to the

notion of a school's culture; If certain acts (teachers being emotionally abusive towards children)

are permissible and seen as acceptable, an individual is far more likely to follow suit with such

behaviours.

<div align="center">

Theories of Child abuse

</div>

   Many theories have been postulated and investigated in an attempt to explain causes of

chid abuse. Since some teachers do abuse students, it is important to consider theories of child

abuse when attempting to understand why some teacher abuse students. The various theories of

child abuse and their application to teachers are presented below under the main categories of

characteristics, environment, and stress which are believed important to understanding teacher

abuse of students.

Child/Adult characteristics

   The Psychodynamic model.   This theory postulates that abuse results from a lack of a

meaningful bond between a parent and child (Steele & Pollock, 1974). This missing bond

between caregiver and child can account for all forms of abuse; when a parent experiences chaos

or the unexpected, they respond with aggression towards their child.

Mental Illness Theory. Crosson-Tower (2002) suggests that a parent's state of mind can be implicated in abuse and that abusive acts are a result of parental mental instability.

Character-Trait Model. The traits abusive parents exhibit (hostility, rigidity, passivity, dependence, and competitiveness) contribute to the likelihood that they will abuse their children (Merrill, 1962). Parental traits may manifest themselves via a parent's frustration and lack of responsibility and may result in a parent resorting to severe disciplinary measures against a child.

Personalistic theory. This theory attributes the neglect of a child to the individual personality traits and characteristics of some parents such as poor parenting skills, an inability to effectively plan, poor parental judgment, and a possible lack of motivation (Jackson, Karlson, Oliver, & Tzeng, 1991)

Cognitive-behavioural. The cognitive-behavioral model focuses on parents' unrealistic expectations have regarding their child or children. According to this model, four stages must occur in order for a parent to abuse: 1) affixing unrealistic expectations upon the child, 2) the child does not meet parental expectations, 3) the parent wrongly interprets the child's behaviour and sees the behaviour as having a negative intent and as an attempt by the child to annoy the parent, and 4) the parent reacts to this misinterpretation in an overly retaliatory manner (Jackson, Karlson, Oliver, & Tzeng, 1991; Milner & Crouch, 1993).

Applicability to teachers. Parenting and parental characteristics are indicated within a number of theories as directly contributing to child abuse. If parents themselves are not emotionally stable, if they are not appropriately attached to their child, and if they misunderstand and misinterpret the actions of their child, these theories indicate they are at risk to abuse. For teachers, within their role they will have certain expectations of their students which may partially be based on their own experiences, knowledge of child development, and perhaps their

motivation and dedication to their job. A child's "misbehaviour" may be misinterpreted by the

teacher as a deliberate attempt to exasperate them and a teacher may respond in a harsh or

abusive manner. In addition, characteristics of a child may conflict with the teacher's values and

expectations, resulting in little connection between the teacher and student. This lack of

connection may, in turn, increase the chance that a teacher will aggress towards that child.

Cycle of Violence Theory. The cycle of violence theory is also known as the

intergenerational transmission of violence theory (Widom, 1992). The theory postulates that

violent behaviour is learned and passed from one generation to the next. Children who suffer

abuse or witness aggression or violent acts are more inclined to replicate those behaviours

(Wallace, 2007). Adults who have experienced emotionally abusive parents often demonstrate

impaired interactions with others. Difficulties manifest for these adults in their ability to

empathize with others and often include inappropriate parenting abilities (Yates & Wekerle,

2009). Damaged relations then add to the risk of a cycle of abuse between parents and their

children (Yates & Wekerle, 2009). Emotional abuse has been directly linked and associated with

a parents' own history of maltreatment (Yates & Wekerle, 2009). Not surprisingly, many parents

(31%) identified as child abusers had a history of childhood abuse (Trocmé et al., 2001);

therefore, these profoundly negative childhood experiences may adversely affect the next

generation of children and their parenting skills and abilities to cope (Harmer & Sanderson,

1999).

Applicability to teachers. Children reared in abusive homes are at risk to duplicate these

behaviours when they become adults. If abusive behaviour is engaged in or witnessed, the

behaviour is likely to be replicated. The cycle of violence may be attributable to teachers if

many of those who abuse were themselves abused by their teachers. Social learning would be

attributable to teachers who, as children, were abused by their teachers or saw their teachers abuse.

Environment

Environmental factors have been implicated in child abuse and may be pertinent to understanding causes of teacher abuse.   Various theories of abuse include the environment as a factor.

The Interactional Model. This model views child abuse as a result of a dysfunctional system. Factors such as the role of the child, chance events, and the family structure play a part in child abuse (Jackson, Karlson, Oliver, & Tzeng, 1991). This theory postulates that only certain types of adults are capable of abusing children and that certain behavioural triggers initiated by children could prompt an abusive response from a parent. Likewise, children who do not meet parents' expectations may be the victims of abuse. Chance events are described as situational and environmental circumstances that may prevent a parent from effectively bonding with their child. This lack of an established bond between parent and child may be a precursor to child abuse. More specifically, problematic life events such as a difficult pregnancy or a painful delivery may impact a parental-child relationship.

Ecological theory. The ecological theory attributes child neglect to social causes (Garbarino & Eckenrode, 1997). The ecological model postulates that there are four distinct factors that relate to child abuse: individual factors, family factors, community factors, and cultural factors.

Applicability to teachers.   As with the child and adult characteristics models, the environmental models also implicate the relationship between the adult and child as well as the characteristics of the adult; however, these models suggest that the environment is also involved

and when integrated with the child and adult characteristics, the occurrence of abuse is possible.

These theories propose that various systems must be integrated and essentially collide in order

for child abuse to occur.   Certainly, these integrated theories can be applicable to teacher abuse.

Teachers often work in large settings with various personalities and relationships all

intertwining. As well, teachers have demands placed upon them from various sources such as

principals, school boards, students, parents, and curriculum and lesson guidelines. If a teacher

has poor relationships with students and is feeling overwhelmed and unsupported by other adults

in the educational system, and if unexpected circumstances (i.e., additional work expectations,

new and problematic students are added to their class roster) arise, the teacher may ultimately

abuse a student. Based on this model, it is more likely that a teacher will abuse a child that they

are not emotionally invested in. As with the excitation-transfer and deindividuation theories of

aggression, if the environment is generally negative and other teachers respond to an

overwhelming work environment in a pessimistic manner, this may influence a teacher who is

attempting to respond in an abusive manner.

Stressors

Stress and stressors have been discussed with respect to causes of child abuse. Teachers no

doubt experience stress as part of their profession and theories including stress as a cause of

teacher abuse must be considered.

The **Environmental-Sociological-Cultural Model** views child abuse through the lens of

stressors in modern society that trigger aggressive acts perpetrated by adults against children.

The environmental stress model, the social learning model, the social psychological model, and

the psychosocial model are incorporated within this paradigm.

Environmental Stress Model. This model examines the role that factors such as a parent's lack of education, familial poverty, unemployment, or job stress play in the abuse of children (Selye, 1975). A parent who is not able to cope with these factors may, out of frustration, hit or abuse a child.

Social-Psychological Model. This model suggests that social and psychological factors such as marital discord, a lack of vocational opportunities for caregivers or the demands of too many children lead to parental frustration and may result in an adult acting out in an aggressive, abusive manner towards children (Belsky, 1978).

Economic theory. The economic theory states that child neglect and abuse is a result of living in impoverished living conditions (Steinberg, Catlano, & Dooley, 1981).

Transitional model. The transitional model attributes stressors and stress management difficulties amongst individuals who abuse children (Jerin & Moriarty, 2010).

Applicability to teachers. Each of these models suggests that child abuse may be the result of frustration due to any stressors affecting the abuser. Similar to the frustration-aggression, cue arousal, and relative-deprivation theories of aggression, these models propose that adults who are frustrated due to their surroundings and who have difficulty appropriately managing their stress may abuse their child. These models have direct implications to teachers and the classroom. Teachers are inundated with stressors (i.e., multiple needs, multiple roles, varying demands, etc.) and those who do not manage these stressors well and who become frustrated by them may be more inclined to aggress towards students.

The many theories of aggression and child abuse are useful in attempting to understand causes of teacher abuse. Many of the characteristics, environmental factors, and stressors believed to contribute to child abuse by parents are directly related to teachers also.

Appendix B: Participant information letter

University of Toronto

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LETTER

Behind the closed door:
The extent of bullying and the characteristics of teachers who bully in elementary school.

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Glynn Sharpe, Sociology and Equity Studies, OISE/University of Toronto.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Glynn Sharpe at glynns@nipissingu.ca or by phone at 705-474-3450 ext. 4170.

Purpose:
The purpose of the study is to investigate the extent of teacher bullying in the elementary school system. Furthermore, the study will also investigate the characteristics of teachers who bully students and the characteristics of the students who are bullied.

Participation:
If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to: complete a pencil and paper questionnaire regarding your experiences with teacher bullying while you were in elementary school. Completing the questionnaire will require approximately 20 – 40 minutes and you should complete this anonymously; therefore, you are not required to provide your name on any of the pages. Once you have completed the questionnaire, you should return it to the research assistant or you may submit it under Professor Sharpe's door (H337).

Feedback:
Should you wish to receive a copy of the manuscript that will result from this study, you may contact Professor Sharpe through email or phone as listed above. An overview of the results will also be available on Professor Sharpe's web site (www.nipissingu.ca/faculty/gsharpe).

Risks:
There are no forseen risks to participating in this study; however, it is possible that reflecting on a negative experience in elementary school may bring up unwanted memories. Should you become upset while completing this questionnaire, please feel free to withdraw your participation. If this questionnaire elicits any unpleasant experiences, please feel free to contact Nipissing Counseling Services at 474-3461 ext. 4362 in Room A201.

Benefits
Although participating in this study will not result in any direct benefits to you, the information you provide will allow detailed information about the extent of teacher bullying, the characteristics of teachers who bully, and the characteristics of students who are bullied. Ultimately, this information will inform of the need for intervention.

Confidentiality:

The information you provide will remain confidential. You will complete the questionnaire anonymously and, thus, you will never be identified. The data provided will be retained indefinitely and may, at a later date, be shared with other researchers for the purposes of further analyses.

Withdrawal
You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw your data from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. As the questionnaire is being completed anonymously, you may place a code at the top of the questionnaire and also record it onto to this letter. By placing a code on the questionnaire, you could request that your information be deleted from the database should you choose to withdraw at a later date.

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through Nipissing University's Research Ethics Board.   If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact:

   Research Services   **Telephone: 705-474-3461, # 4558**
   Nipissing University
   North Bay, ON   P1B 8L7

As the Research Subject, I understand the information provided for the study "Behind the closed door: The extent of bullying and the characteristics of teachers who bully in elementary school" as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Date: _____

Appendix C: Pre-service teacher questionnaire

**A RELECTIVE SURVEY ON BULLYING TEACHERS AND TEACHER BULLYING FROM A
PRESERVICE STUDENT'S PERSPECTIVE**

The purpose of this confidential survey is to obtain data that might help to understand the issue of
teachers bullying students.

> **Definition**:
> "Bullying teacher" is defined as a teacher who **intentionally** uses his/her power to punish, manipulate
> or disparage a student beyond what would be a reasonable disciplinary procedure.
>
> Examples of teacher bullying may include: physical attacks, sarcasm, belittling/berating students,
> frequent and unnecessary yelling, unfair consequences for student behaviour, centring students out,
> harsh, overly critical assessment of student work, unrealistic work expectations.

SECTION A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Today's date _____   2. Age at last birthday _____

3. Gender □Male   □□Female   4. Marital status □Single □ Married □□Common Law □ Divorced

5. Current Teaching Major _____

6. Approximately how many students were in the elementary schools you taught at during your practicum
       placement
       (all schools combined) _____

7. Approximately how many teachers were in the elementary schools (same as above?) _____

Preservice Experience

8. Did you do your practicum teaching in a □□ Public School □ Catholic school or □□ Public & Catholic

9. How many schools did you attend during your practicum placements? _____

10. Did you teach at a □□rural school □ □urban school, or □□both rural and urban?

11. Check off the divisions in which you taught during your practicum placements □□PJ   □□JI   □□IS

12. Did you teach Internationally during your practicum? □ N □ Y where? _____

SECTION B. INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS OF MALE BULLYING TEACHERS
From your overall experience observing teachers, please rate your estimate of how often a male bullying teacher responded in the following ways, as compared to a non-bullying teacher, according to the following scale: *(Please circle one number in each column to the right of each statement.)* **1. Never   2. Sometimes   3. Often   4. Always**

	Bullying Teacher				Non-Bullying			
1. Watches as students bully other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
2. Allows disruption in classroom without intervention	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
3. Puts students down to get order in classroom	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
4. Denies that he has problems with students being bullied	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
5. Is poorly organized	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
6. Seems to dislike a lot of children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
7. Constantly punishes the same child	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
8. Has low expectations for his students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
9. Uses rejection as a form of discipline	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
10. Has problems keeping discipline with behaviorally disturbed students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
11. Suspends the same student over and over without success	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
12. Does not seem to understand what he is teaching the children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
13. Is absent from school more frequently than other teachers	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
14. Actively sets up students to be bullied by other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
15. Lessons fail to capture the students' interest	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
16. Humiliates students as a way of stopping disruption	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
17. Uses needless physical force to discipline students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
18. Is easily disorganized when there are school emergencies	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
19. Allows students to bully him	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
20. Children do not appear to be engaged in meaningful learning experiences	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
21. Fails to set limits with students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
22. Seems to take pleasure in hurting students' feelings	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
23. Children do not seem to be progressing at an appropriate rate	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
24. Is quick to put bright students who are "showing off" in their place	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
25. Seems to have a lot of children on a "black list"	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
26. Instructional strategies (the way in which they teach) does not vary	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
27. Seems often to be spiteful to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
28. Makes fun of special education students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
29. Has not responded to changes in educational technology/software	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
30. Sits back when there is trouble and lets others handle the problems	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
31. Has not responded to changes in curriculum	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
32. Resents any demands from the principal or school administration	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
33. Complains a lot about working conditions	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
34. Has difficulty accurately assessing students' work	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
35. Has a negative attitude toward racial and cultural minorities	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
36. Is defensive about his teaching style and methods	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
37. Work expectations are not reasonable	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
38. Often yells at students or the class	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
39. Is often sarcastic to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
40. Assessment of student work is often harsh/overly critical	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

Describe other ways male teachers bully students (use back of page if necessary):

SECTION B. INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS OF FEMALE BULLYING TEACHERS
From your overall experience observing teachers, please rate your estimate of how often a male bullying teacher responded in the following ways, as compared to a non-bullying teacher, according to the following scale: *(Please circle one number in each column to the right of each statement.)* ***1. Never   2. Sometimes   3. Often   4. Always***

	Bullying Teacher				Non-Bullying			
1. Watches as students bully other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
2. Allows disruption in classroom without intervention	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
3. Puts students down to get order in classroom	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
4. Denies that he has problems with students being bullied	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
5. Is poorly organized	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
6. Seem s to dislike a lot of children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
7. Constantly punishes the same child	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
8. Has low expectations for her students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
9. Uses rejection as a form of discipline	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
10. Has problems keeping discipline with behaviorally disturbed students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
11. Suspends the same student over and over without success	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
12. Does not seem to understand what she is teaching the children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
13. Is absent from school more frequently than other teachers	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
14. Actively sets up students to be bullied by other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
15. Lessons fail to capture the students' interest	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
16. Humiliates students as a way of stopping disruption	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
17. Uses needless physical force to discipline students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
18. Is easily disorganized when there are school emergencies	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
19. Allows students to bully her	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
20. Children do not appear to be engaged in meaningful learning experiences	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
21. Fails to set limits with students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
22. Seems to take pleasure in hurting students' feelings	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
23. Children do not seem to be progressing at an appropriate rate	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
24. Is quick to put bright students who are "showing off" in their place	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
25. Seems to have a lot of children on a "black list"	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
26. Instructional strategies (the way in which they teach) does not vary	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
27. Seems often to be spiteful to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
28. Makes fun of special education students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
29. Has not responded to changes in educational technology/software	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
30. Sits back when there is trouble and lets others handle the problems	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
31. Has not responded to changes in curriculum	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
32. Resents any demands from the principal or school administration	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
33. Complains a lot about working conditions	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
34. Has difficulty accurately assessing students' work	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
35. Has a negative attitude toward racial and cultural minorities	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
36. Is defensive about her teaching style and methods	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
37. Work expectations are not reasonable	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
38. Often yells at students or the class	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
39. Is often sarcastic to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
40. Assessment of student work is often harsh/overly critical	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

SECTION C. CAUSES

What do you think causes teachers to bully students? Please indicate your opinion about the following statements, according to this rating scale: (*Circle one number in the column to the right of each statement.*)

1. Strongly disagree   2. Disagree   3. Undecided   4. Agree   5. Strongly agree

1. They have a psychiatric illness, including alcoholism.	1 2 3 4 5
2. They are nearing retirement.	1 2 3 4 5
3. They are "burned out" on teaching.	1 2 3 4 5
4. They are not trained sufficiently in appropriate disciplinary methods or psychology.	1 2 3 4 5
5. They are envious of students who are smarter than they are.	1 2 3 4 5
6. They are not suited to teaching.	1 2 3 4 5

*Give reasons:*_____

_____

7. They are frightened of being hurt, so respond by dominating their students.	1 2 3 4 5
8. They have too many students with different ability levels	1 2 3 4 5
9. Their classes are too large.	1 2 3 4 5
10. They have poor relationships with administrators and/or the school board	1 2 3 4 5
11. Their salary and benefits are unsatisfactory.	1 2 3 4 5

12. Described other reasons not listed above: _____

_____

SECTION D: IMPACT OF SEEING STUDENTS BULLIED BY TEACHERS

1. When you were at your elementary school placement, did you see any teacher's bully their students?
   (Please circle the number beside your chosen answer.)
   □ Never (*skip to question 3*) □ □Rarely   □□ Sometimes   □□ Often   □□ Always

2. List the grade the teacher who bullied students, indicate their approximate age, their gender, and the size of the class they taught and the subject they taught.

Grade	Teachers age	Teacher's Gender	Class size	Subject	How did they bully students?
		□M □F			
		□M □F			
		□M □F			
		□M □F			
		□M □F			
		□M □F			

2a. Please provide details of specific bullying situations that you witnessed. _____

_____

2b. As a result of seeing teachers bullying students, did you experience any of the following? Mark the circle that best represents your experience.

Impact of seeing teacher bully	Definitely not	No	Somewhat	Yes	Definitely
a. There was no impact on me	O	O	O	O	O
b. Made me uncomfortable	O	O	O	O	O
c. Made me want to intervene on behalf of the student	O	O	O	O	O
d. Made me want to speak to the bullying teacher privately	O	O	O	O	O
e. Made me want to speak to the principal about the matter	O	O	O	O	O
f. Made me want to speak to a union representative about the incident	O	O	O	O	O
g. Made me question my decision to enter the profession	O	O	O	O	O
h. Had me examine my own practice more closely	O	O	O	O	O
i. Forced me to distance myself from the bullying teacher	O	O	O	O	O
j. Remained reluctantly silent	O	O	O	O	O
k. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O
l. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O
m. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O
n. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O

Please provide any comments you feel are important regarding the impact of seeing a student bullied by a teacher.

_____

3.   Do you think *preservice teachers* and *contracted teachers* are reluctant to report incidents of teachers bullying students?
     ☐ ☐YES (complete questions below)   ☐ ☐NO (skip to q.4)

Please mark the response that best represents your beliefs.

Why reluctant to report teacher bullying	Definitely not	No	Somewhat	Yes	Definitely
a. Fears for job security/future job possibilities	O	O	O	O	O
b. Bullying episodes did not appear to be too severe	O	O	O	O	O
c. The students who were being bullied appeared not to be adversely affected.	O	O	O	O	O
d. Not sure of my obligation to report	O	O	O	O	O
e. Not aware of reporting procedures	O	O	O	O	O
f. Did not want to comment on another teacher's practice	O	O	O	O	O
g. Afraid of union reprisals	O	O	O	O	O
h. Did not want to appear to be confrontational	O	O	O	O	O
i. Did not want to be seen as a divisive staff member	O	O	O	O	O
j. Did not want to undermine another teacher's authority	O	O	O	O	O
k. Did not want to violate the "unwritten code of silence," that exists between teachers	O	O	O	O	O
l. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O
m. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O

4. Please provide any comments you feel are important regarding reasons teacher bullying is not reported.

Thank you for assisting me in this research. Please double check your answers and write as much as possible wherever comments or reasons are asked for.

Appendix D: University students' questionnaire

A RELECTIVE SURVEY ON BULLYING TEACHERS AND TEACHER BULLYING FROM A COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY STUDENT'S PERSPECTIVE

The purpose of this confidential survey is to obtain data that might help to understand the issue of teachers bullying students.

Definitions:
"Bullying teacher" is defined as a teacher who uses his/her power to punish, manipulate or disparage a student beyond what would be a reasonable disciplinary procedure.
Examples of teacher bullying may include: physical attacks, sarcasm, belittling/berating students, frequent and unnecessary yelling, unfair consequences for student behaviour, centring students out, harsh, overly critical assessment of student work, unrealistic work expectations.

SECTION A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Today's date   _____   2. Age at last birthday _____

3. Gender □Male   □Female   4. Marital status □ Single   □ Married □ Common Law □□ Divorced

5. Current Major _____   6. □ College □University - Year of study 1ˢᵗ   2ⁿᵈ   3ʳᵈ   4ᵗʰ

7. Average grades in *elementary* school A's   □B's   □C's   □D's

8. Average grades in college/university A's   □B's   □C's   □D's

9.   Do you have a learning disability   □□NO   □□YES – were *elementary* teachers aware of this □ No □ Yes

10.   Would you say you had behavioural difficulties in elementary school? □ NO or □ YES - □ADD □ADHD □anger   □ other _____

11. Would you say you had emotional difficulties in elementary school? □ NO or □ YES - □depression □anxiety
                                            □ other _____

12. Approximately how many students were in your elementary school _____
                        (if attended more than 1 school, think of the school you were at the longest)
13. Approximately how many teachers were in your elementary school _____
                        (if attended more than 1 school, think of the school you were at the longest)

SECTION B. EXPERIENCE WITH BULLYING

1. Do you think that elementary school teachers bully students? *(Please circle your chosen answer.)*
        0 Never   1. Isolated cases only
        2 Frequently (by only a few teachers)   3 Widespread problem involving many teachers

2. What is the total number of teachers that you can recall from your elementary education (K-8) who have been bullies?
        Males_____   Females   _____

Please provide the following information about them:

Grade	Teacher's age	Teacher's Gender	Class size	Subject	How did they bully students?
		□M □F			
		□M □F			
		□M □F			
		□M □F			
		□M □F			

SECTION C. INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS OF *MALE* BULLYING TEACHERS

From your overall experience as an elementary school student, please rate your estimate of how often a *male* bullying teacher responded in the following ways, as compared to a non-bullying teacher, according to the following scale: *1. Never 2. Sometimes 3. Often   4. Always (Please circle one number in each column to the right of each statement.)*

	Bullying Teacher				Non-Bullying Teacher			
1. Watches as students bully other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
2. Allows disruption in classroom without intervention	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
3. Puts students down to get order in classroom	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
4. Denies that he has problems with students being bullied	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
5. Is poorly organized	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
6. Seem s to dislike a lot of children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
7. Constantly punishes the same child	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
8. Has low expectations for his students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
9. Uses rejection as a form of discipline	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
10. Has problems keeping discipline with behaviorally disturbed students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
11. Suspends the same student over and over without success	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
12. Does not seem to understand what he is teaching the children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
13. Is absent from school more frequently than other teachers	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
14. Actively sets up students to be bullied by other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
15. Lessons fail to capture the students' interest	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
16. Humiliates students as a way of stopping disruption	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
17. Uses needless physical force to discipline students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
18. Is easily disorganized when there are school emergencies	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
19. Allows students to bully him	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
20. Children do not appear to be engaged in meaningful learning experiences	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
21. *Fails to set limits with students*	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
22. Seems to take pleasure in hurting students' feelings	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
23. Children do not seem to be progressing at an appropriate rate	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
24. Is quick to put bright students who are "showing off" in their place	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
25. Seems to have a lot of children on a "black list"	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
26. Instructional strategies (the way in which they teach) does not vary	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
27. Seems often to be spiteful to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
28. Makes fun of special education students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
29. Has not responded to changes in educational technology/software	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
30. Sits back when there is trouble and lets others handle the problems	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
31. Has not responded to changes in curriculum	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
32. Resents any demands from the principal or school administration	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
33. Complains a lot about working conditions	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
34. Has difficulty accurately assessing students' work	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
35. Has a negative attitude toward racial and cultural minorities	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
36. Is defensive about his teaching style and methods	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
37. Work expectations are not reasonable	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
38. Often yells at students or the class	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
39. Is often sarcastic to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
40. Assessment of student work is often harsh/overly critical	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS OF *FEMALE* BULLYING TEACHERS

From your overall experience as an elementary school student, please rate your estimate of how often a *female* bullying teacher responded in the following ways, as compared to a non-bullying teacher, according to the following scale: **1. Never 2. Sometimes 3. Often 4. Always** *(Please circle one number in each column to the right of each statement.)*

	Bullying Teacher				Non-Bullying Teacher			
1. Watches as students bully other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
2. Allows disruption in classroom without intervention	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
3. Puts students down to get order in classroom	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
4. Denies that she has problems with students being bullied	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
5. Is poorly organized	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
6. Seem s to dislike a lot of children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
7. Constantly punishes the same child	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
8. Has low expectations for his students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
9. Uses rejection as a form of discipline	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
10. Has problems keeping discipline with behaviorally disturbed students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
11. Suspends the same student over and over without success	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
12. Does not seem to understand what he is teaching the children	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
13. Is absent from school more frequently than other teachers	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
14. Actively sets up students to be bullied by other students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
15. Lessons fail to capture the students' interest	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
16. Humiliates students as a way of stopping disruption	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
17. Uses needless physical force to discipline students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
18. Is easily disorganized when there are school emergencies	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
19. Allows students to bully her	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
20. Children do not appear to be engaged in meaningful learning experiences	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
21. Fails to set limits with students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
22. Seems to take pleasure in hurting students' feelings	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
23. Children do not seem to be progressing at an appropriate rate	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
24. Is quick to put bright students who are "showing off" in their place	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
25. Seems to have a lot of children on a "black list"	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
26. Instructional strategies (the way in which they teach) does not vary	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
27. Seems often to be spiteful to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
28. Makes fun of special education students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
29. Has not responded to changes in educational technology/software	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
30. Sits back when there is trouble and lets others handle the problems	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
31. Has not responded to changes in curriculum	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
32. Resents any demands from the principal or school administration	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
33. Complains a lot about working conditions	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
34. Has difficulty accurately assessing students' work	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
35. Has a negative attitude toward racial and cultural minorities	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
36. Is defensive about her teaching style and methods	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
37. Work expectations are not reasonable	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
38. Often yells at students or the class	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
39. Is often sarcastic to students	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
40. Assessment of student work is often harsh/overly critical	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

Describe other ways female teachers bully students (use back of page if necessary):

SECTION D. PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF BULLYING

1.   When you were in elementary school yourself, were you ever bullied by a teacher?
     (Please circle the number beside your chosen answer.)
                    ☐ 0 Never (*skip to question 3*) 1. Rarely   2. Sometimes   3. Often   4. Always

1a.   List the grade the teacher who bullied you taught, indicate their approximate age, their gender, and the size of
the class the taught and the subject they taught.

Grade	Teachers age	Teacher's Gender	Class size	Subject	How did they bully you?
		☐M ☐F			
		☐M ☐F			
		☐M ☐F			
		☐M ☐F			
		☐M ☐F			
		☐M ☐F			

1b. Were you bullied by more than 5 teachers? ☐ NO ☐ YES - If so, how many in total ____ males ____ females

2.   As a result of being bullied by teacher(s), did you experience any of the following? Mark the circle that best
     represents your experience.

Impact of being bullied by teacher	Definitely not	No	Somewhat	Yes	Definitely
a. I feared going to school	O	O	O	O	O
b. I was scared to speak up in classes	O	O	O	O	O
c. I enjoyed school	O	O	O	O	O
d. I told my parents about the bullying teacher	O	O	O	O	O
e. I told my friends about the bullying teacher	O	O	O	O	O
f. I cried about the way I was treated	O	O	O	O	O
g. I thought I deserved it	O	O	O	O	O
h. My self-esteem suffered	O	O	O	O	O
i. I felt alone	O	O	O	O	O
j. I was unwilling to participate in extracurricular activities	O	O	O	O	O
k. My parents did not understand/respond	O	O	O	O	O
l. I had no one to turn to for help	O	O	O	O	O
m. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O
n. Other _____	O	O	O	O	O

Thank you for assisting me in this research. Please double check your answers and write as much as possible wherever comments or reasons are asked for.

Questionnaire adapted with permission from S. Twemlow. Original survey completed by S. Twemlow and P. Fonagy 2006.

Appendix E: Investigation gender bias for BED respondents

Student gender and teacher bully

Male and female respondents were compared on whether they saw a teacher bully; a similar percentage of male (66.7%) and female (51.5%) respondents indicated witnessing teacher bullying during their placement, $\chi^2 = 0.12$, , $p > .05$.

Gender of teacher bully and personal and classroom characteristics

The bullying teachers' gender, age, and class size were reported for most of the bullying teachers (57 of 61 bullying teachers) To ensure that the gender of the bullying teacher did not differ in age, grade taught, or size of class (which could all influence their bullying), male and female bullies were compared on these factors.   Table 22 presents the comparison of male and female bullies on class size, grade, and age.

Table 22:

Comparison Personal and School Characteristics of Male and Female Bullying Teachers

	Teachers seen bullying			
	Male (*n* = 24)		Female (*n* = 33)	
Characteristics	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Age	41.96	9.96	41.09	9.34
Grade*	7.17	1.09	5.48	2.15
Class size	26.04	3.69	25.68	3.83

* $t_{55} = 3.50$, $p = .001$

No differences were found between bullying males and females on their age or class size. In both groups, the teachers reported to bully students ranged in age from approximately 30 to 50 and their class sizes ranged from 19 to 35 ($M = 25.85$, $SD = 3.71$).

Job Performance

Before investigating job performance for bullies and nonbullies, and types of bullying, it was important to determine whether response rates differed between male and female respondents based on the gender of the teacher. To ensure responses related to job performance and not the teacher's gender, a MANOVA was used to compare the respondents' gender on responses. No gender differences were found ($F = .82$ (22, 4), $p > .05$); therefore, responses from males and females were combined to investigate teacher bullying and job performance.

Gender and impact

Since reported impact from witnessing teacher bullying might be explained by the gender of the respondent, it was important to ensure that impact was not a function of gender. Impact scores were compared between the male ($n = 14$) and female ($n = 43$) respondents who indicated witnessing a teacher bully and who completed questions related to impact. There was no difference in impact scores between male ($M = 20.61$, $SD = 4.6$) and female ($M = 21.8$, $SD = 5.8$) respondents. Male and female respondents were combined for analyses related to impact.

Appendix F: Investigation of gender bias and NUU respondents

Student gender and teacher bully - NUU respondents

To ensure that participant's gender was not influencing responses, age and the number of male and female teachers they recall bullying were compared between male and female respondents and the results are presented in Table 23.

Table 23:

Responses from Male and Female Participants on Age and Number of Bullies Recalled

Characteristics	Respondents' gender			
	Male ($n = 53$)		Female ($n = 238$)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Age	19.34	1.52	19.11	1.49
Number of male bullies	.95	1.22	.99	1.00
Number of female bullies	1.21	1.22	1.29	1.37

There were no differences between the genders on age ($t_{289} = 1.02$, $p > .05$), the number of male ($t_{270} = -.24$, $p > .05$) and female ($t_{246} = -.19$, $p > .05$) teachers recalled to have bullied students. The year of school the respondent was in and whether they were ever bullied by a teacher were also investigated to ensure gender was not a factor: results are presented in Table 24.

Table 24:

Gender of Respondent and Characteristics of Experiences with Bullying and Year of Study

Characteristics	Respondents' gender	
	M (%)	F (%)
Ever bullied		
No	23 (45.1)	118 (52.4)
Yes	28 (54.9)	107 (47.6)
Extent of bullying		
Never	6 (11.3)	24 (10.2)
Isolated cases only	33 (62.3)	129 (54.9)
Frequently by few/widespread*	14 (26.5)	82 (34.9)
Year of study		
1	29 (59.2)	121 (54.3)
2	7 (14.3)	45 (20.2)
3 or 4 **	13 (26.5)	57 (25.5)

* Note: The two options for how often bullying was witnessed were combined as fewer than 5 males were in the

"widespread problem involving many teachers" category; ** 3rd and 4th year students were combined as less than 5

males were in 4th year

Just over half of males and just under half of females reporting that they have at least

once been bullied by a teacher, indicating similarities in the percentage of students reporting

being bullied in each gender ($\chi^2 = .89$, $p > .05$). The rates of participants from each gender was

also similarly represented at each year of study ($\chi^2 = .92$, $p > .05$). Finally, the extent of the

bullying problem in own elementary school also did not differ between the genders ($\chi^2 = 1.40$, p >.05). Since a number of variables that could impact responses were similar between males and females, the genders were combined into one group for further analyses.

Appendix G: Investigation of age bias

Age of the BED and NUU respondents was not related to the bullying or job performance

scale scores, all r's between .001 and .10, all p's >.05. Results of the correlations between age

and Bullying, Job Performance, and Impact total scores are presented in Table 25.

Table 25.

Age of BED and NUU Respondent and Outcome Measures

Total scores	BED age	NUU age
Bullying	-0.01	- .03
Job Performance	.04	- .08
Impact	.05	- .16

All p's > .05

Appendix H: Grades taught by bullying teachers

The gender of the teacher who bullies was investigated within the grade and class size. Those teaching split grades were counted twice with each grade taught being counted and those teaching three different grades were counted once for each grade they taught. Those who were described as teaching all grades or more than 3 grades (i.e., grades 4-7) were not included in the analyses. A dummy grade of 0 was used to represent both kindergarten and senior kindergarten. Table 26 presents the comparison of male and female bullies on grade taught.

Table 26.

Gender of Bullying Teachers by the Grades They Taught

	Teachers who bully			
	Male ($n = 192$)		Female ($n = 245$)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Grade*	5.94	1.78	4.64	2.19

$t_{427} = 6.62, p < .001$

Grades taught by teachers who bullied ranged from grade kindergarten to grade 8 ($M = 5.22, SD = 2.12$). As can be seen in Table 26, bullying males taught in higher grades than bullying females. For the males, 45.8% taught intermediate senior compared to 25% of females, 43.6% taught junior intermediate compared to 39.2% of females, and 10.5% taught primary junior compared to 35.8% of females ($\chi^2 = 39.09, p < .001$).

Appendix I: Comparison of BED witness and nonwitness on bullying and job performance

Comparisons between those who did and did not witness bullying while on their practicum. Although no difference for the behaviours of nonbullying teachers, those who witnessed bullying reported significantly higher scores for the bullying teachers as shown in Table 27.

Table 27.

Comparison of Witnesses and Nonwitness to Teacher Bullying Total scores

Total scores	Witness M (SD)	Nonwitness M (SD)	Significance
Bullying total score			
Bully	47.90 (10.8)	39.73 (13.65)	$F(1,134) = 15.10, p <.000$
Nonbully	23.26(4.42)	23.48(5.76)	$F(1,147) = .07, p >.05$
Job Performance			
Bully	49.37 (10.97)	40.38 (13.01)	$F(1, 131) = 18.45\ p <.000$
Nonbully	31.25(7.46)	30.87 (9.00)	$F(1,146) = .08, p >.05$

Appendix J: Methods of teacher bullying by gender as reported by NUU students

The types of bullying reported to have occurred in elementary school is presented below. As can be seen, most male and female respondents indicated that emotional and verbal methods were most common (see Table 28).

Table 28.

Methods of Bullying Reported by Male and Female NUU Sample

Ways bully	Total Sample ($n = 407$)		Male ($n = 175$)		Female ($n = 232$)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Emotional	330	81.1	137	78.3	195	84.1
Verbal	147	36.1	67	38.3	78	33.6
Physically	40	9.8	14	8	23	9.9
Sexual	4	0.98	3	1.7	1	0.4

* note: 112 were reported to bully in more than one way; therefore, the total percentage will not total 100

Most teachers, both male and female, were reported to use emotional methods of bullying. Of note, close to 10% of male and female teachers physically bullied students and close to 1% bullied using sexual methods. Three of the 4 teachers who bullied sexually were male; however, a similar percentage of males and females were reported to engage in each of the other methods.

Appendix K: Examples of actual cases of teacher abuse reported to the OCT

Documented Cases of Teacher Abuse Addressed by the Ontario College of Teachers

The following provides a number of cases reported by the OCT that fit the criteria for abuse by teachers. A few examples are provided based on the year of data collection and of writing this paper.

1) Parents of a grade two student complained to the College of Teachers that a teacher grabbed their child by the coat hood and yelled very aggressively in the child's face. The offending teacher was admonished and the College directed that the member's future behaviour should be appropriate and consistent with the standards of the teaching profession (OCT, 2007, *p.* 70).

2) Parents of a grade 6 student complained to the OCT that their child's teacher "centred-out, belittled and gave the child unwarranted punishment". The child was denied bathroom privileges. The parents complained that the teacher was using "scare tactics" both inside and outside of the classroom. The Investigation Committee determined that the complaint did not warrant further investigation because the issue did not pertain to professional misconduct (OCT, 2007, *p.* 67).

3) A school board notified the college that a teacher had physically mistreated a student by placing the child in a headlock while forcibly removing objects from the child's hands. The teacher received a caution and was instructed to avoid any physical contact with students in the future (Oct, 2009, *p.* 66).

4) A hearing was initiated against an OCT member for professional misconduct. The member physically grabbed students, pinched their arms and was repeatedly expressing his anger in

class. The member also used inappropriate language and epithets with reference to students'

race. The teacher received a reprimand from the College (OCT, 2009, *p*.71).

5) A Discipline Committee panel held a public hearing against a member for professional

misconduct against a member for using inappropriate discipline with his students. The panel

heard evidence that the member shut a female student in a storage cupboard in the back of the

classroom to discipline her. The school initiated its own investigation and found that the

teacher had used the cupboard to discipline students on two other occasions (3 in total). The

teacher received a reprimand with conditions from the College of Teachers (OCT, 2009, *p*.

68).

6) A teacher received a caution with conditions for telling his students that they would be

spending time "with a pedophile…without Vaseline," if their behaviour in the classroom did

not improve (OCT, 2009, *p*. 66).

As can be seen in these cases, behaviours that appear to warrant strict and strong

disciplinary measures by the OCT seem to be addressed with little consequence.   It is not

surprising, given that this information is public knowledge, that the profession has been

maligned and that a discord may be experienced between some teachers and students. Attention

to the manner in which such cases are addressed and the recourses available for the child and

family involved must be addressed.