

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

CONTRIBUTION OF PERSONALITY FACTORS TO BULLYING

IN THE WORKPLACE

**Being a thesis submitted for degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Hull**

by

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“Over the past 20 years, I have gone into organisations to try and understand with them how groups and individuals work together. The fallible, unreasonable part of myself has stood me in good stead and helped me to understand the irrational, the sadistic, the vengeful, and the aggression that can lie just below the surface of organisations festering one day, bursting out another” (Crawford, 2001, p. 21).

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ABSTRACT

Although many studies have investigated the contributing factors of workplace bullying, most have focussed on organisational factors, and few have explored the notion of personality as a contributory factor. This thesis represents an attempt to remedy this deficiency and to throw some light on the role played by personality.

This thesis is based on three main studies and is divided into six main sections: The first explores the literature of bullying behaviour and personality; the second examines the antecedents of workplace bullying; the third and fourth sections explore the notion of a victim and bully profile respectively; the fifth section examines bullying at an organisational level, and the sixth section includes a final discussion of findings in this thesis.

Chapter One of the literature review is divided into three parts, with the first part concerned with the various definitions of the behaviour, the second part surveys what is known about bullying in schools for the light it might throw on adult bullying practices, and the third part examines earlier work on bullying in the workplace. Chapter Two is concerned with the literature on personality variables in connection with bullying, and whether it is possible to find a personality profile for victims and for bullies.

In the third chapter the results from a pilot study are presented, the first to be conducted in Ireland. It examines results obtained from 30 self-selected victims, who were interviewed and given a personality test (Cattells' 16PF5). Factors contributing to

bullying and the effects of bullying were explored, as were the victims' personality and their perception of the situation.

Organisational factors such as stressful and hostile working environments, also the senior position of bullies, their aggressive behaviour and personality were cited by victims as reasons for being bullied. Most victims reported psychological effects ranging from anxiety to fear, and physical effects ranging from disturbed sleep to behavioural effects such as eating disorders. In relation to personality, many victims felt they were different, and were found to be anxious, apprehensive, sensitive, and emotionally unstable. Action taken by victims ranged from consulting personnel to taking early retirement.

The aim of the investigation reported in Chapter Four was to extend the pilot study and to attempt to make up for its limitations. Thus, a control group of non-victims was employed, the number of respondents was increased, interviews were conducted in the workplace, and a revised interview schedule and a more appropriate personality test was included. The sample comprised 60 victims and 60 non-victims, employees from two large organisations in Dublin. Both samples responded to a semi-structured questionnaire and completed the ICES Personality inventory (Bartram, 1994; 1998). Results showed that victims were less independent and extraverted, more unstable and more conscientious than non-victims. The results strongly suggested that personality does play a role in workplace bullying and that personality traits may give an indication of those in an organisation who are most likely to be bullied.

In an extension to the main enquiry, the history of respondents with regard to their experience of bullying at school was examined. Four groups were formed: (1) those who had been bullied both at school and at work, (2) those who had been bullied at work, but not at school (3) those who had been bullied at school but not at work, and (4) those who had not been bullied at school or at work. The test results from each group showed that the victim profile was most marked for Group One; Group Four were non-victims throughout their lives; Group Three also produced non-victim profiles; Group Two were most similar to Group One. In interpreting these findings it is tentatively suggested that Group Three (those without the typical personality characteristics of a victim) were able to shrug off the bullying they experienced at school, whilst Group Two had possibly escaped bullying at school because of the support available to them from family and friends, and from being team members of school debating societies and sports teams, support that was no longer available when they were adults.

A subsidiary pilot study of Chapter Four re-assessed victims with additional tests of the Interpersonal Behavioural Survey (IBS) (Manger, Adkinson, Zoss, Firestone & Hook, 1980) and the Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventories, second edition (CFSEI-2) (Battle, 1992). Results indicated that again, victims had high dependency and in addition, low self-esteem and direct aggression, poor assertiveness, and a tendency to denial and to avoiding conflict.

Chapter Five represents an attempt to examine the personality characteristics of bullies, using the ICES and IBS and a behavioural workplace questionnaire (BWQ). Although it proved difficult to obtain a large enough sample of bullies, findings were encouraging. Bullies proved to be aggressive hostile individuals, high in extraversion and

independence. They were egocentric and selfish, without much concern for other's opinions. Most bullies said that they themselves had been bullied at work.

Chapter Six extends the personality profiles of bullies and victims to consider their behaviour at an organisational level. Central to this chapter is an analysis of three case studies that serve to illustrate the view that it is a combination of personality and factors peculiar to the organisation that leads to institutional bullying. Case analyses revealed that hostile working environments tend to act as a trigger to release, for example, inherent aggression in bullies and inherent anxiety in victims. Findings suggest that bullying can be tolerated in organisations as long as it helps to achieve one or more goals of that organisation.

Chapter Seven is devoted to a final discussion of the main findings, to suggest areas for further research, and to recommend policies to deal with bullying.

Chapter One: General Literature Review of Bullying

Introduction

It is mainly in the last decade that bullying in the workplace has become an important topic for research. Although studies of bullying in schools emerged in the late 1970s (Olweus, 1978), it is difficult to understand why the work area should have been so neglected in the past, particularly when one considers the effects of bullying on the victims, who may have their levels of self-esteem and confidence reduced, their professional and personal lives undermined, and who may suffer long-term psychological and physical effects.

Before embarking on a review of the literature it is necessary to indicate why it was important to carry out this research. The author is located in the Republic of Ireland, and was concerned to build on the work of researchers in other countries; to test their results and extend their findings, if possible, in another context. However, the main deficiency in some of the previous work has been the slight attention paid to personality characteristics of those who bully and those who are bullied. Olweus (1978) in his early work identified personality as a contributory factor in being bullied at school, but little systematic work has followed. In the present thesis, the author addressed this issue and it is hoped that the use of several personality tests in the research will further elucidate the contributory factor of personality in workplace bullying.

There were several problems encountered in attempting to study bullying in the work context. Gaining access to respondents was not usually easy, requiring the 'selling' of the project to unions and management. The cooperation of those who took part was dependent on their willingness to be interviewed at length, and to fill in questionnaires

of a personal nature. The necessity for a control group in the main study made this more difficult, because it is easier to obtain cooperation from those who have been bullied themselves and who accordingly see the need for research which may alter conditions. Access to a sample of bullies proved most difficult, a fact which is presumably responsible for the dearth of information about them. These difficulties added further reason to the importance of the research and, in spite of these sampling issues, findings of interest emerged. It is hoped, that this thesis contributes something of value to the existing literature.

This literature review is categorised into three main parts with a further division into sections. The first part examines definitions of bullying and the related terms of harassment, mobbing and abuse. In the second part, the much researched area of bullying in school is discussed, which leads into the final part which examines research into workplace bullying.

There are six aims of this literature review - to:

- define the word and different terms of 'bully'
- review the research in relation to workplace bullying
- analyse the different definitions of bullying especially within the workplace
- explore school bullying and its similar characteristics with workplace bullying
- examine personality development of child victims and bullies
- identify possible contributory factors, and the effects of workplace bullying

Part One: Definitions of bullying

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED, 1993) defines a bully as one 'who uses strength or power to coerce others or intimidate weaker persons' (p. 298). A similar definition by the Concise Oxford Dictionary (COD, 2001) defines a bully as one 'who deliberately intimidates or persecutes those who are weaker' (p.184). 'Bully' possibly derives from the Middle Dutch word of 'broeder' meaning brother, or more likely from the Dutch 'boele', a term of endearment, and it still retains contradictory meanings: in its adjectival form it can mean 'excellent'. History gives many examples of bullying behaviour. For instance in the eighteenth century it was used to describe a villain or pimp, which perhaps could be, as noted by Crawford (1999), a link between the word 'bully' and mens' exploitation of women. During the First World War, bully beef was the main diet of front line soldiers and originates from the French word 'bouille', meaning tinned beef. The bull, as known in the animal world, is male and is associated with aggressive behaviour. However, in the human species, many females are bullies and can overtly and covertly be expressive in their aggressive behaviour. In modern usage, for example, in hockey, 'bullying off' describes an aggressive contest between two teams; conversely 'bully for you' is often used to congratulate someone.

Definitions from psychological and sociological perspectives elaborate on the usual meaning and attempt to define it more clearly. However, the problem in defining bullying is complicated by the use of different terms by different authors. 'Mobbing', 'abuse', 'workplace trauma', and 'harassment' are all commonly employed, and there is considerable confusion as to whether these terms can be used interchangeably, as Leymann (1996) has suggested, or if not, what distinctions can be drawn among them.

The term 'bullying' is commonly used in the United Kingdom and Ireland and was first described by Adams (1992) as:

'...like a malignant cancer. It creeps up on you long before you – or anyone else – are able to appreciate what it is that is making you feel the ill effects' (p. 9).

The term 'mobbing', which originally referred to group aggression, is most commonly used in Scandinavia, Germany, Austria and Italy, and is defined by Einarsen and Skogstad (1996) as:

'situations where an employee is persistently being picked on or humiliated by leaders or fellow co-workers' (p. 187).

Leymann's (1996) operational definition of mobbing refers to a

'social interaction through which one individual (seldom more) is attacked by one or more (seldom more than four) individuals almost on a daily basis and for periods of many months, bringing the person into an almost helpless position with potentially high risk of expulsion' (p. 168).

The normal meaning of the term 'mobbing' would seem to imply that a group of people torments a single individual, such as a flock of sparrows might mob an owl. The fact that this group behaviour is apparently more common in Scandinavia than in the U.K. or Ireland has led Einarsen and Skogstad (1996) to use the term more generally, even to describe the situation where a single individual bullies another, that is, to

'include situations where a single individual harasses another person' (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, p. 189).

This seems to be an idiosyncratic usage and should be resisted, while bearing in mind that it may reflect a cultural difference. After all, it may prove useful to retain the term 'mobbing' for group bullying.

In the United States and Canada, different terms such as 'workplace trauma' (Wilson 1991), 'mistreatment at work' (Price & Spratlen, 1995), 'incivility in the workplace' (Cortina, Williams, Langout & Magley, 2001) and 'abuse' have been employed as synonyms for bullying, whilst the *Journal of Emotional Abuse* has carried a paper by Keashly (1998) on 'emotional abuse' in the workplace. Bassman (1992) writes of 'employee abuse', as

'any behaviour on the part of the supervising manager that is aimed at controlling an employee and that results in, or is intended to result in, the employee's loss of self-esteem, self-confidence, feeling of competence, or control over his or her work or personal life, and the employee's increased dependence on the manager' (p. xi).

In all cases the terms would seem to be more limited and not to have any advantages over 'bullying'.

The term 'harassment' is often used in different countries to describe bullying in the workplace, and has been defined as

'repeated and persistent attempts by one person to torment, wear down, frustrate, or get a reaction from another; it is treatment which persistently provokes, pressures, frightens, intimidates or otherwise causes discomfort in another person' (Brodsky, 1976, p. 2).

A similar definition is given by Bjorkqvist, Osterman and Hjelt-Back (1994) which includes the

‘aim of bringing mental (but sometimes also physical) pain, and directed towards one or more individuals who, for one reason or another, are not able to defend themselves’ (pp. 173-174).

Amongst most researchers in this field, there is ongoing discussion on an agreed definition of bullying (Rayner, Sheehan & Barker, 1999). This is partly because researchers develop their own perspective with the result they are using definitions best suited to their own area of work. For example, Zapf, Knorz and Kulla (1996) define bullying as social stressors that are ‘related to the social relations of employees within the organization’ (p. 127). These authors’ interpretation of social stressors resulted from their research into bullying of severely traumatised victims in the workplace.

Rayner (1997) found it difficult to define bullying and suggested that bullying occurs

‘where one person is undermining another’s confidence, intimidating them and making them afraid’ (Appendix 1 of Staffordshire University bullying questionnaire).

Rayner’s definition is derived primarily from investigation of bullying from the viewpoint of its incidence levels.

Baron and Neuman’s (1996) definition is based on environmental stressors derived from ‘human aggressive behaviours that are triggered by environmental factors’ (p. 9, cited in Randall, 2001). Randall’s (1997; 2001) data from clinical research resulted in

his view of 'intentional' bullying, which 'deals with motivational factors and describes the purpose behind the bully's intentional actions' (2001, p. 9).

Einarsen (2000) classified bullying into predatory and dispute-related bullying. He defines predatory bullying as the abuse of power by a strong person over a weaker innocent person, and dispute-related bullying is that triggered by conflicts in the workplace deriving from real or imagined grievances. Clinical studies have demonstrated that boundaries between dispute-related and predatory bullying get confused when the different viewpoints of victims and bullies are taken into account (Randall, 2001).

However, there seems to be general agreement among most researchers, that bullying is an aggressive behaviour which is characterised in general by repetition and an imbalance of power (Smith & Brain, 2000).

The Scandinavian team of researchers led by Einarsen (1996) state that:

'A person is bullied or harassed when he or she is repeatedly subjected to negative acts in a situation when the victim finds it difficult to defend him or herself' (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, cited in Enarsen, 1996, p. 14).

This definition has several features that need to be explained. Negative actions include: Personal and work related issues which may involve intimidation and violent threats (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Hoel & Cooper, 2000).

The use of aggressive behaviour usually refers to persistent behaviour. However, an extremely aggressive act as in a threat or physical violence that leaves the victim in a fearful state is classified as bullying.

‘The prolonged nature of the exposure is particularly necessary in understanding the severe effects bullying may have on targets as well as the likelihood of finding a solution to the problem’ (Hoel & Cooper, 2000, p. 4-5, cited in Tehrani, 2001).

Most researchers are also in agreement ‘that what matters in cases of bullying is the subjective perception of targets’ (Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 5), and how the victim responds is central to the development and effects of bullying. However, there are exceptions, notably Leymann (1996) who uses objective behavioural indicators.

Leymann defines bullying as:

‘Hostile and unethical communication, which is directed in a systematic way by one or a few individuals towards one individual who due to mobbing is pushed into a helpless and defenceless position, being held there by means of continuing mobbing activities. These actions occur on a very frequent basis (statistical definition: at least once a week) and over a long period of time (statistical definition: at least six months of duration’) (p. 168).

Following the Scandinavian model for both school and workplace bullying Leymann (1996) views mobbing as systematic bullying of one person by a group of people by hostile and unethical communication which induces a psychological terror in them. The terrorised individual becomes defenceless and may exhibit psychosomatic symptoms and/or social negation. It is more significant that the group carries out the mobbing repeatedly over a period of time which explains why seemingly mild comments or acts can result in negative psychological effects.

Randall's view is that:

'Bullying is the aggressive behaviour arising from the deliberate intent to cause physical or psychological distress to others' (1997, p. 4).

This author examines the factors which motivate a person to cause harm or make somebody suffer, that is the intention of delivering the act. Although Randall (1997) believes in including repeated aggressive behaviour, he also believes that one single traumatic act of bullying which leaves the victim in constant fear of future attacks with resultant negative effects should also be included in the definition of bullying.

The American researchers Neuman and Baron (1994; 1998; 2002) posit that:

'Workplace aggression is efforts by individuals to harm others with whom they work, or have worked, or the organisations in which they are presently, or were previously employed' (Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 395).

These authors believe that workplace aggression belongs in the broader area of human aggression but has its own set of behaviours. The significance of Neuman and Baron's work is that within the area of human aggression they generally classified behaviour as aggressive when an individual intentionally tries to harm another. This definition stresses the intentionality of the aggressive act, as also referred to in Randall's (1997) operational definition of workplace bullying.

Another American author Keashly (1998) uses the term 'Emotional Abuse' to cover most of the behaviours highlighted by European researchers (Zapf, 1999). By doing so she differentiates the non-physical emotionally abusive behaviours at work from physical, sexual and racial abuse. She also highlights the fact that much of workplace bullying is of the group or mobbing nature. Keashly reviewed a cross section of

international studies and in summarising these provides a study which demonstrates the wide variety of bullying behaviours which may be termed emotional abuse.

The following is a summary of the seven non-physical behavioural patterns which Keashly has identified as being emotionally abusive. She argues that they produce testable hypotheses.

- i) 'Emotional Abuse includes verbal and non verbal modes of expression' (Keashly, 1998, p. 96).

Verbal abuse can be divided into direct and indirect forms. Examples of direct includes roaring and shouting at specific people, insulting them, being rude and having a tantrum. It also includes accusing people of wrongdoing, belittling them and blaming them for mistakes. Indirect abuse includes taking credit for work, spreading rumours and gossip, allowing confidential matter to circulate and not providing necessary information. Non verbal abuse includes ignoring a person, not talking to them, glaring, intimidating them with physical gestures, and throwing things about.

Keashly includes a list of studies on these types of emotional abuse and emphasises the work of Baron and Neuman (1996), who used the work of Buss (1961) from a developed framework for categorising human aggression.

- ii) 'Behaviours are emotionally abusive when they are of a repeated nature or part of a pattern' (Keashly, 1998, p. 101).

Keashly's findings on this point are in line with other researchers who have employed narrative data (Randall, 1997). Her observations agree with victims' perceptions that they believe that they have been abused if they experience fairly mild behaviours on a

frequent basis. As behaviour gets progressively more severe it has only to happen less often to be called abusive. Randall (1997) cites the experience of a prisoner in having his life threatened by another prisoner only once as being extremely intimidatory.

Leymann's (1996) findings on mobbing or group bullying also concurs with this definition.

- iii) 'Behaviours are emotionally abusive when they are unwelcome and unsolicited' (Keashly, 1998, p. 103).

Keashly comments that no one wishes to be subjected to abusive behaviours. Even so employer's personal harassment policies demand of the victims, a clear statement that the behaviour to which they are being subjected is unwanted. The question from the psychological aspect is to establish if the victim has drawn the harassment on themselves by certain behaviour. It has been the experience of Randall (1997; 2001) that a bully and their victim can act in certain ways to fulfill each others needs – this type of behaviour is better suited to social exchange theory (Frude, 1992). Anger is also a major issue, a bully and victim usually have completely different views on this. Keashly (1998) demonstrates that both the bully and victim are usually at pains to avoid taking responsibility for the harassment.

- iv) 'Behaviours are emotionally abusive when they violate a standard of appropriate contact towards others' (Keashly, 1998, p. 104).

The above stance is in general agreement with international research into bullying (Zapf, 1999), where certain behaviours are considered to be totally unacceptable in the workplace, such as, having details of one's personal life aired publicly. Other types of behaviour may be acceptable in some workplaces and not in others. For example,

somebody being asked to stand to attention whilst receiving instructions would be considered normal in the army, but not in a regular office environment.

- v) 'Behaviours are emotionally abusive when they result in harm or injury to the target' (Keashly, 1998, p. 106).

This element of definition is also supported by international research into workers' views on immediate harm or injury. The psychological damage inflicted by repeated non-physical harassment is less obvious but an important consideration. Randall (1997) provides evidence that regular harassment can result in a form of post-traumatic stress, and other studies such as Leymann and Gustafsson (1996) also reported similar results.

- vi) 'Behaviours are emotionally abusive when the aggressor intended to harm the target or allowed harmful events to be experienced by the target' (Keashly, 1998, p. 108).

Keashly examines the issue of whether the aggressor intended to harm the victim and finds that victims believe they are being abused when they are convinced that their treatment was intended to cause harm. This agrees with studies such as Randall's (1997) on adult bullying, where intention is a critical component.

- vii) 'The bully is in a more powerful position relative to the victim' (Keashly, 1998, p.109).

Harassment of staff by line managers is the most frequently experienced type of power-play. Keashly demonstrates that power does not always come from an individual's position in the workplace and may be of an influential nature, which includes 'referent

power' whereby somebody is believed to have effective qualities that can be exploited within the organisation.

Raven (1992) states that a peer group member of staff may exert an influence not derived from their position within the organisation. This influence can be far reaching and even determine the way an organisation or department operates unofficially with the result of a positive or negative impact. This element of definition concurs with narratives of bullies and victims (Randall, 1997), and also gives a further insight into the role of intention whereby harm is caused by the deliberate misuse of power.

Keashly's theoretical work opens areas for further research, which she herself states is necessary in order to provide credibility and information on the nature of workplace aggression and emotional abuse. Keashly's perspective as a possible source for operational guidelines is acceptable as a description of workplace bullying. Her seven dimensions are generally in agreement with other definitions used to describe workplace bullying (Hoel and Cooper, 2001).

Although bullying and harassment are used interchangeably, they are also used to describe different types of aggressive behaviour. For example, bullying is more often associated with aggressive acts in school, while harassment is regarded as a more suitable term to describe the interactions of adults at work.

The Oxford English dictionary (1993) definition of 'harass' gives the synonyms of 'worry' and 'pester'. The derivation of the word is from the Old French 'harer', 'to set a dog on'. Although the word 'bully' (as earlier discussed) is given in the dictionary

definition, there seems to be need for a clearer distinction between harassing and bullying. What is clear is that bullying includes the 'intent' to inflict some kind of deliberate pain, while harassment includes the victim's perception of pain. In addition, bullying includes a range of behaviours which must occur frequently, whereas harassment is usually associated with sexual and racial harassment and can be measured by one act.

Racial harassment refers to bullying directed towards someone solely on account of his racial origin. Sexual harassment, on the other hand, may best be regarded as a form of sexual behaviour (Randall, 1997). Central to sexual harassment is the obvious ratio of power imbalance, that is, males are physically more powerful and in most cases are in more powerful positions in the work settings. It is the most frequently documented form of negative behaviour in the workplace (Gutek, 1985), and is generally recognised as a serious problem. Perhaps this is because sexual equality is an important contemporary social issue, and, in addition to legislation, organisations enact policies to confront the problem. Some of the behaviour which is regarded as sexual harassment includes: unreciprocated and unwelcome comments; looks; jokes; suggestions or physical contact which might threaten a person's job security or create a stressful or intimidating working environment (Employment Equality Agency, 1994).

The crucial factor appears to be the unwelcome and unreciprocated attention being paid to the victim. If the comments, jokes, and contact are welcome and reciprocated there would seem to be a normal sexual relationship in so far as that is possible within a work group. In legal cases of racial or sexual harassment it is necessary for the victim to report that they have experienced harassment before it can be said to have occurred. In

the case of bullying, not all researchers require subjective reports from the apparent victim to confirm that it has occurred (Leymann, 1996). Apart from these differences, the two terms seem to be used interchangeably.

Attempts to clarify and to come to some consensus over the ways in which the term 'bullying' should be applied can best be considered under three headings: (i) power relationships, (ii) persistency, duration and frequency, (iii) intent and acknowledgment.

Power relationships

Use of power is the ability to meet the goals of an individual and/or an organisation, but it can develop into workplace bullying when this power is abused (Beed, 1996, cited in Robbins, 1998). Most definitions, especially those from Scandinavian sources, follow the OED in stressing that 'bullying and harassment imply a difference in actual or perceived power and strength between the persecutor and the victim' (Einarsen, Matthiesen & Raknes, 1994). It follows that conflicts between parties of equal strength are not conceptualised as bullying (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). Other authors describe bullying in similar ways. For example, Andrea Adams (1992) defines it as, 'the personal misuse of power and position' (p. 17), where the bully is sanctioned to illicit power, which he or she has gained from their position in the organisation and uses it to aggressively overpower others. On the other hand, licit power is gained legitimately and is used successfully within a stressful changing environment with the effect of inspiring others to work efficiently (Bournois, 1996, cited in Greenberg, 2002).

There is an abundance of case studies which indicate that employees in weak and powerless positions are more likely to be bullied (Zapf et al., 1996; Niedl, 1996). Of

course, it is not easy to define power, and it need not be limited to differences in status within an organisation. It has been further categorised and described (by O'Moore, 1996) as an imbalance in social, physical, economic or psychological standing. The difference in power or strength may not even be real, but only perceived as such, presumably by the two parties involved. Victims feel powerless and unable to defend themselves; bullies feel powerful and able to attack. Where, for example, in organisational changes, the fear of new technology can often give power to an elite group of individuals (usually top management), when jobs are being 'deskilled', new management are assessed only by top management, with the knock-on effect of excluding middle and lower managers, and lower levels of employees.

Persistency, Duration and Frequency.

There is general agreement that there must be some persistency in negative behaviour for it to be regarded as bullying (Leymann, 1996; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). One-off aggressive acts in school or workplace are therefore excluded from the definition. However, there is the exception where a threat, and/or physical violence, which leaves the victim in a constant state of fear, can be reasonably classified as bullying (Hoel & Cooper, 2001).

Differences exist among researchers with regard to the duration over which the bullying behaviour needs to extend. These differences in the case of workplace bullying are not great and vary between six months and a year. Leymann (1992) insists on a minimum duration of six months, while Björkqvist et al. (1994) require the behaviour to have gone on for a year. Einarsen and Skogstad (1996) are less precise and refer to the

behaviour as bullying if it has occurred during the preceding six months. These durations are greater than that suggested by Olweus (1989) in a school setting, where he proposes at least a month.

More difficulties arise when an attempt is made to determine the necessary frequency of the behaviour within the prescribed period. Leymann (1996) is again most precise with his requirement that bullying has to occur weekly for it to merit that description. Einarsen and Skogstad (1996) follow the lead of Olweus (1989, 1990) in using the same frequency scale, requiring the behaviour to have occurred 'now and then' during six months. This is advantageous if a comparison of school and workplace bullying is wanted. However, it is not so precise as Leymann's usage. On the other hand, it seems more realistic than Leymann's rigid criterion, and there is much evidence to support the view that bullying can occur less frequently than weekly, as in the case of severe bullying.

Intent and Acknowledgement

When subjective states of the perpetrator and victim are involved in the definition of bullying, one loses the objectivity largely inherent in the previous criteria. It is for this reason that Leymann prefers to omit the state of mind of the persons involved and to retain the strict behavioural criteria of frequency and duration. However, most researchers do require the victims to confirm that they have been bullied. Some rigor has been achieved in this task by Einarsen et al. (1994) and Rayner (1997), who gave respondents a description of bullying, including subjective states, and asked them to judge whether they fell into the category of victim.

To discover if the perpetrator considers that he has acted as a bully is obviously a more difficult task and one that has been largely avoided in the past. Yet unless it is confirmed that there was a deliberate intent to bully, there may be a danger in misclassifying behaviour. Hoel, Rayner and Cooper (1999) make the point that legal definitions of racial and sexual harassment have always avoided consideration of intent because of the difficulty of measuring it. Intent has never been operationalised and has merely been inferred by some researchers (Björkqvist et al., 1994) – to the point of being a controversial issue (Hoel & Cooper, 2001).

Randall (1997) strongly believes that bullies do 'intend' to cause harm, and expect that their deliberate behaviour will harm their selected victims. Einarsen (1999) believes that the attributions delivered by targets can have an equally serious effect on the victim as the aggressive act itself. Support for the inclusion of 'intent' in adult definitions of bullying, comes from some definitions of school bullying (discussed in Part Two) which include the 'intent' of bullying (Tattum & Lane, 1988; Besag, 1989). In spite of the problems in investigating subjective states of perpetrator and victim, it would seem a crucial area for further study in order to advance our psychological understanding of bullying.

Part Two: Bullying in Schools

The beginnings at school of bullying behaviour and the childhood experiences of victims and bullies, may throw light on the possible development of similar patterns of adult behaviour in the workplace. The following short survey has that purpose.

School bullying is defined as being when a pupil is 'exposed repeatedly and over time to negative action on the part of one or more other students' (Olweus, 1997, p. 171). In addition, there has to be perceived or real imbalance in strength, that is, an asymmetric power relationship characterised by physical or psychological differences.

Types of bullying behaviour

Types of bullying behaviour are described as being physical, verbal or psychological (Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz & Kaukiainen, 1992). More specifically, five types of bullying behaviour are identified by Tattum, Tattum and Herbert (1993), namely: (1) gesture; (2) verbal; (3) physical; (4) extortion; and (5) exclusion. Although the most common form of school bullying experienced by both girls and boys involves verbal abuse (e.g., name-calling), there are obvious sex differences in some other types of bullying (Whitney & Smith, 1993). Boys' bullying behaviour is more direct, involving threatening and physical attack, whereas girls use more indirect techniques, such as exclusion and being ignored (O'Moore et al., 1997). These authors found such differences to be more marked at older ages; they also found that older girls were more likely to spread rumors, often containing upsetting sexual content. About 10% of both boys and girls suffered from having their belongings removed and sometimes destroyed.

Bullying in schools has for many years been treated in fictional accounts, one of the best known being *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Hughes, 1923). Systematic research into the problem has been more recent, with Dan Olweus initiating work in the 1970s (Olweus, 1973). Research then began to expand in the Scandinavian countries (Mykletun, 1979; Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Roland, 1989) and later into Britain (Stevenson & Smith, 1989; Besag, 1989; Tattum & Lane, 1989; Randall, 1993; Boulton & Underwood, 1992), and Ireland (Byrne, 1997; O'Moore, Kirkham & Smith, 1997). Other English-speaking countries involved include USA (Lewis, 1978) and Australia (Rigby, 1988).

Bullying can be described as being social in nature (Salmivalli, Huttunen & Lagerspetz, 1997). That is, within a social group setting, when victims are unable to avoid being targeted by the bully, the bully is occasionally backed by 'pro-victims' who 'give support, at least verbal support, to children who are victimised by bullies' (Rigby & Slee, 1993, p. 120). A reasonable explanation for such actions would suggest that pro-victims are influenced by the peer pressure to join a group and obey their rules. Self-categorisation of groups states that when one is categorised as a group member, one identifies with the group's norms, and perceives oneself as the 'in-group', which 'results in 'between-group contrast' and 'in-group favouritism' (Ireland, 1999, p. 52).

It has to be borne in mind that most research has entailed questioning pupils and only occasionally teachers. Thus, it is the child's perception of what constitutes bullying that is recorded. Secondly, bullying can be a secretive activity, in that some victims choose

for a variety of reasons not to report having been bullied, and this can lead to an underestimation of the incidence of bullying.

With so many researchers in different countries studying what one considers must be similar phenomena, it is not surprising that, in spite of these methodological difficulties, cross-cultural comparisons have been drawn, particularly with regard to the incidence of bullying.

Prevalence of school bullying

Olweus (1983) surveyed more than 130,000 Norwegian school pupils, and found that 9% had been bullied, 7% had acted as bullies, and 1.6% had been both victims and bullies. These figures were also broken down to compare boys and girls, and to compare children of different ages, roughly from age 7 to 16. There were fewer girls than boys bullied at all ages, although the differences were small. In the case of bullies, many more boys acted in this way, from twice as many at the youngest age to six times as many at the oldest. However, Olweus (1983) cautions that it is more difficult to detect bullying among girls, as it often takes an indirect form, such as slander, exclusion from a group, etc.

Age differences were more marked in the percentages of victims than in bullies. That is, although 17.5 % of boys and 16% of girls were bullied at the youngest ages, only 6.4% of boys and 3% of girls suffered at the other end of the age range. The drop off was quite regular as these children progressed to post-primary school. In other words, as these children grew older (between ages of 11-18 years), there were less reported

incidences of their being bullied. The percentage of bullies, on the other hand, remained at about 7 % throughout the age range. Boy bullies may choose girls and/or boys for their targets, whereas girls rarely bully boys.

The only other national survey of similar extent is that of O'Moore, Kirkham and Smith (1997) with 20,442 pupils in the Republic of Ireland. They used a modified version of the Olweus questionnaire (Whitney & Smith, 1993), and, although they use a more extended time-scale to include occasional bullying (i.e., 'once or twice'), it is possible to compare their findings with those of Olweus (1983).

Ignoring their category of occasional bullying, they found that in primary schools (ages 4-11 years), 9.9 % of boys and 6.8% of girls were bullied. In post-primary schools (ages 11-18 years) the percentages fall to 4.3 % of boys and 2.1 % of girls. In both types of school the sex differences were significant at $p < .001$. In agreement with Olweus, they found a steady decrease with age in the incidence of victims of bullying. Also in agreement is their finding that although a considerable number of girls were bullied by a boy, very few boys reported having been bullied by a girl.

Examining the incidence with which pupils reported that they acted as bullies, O'Moore et al. (1997) found in primary schools 7.1 % of boys and 2.9 % of girls, whilst in post-primary schools the incidence was 3.9 for boys and 1.5 for girls. In both types of school the sex differences were significant at $p < .001$, and this was also the case when each school year was examined. However, their finding of a general decrease in the older groups differs from that of Olweus (1983). Their year-by-year analysis is of interest, as it shows among other variations a dramatic drop in bullying behaviour when the

children first enter post-primary schools, a drop which is intuitively understandable, in view of the fact that all pre and post-primary schools have anti-bullying policies, which are reasonably effective in dealing with school bullying. An example can be seen in Ireland when a Government Minister recently (November, 2002) launched a booklet on recommendations for school bullying.

From these two large-scale studies certain patterns of bullying and tentative incidence figures emerge. Although it is more usual for girls to under-report being victimised (Roland, 1989), more boys than girls are bullied at all ages, and there are about twice as many boy bullies as girl bullies at all ages. Boys bully both boys and girls, whilst girls restrict their bullying to their own sex. It seems that up to about 10% of school children suffer from being bullied on a regular basis, and the practice is more widespread at the younger ages. Other studies of bullying generally support these findings. For example, the smaller scale study conducted in Sheffield by Whitney and Smith (1993) of 6,700 pupils found that 27% of primary school children were bullied, but just 10% were bullied once a week and more often, whilst in secondary schools 10% were bullied occasionally, and just 4% on a regular basis.

According to O'Moore et al. (1997), although most bullying occurred in school, it was not restricted to the school premises. Within the school, the playground was the prime location for bullying in the case of primary school children (Whitney & Smith, 1993), whereas with older children it was the classroom and corridors. Children of different classes and ages generally mix in the playground, which provides opportunities for older children to pick on younger ones. Within the classroom there is greater homogeneity, and in the school corridors before and after lessons where children tend to

be in the company of their classmates. The implications are that with older children it is peer pressure bullying, while with younger children it is power bullying. Bullying also occurred on the journey to and from school, and it was on these occasions that belongings were taken (Byrne, 1997). Physical action included restraining victims so that they missed a bus or train, or physical abuse, sometimes of a serious nature.

The size of a school may play a part in deciding the incidence of bullying. O'Moore et al. (1997) found that there was significantly less bullying and less victimisation in large post-primary schools. (This was also true of primary schools, although the relationship between the size of school and the incidence of being bullied did not reach significance). The size of the class was significant in the same direction, that is, the larger classes in post-primary schools had a significantly lower incidence of children being bullied and of bullying behaviour.

In the O'Moore et al. (1997) study there was a clear-cut tendency for more bullying behaviour to occur in those schools with a higher concentration of pupils from the lower socio-economic backgrounds, an effect particularly marked in the case of post-primary schools. Other research (Martlew & Hodson, 1991) found that children with special educational needs had a higher risk of being bullied, two-thirds reported having been bullied compared with just over a quarter in main stream schools.

The next subsection will explore the child personality traits of the victim and bully.

Characteristics of child victims and bullies

Table 1.1 presents child personality traits ascribed by various researchers to victims and to bullies. A relatively clear picture of the typical victim and bully emerges from Table 1.1 and from other research, mainly with boys (Bjorkqvist, Ekman & Lagerspetz, 1982; Boulton & Smith, 1994; Farrington, 1993; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Victims tend to be insecure, cautious, sensitive, have low levels of self-esteem, a negative view of themselves, and when attacked often cry (Randall, 1997). They are characterised by a combination of an anxious reaction pattern and physical weakness (Olweus, 1996).

Table 1.1**Characteristics of Child Victims and Bullies**

Author	Victims	Bullies
Austin & Joseph, (1996)		Bully/victim Behavioural conduct disorder & low global self esteem
Besag, (1989)	Vulnerable	
Boulton & Smith, (1994) Stephenson & Smith, (1989)	Low self-esteem Vulnerable	Bully/victim insecure
Byrne, (1994)	Introvert, submissive, sensitive Neurotic	
Fitzgerald, (1998)		Insecure
Olweus, (1973, 1978), (1981; 1984)	Cautiousness Sensitive Anxious Insecure Low self-esteem Socially withdrawn Passive or submissive Shy, weak / provocative	Aggressive Positive attitude to violence Strong need to dominate Impulsive Passive bully (may be insecure and anxious Impulsive, aggressive
Olweus, (1980, 1991, 1993)		Aggressive conduct disorder
Randall, (1994)	Low self-esteem	
Schaffer, (1998)	Provocative victims anxious and aggressive	
Schwartz, Dodge & Coie, (1993)	Submissive, sensitive	
Slee & Rigby, (1993)	Introvert, neurotic	
O'Moore, Kirham & Smith, (1997)	Socially withdrawn, Low self-esteem Vulnerable, neurotic	
Pikas, (1989)	Bully/victim	

Several studies (Byrne, 1994; Mynard & Joseph, 1997; Slee & Rigby, 1993) have shown that victims are lower in extraversion and higher in neuroticism than control samples, and that submissiveness and sensitivity lead to their victimisation (Olweus, 1993; Schwartz, Dodge & Coie, 1993).

Pikas (1989) differentiated between the 'classic' victim, as described above, and the 'provocative' victim, who brings bullying upon himself. Olweus (1993) also makes this distinction, characterising one group of child victims as being 'provocative', having both anxious and aggressive reaction patterns, who lack concentration and are often irritating to others.

Typical bullies are, rather obviously, described as having aggressive reaction patterns, some lack empathy, are rule-breaking, and also in the case of boys, are physically strong. In addition to their aggressiveness, some are 'insecure and enjoy making others feel small and inflicting pain on them' (Fitzgerald, 1998, p. 41). Olweus (1993) describes one type of passive bully who may be insecure and anxious. Stephenson and Smith (1989) confirm this and also describe the bully/victim, who has experienced both roles. Other studies (Austin & Joseph, 1996) found that these bully/victims tend to have lower scores on behavioural conduct and global self-esteem than pure bullies or victims.

Studies portray the beginning of a bullying cycle when a child is perceived as vulnerable and weak, and hence an easy and attractive 'attack' target of aggressive behaviour for a more powerful child or children from a peer group. The victim may respond in a 'passive' way, which is evidence that the bully has succeeded and often continues to bully in a pleasurable sense of dominance. The bullying cycle is more likely to continue in an intense way, particularly if it is seen as a fun activity and approved by the peer group. The victims' personality traits of being anxious, introverted and isolated can result in them being the 'object of group prejudice' (Rigby, 2000, p. 2). In some cases, the victim may stop the bullying and so the bullying cycle is broken.

Relevance of school studies to workplace bullying

Randall's (1997; 2001) narrative cases identified some individuals with similar styles of bullying, which extended from school to workplace bullying; that is, child victims' and bullies' personalities tend to be stable with the effect of remaining in their respective roles as adults.

Research literature indicates that some characteristics of school bullying are similar to workplace bullying. For example, in working environments where persons are an easy target for others to bully and gain pleasure from their dominance at the expense of victims – it is 'often enough the very people who were bullies at school' (Farrington, 1993, p. 7). Parallel to the school environment, some working adults are struggling against a bully situation when possible, by avoiding, escaping, confronting and/or looking for help or pathetically trying to distract the bully. Differences between school and work bullying primarily relate to power, in that most older children are bullied by peers, whereas adults are mainly bullied by persons who hold higher positions of power (Rayner, 2000) and to a lesser extent by colleagues lacking in organisational power.

Research into school bullying may be significant for its relevance to workplace bullying, under the following headings:

1. Types of bullying: In the case of boys, physical aggression is more prevalent in schools; on the other hand, verbal aggression is more prevalent in girls. This latter type of aggression is comparable to workplace behaviour, for example, school children

reporting: 'I had rumours spread about me'; 'I was threatened' (O'Moore et al., 1997, p. 151). With older children, peer bullying seems to replace the power bullying of younger children. It would seem therefore that peer bullying should be more common at the workplace (however, research such as Einarsen (2000), would suggest otherwise). Bullying occurs outside the school setting, and it may therefore be worth examining this possibility with adults. Sex differences may be apparent in the workplace similar to those found in schools.

2. Characteristics of bullies and victims: It is to be expected that personality profiles similar to those found among children will be apparent in the workplace.

3. Size of institution: It will be interesting to discover if large workplaces have less bullying, as was the case in the O'Moore et al. (1997) study of Irish schools.

4. Social composition of institution: The extrapolation from the O'Moore et al. (1997) study would be to expect more bullying among workers from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

It was not possible to research all four of these areas, and it is only point two that was further investigated.

Is it possible to equate the experiences of school bullying with workplace bullying? Rigby (2001) claims that children 'who bully others at school' (p. 5), use the same work tactics, as outlined by Zapf et al. (1996): (1) forcing an individual to carry out tasks that make them feel self-conscious; (2) being ignored; (3) making comments about an

individual's private life; (4) yelling, and/or cursing, and (5) spreading rumors (Rigby, 2001).

The relationship of well-being to being victimised is more investigated in schools (O'Moore et al., 1997; Rigby, 1998), and, it has been found that negative psychological health (e.g., low self esteem) is significantly associated with being bullied by peers at school. Workplace studies (Zapf et al., 1996) found that victims who were frequently bullied at work were significantly more likely to report similar psychological effects as reported in school studies. It is possible that there is a causal relationship between long term bullying and ill health, or it could be that being psychologically unwell may trigger others to bully these victims.

Longitudinal studies of the effects of bullying (Rigby, 1998) support the view that severe bullying can have short and long term effects. In some cases, these ill health effects may extend through to adulthood. Other studies found that psychosomatic symptoms, as, for example, adult depression were associated with a history of school or peer bullying (Dietz, 1994). Tritt and Duncan, (1997, cited in Bee & Boyd, 2002), found that child victims experienced loneliness in college, and Gilmarten (1987) claimed that the avoidance of close relations could extend throughout adult life.

How does a history of being bullied as a child affect an adult's work performance? A higher percentage of school absenteeism (6% of boys and 9% of girls in Australia) is reported by victims who are more frequently bullied (that is, at least once a week and for at least one year (Rigby, 1996). Hence, it may be reasonable to suggest that the victims' poor school performance is because of their induced depression and anxiety as

a result of being bullied. Parallel findings (Institute of Personnel and Development, 1996) of chronic workplace bullying also apply to adults whose work performance is negatively affected.

From the above discussion, it is argued that there is a history of bullying behaviour patterns that extend from childhood to adulthood. The following section explores bullying behaviour in the workplace, and the next Chapter examines the development of victim and bully personality traits.

Part Three: Workplace bullying

This literature review will survey the historical development of research into bullying at work including an examination of methods used and its incidence. The relationship of aggression and stress will also be examined, and then the types of bullying behaviour described, with possible explanations. Although the next chapter is devoted to personality, the notion of a victim and bully profile will be considered in this section of the literature review. Also, the effects of bullying will be examined, as well as the action taken by victims. Lastly, procedures for dealing with bullying will be explored in conjunction with preventative and rehabilitation strategies.

Publications

The phenomenon of workplace bullying was clearly recognized in the U.S.A. with the publication in 1976 of Brodsky's '*The Harassed Worker*'. This was an important early

text consisting of case studies, which focused mainly on what he called 'subjective harassment' involving an awareness on the part of the victim of being bullied. 'Objective harassment', on the other hand, referred to external evidence that harassment was occurring. This distinction still figures in recent research, for example, Coyne, Smith-Lee Chong, Randall and Seigne (2002), with some works concentrating on the subjective and others on the objective aspects of the process. Quite independently of Brodsky, and one year later, the Work Environment Act (1978) in Sweden initiated an awareness of bullying in Northern Europe and especially in Scandinavia, where considerable research has subsequently occurred. Leymann and Gustafsson (1984) pioneered research there with the first scientific report on mobbing.

In the last decade, research into workplace bullying spurred Northern Europe to lead in an increasing number of publications focused on the issue (Einarsen & Raknes, 1991; Papannou & Vartia, 1991). Although the first clinical observational study of victims was conducted by Leymann in the 1980s, it was some years later before he suggested that the syndrome of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was an appropriate psychiatric diagnosis applicable to victims (Leymann, 1992). In the same year, Australian researchers also became aware of bullying in the workplace (Toohey, 1992). Closer to home in the United Kingdom, Andrea Adams with co-author Neil Crawford published what could be described as the first informative book of practical advice: *Bullying at Work: how to confront and overcome it* (1992).

Although America has greatly contributed research into workplace bullying (Brodsky, 1976; Keashly, 1999), it is argued that Scandinavian countries continue to dominate the field. In addition to Leymann's valuable contributions, much research has been

conducted in Norway (Einarsen, Raknes & Hellsoy, 1991; Einarsen, Raknes & Matthieson, 1994; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Einarsen, 1999) and in Finland (Papannou & Vartia, 1991; Bjorkqvist, Osterman & Hjelt-Back, 1994; Vartia, 1996). Other European countries involved in research include Germany (Becker, 1993; Halma, 1995; Zapf, Knorz & Kulla, 1996; Zapf, 1999), Hungary (Kausek & Simon, 1985), Austria (Nield 1995), the United Kingdom (Randall, 1989, 1994, 1996, 1997; Rayner, 1997; Hoel, Rayner & Cooper, 1999), and Ireland (O'Moore, Seigne, McGuire & Smith, 1998a; 1998b).

Other research outside Europe, includes further publications in the U.S.A. (Bassman, 1992; Ashforth, 1994; Price & Spralten, 1995; Keashly, 1995), Japan (Tokunaga & Sato-Tanaka, 1997), and Australia (McCarthy, Sheehan & Kearns, 1995; McCarthy, Sheehan & Wilke, 1996; Sheehan, 1999).

As a result of the first international conference held in Hungary (1995) on 'Mobbing and Victimization at Work', the *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* (1996) published eight symposium papers. The following year in the United Kingdom, the *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* (1997) also dedicated a special edition to 'Bullying in Adult Life'.

In the same year, Randall's book on *Adult Bullying: Perpetrators and Victims* (1997) was published in the U.K based on clinical case histories. In the previous year, a subjective insight from a victim's perspective entitled *Bully in Sight* by Tim Field (1996) gave the reader practical advice on bullying with an empathetic understanding of the problems encountered as a victim. Informative types of bullying books have also

been published in Ireland and include *Campaign against Bullying* (O'Donnell, 1994), *Bullying and Harassment in the Workplace* (Costigan, 1998), and the *ABC of Bullying* (Murray & Keane, 1998). At the close of the last century, the *International Journal of Manpower* (1999) also published special editions on workplace bullying. At the beginning of this century, publications in Europe include books by: Kemshall and Pritchard (Eds) (2000) *Good Practice in Working with Victims of Violence*; Randall (2001) *Bullying in Adulthood: Assessing Victims and Bullies*; Tehrani (Ed) (2001) *Building a Culture of Respect Managing Bullying at Work*; and in Australia, McCarthy, Rylance, Bennett and Zimmermann (Eds) (2001) *Bullying from Backyard to Boardroom*. Some published works in the UK include: Hoel and Cooper (2000); Randall and Parker (2000), and in northern Europe further publications by Einarsen (2000) and Zapf (2001); and in Australia by Jordan and Sheehan (2000).

Bullying behaviour

To understand the phenomenon of workplace bullying it would be helpful first to identify types of bullying behaviour. These aggressive types of behaviour are described as a series of acts which can take a number of forms from malicious rumour, negative evaluation of work, and social isolation, to direct verbal and physical threat. The TUC (1988) has suggested that bullying behaviours fall into three main categories of (1) undermining professional ability in front of staff, (2) creating extra work or disrupting employee's ability to work; and (3) isolating staff. As Randall (2001) has commented, it would be a mistake to assume that all bullying behaviour will fit into these three categories.

This criticism appears valid when other categorisations are examined. For example, Rayner and Hoel (1997) identified five main categories of bullying behaviour: (1) threats to an individual's professional status, and (2) to their personal standing, (3) being isolated, (4) overworked, and (5) destabilisation – that is, not being recognised or rewarded for achieving work goals or changing work schedules.

Einarsen (1999) is in agreement with the above descriptions and lists five similar categories of bullying behaviour: (1) work-related bullying (for example, changing the victim's work schedule), (2) social isolation, (3) personal attacks and attacks on the victim's private life, (for example, ridicule, gossip, insulting comments), (4) verbal assaults (such as public criticism, yelling and similar humiliations), and (5) physical assaults or threats of physical harm.

The effects of bullying behaviour are listed by Leymann (1996), and include: (1) effects on the victim's possibilities to communicate adequately, (2) effects on the victim's possibilities to maintain social contacts, (3) effects on the victim's personal reputation, (4) effects on the victim's occupational situation, and (5) effects on the victim's health. There is obviously considerable agreement among these researchers as to what they are thinking, although Liefoghe and Olafsson (1999) make the point that the concept of bullying does tend to differ from organisation to organisation. Also, some employees do not have detailed knowledge of what can be defined as bullying behaviour, but it is their interpretation, based on their observations or experience of bullying or other negative events, who report these incidents to their employers. It seems that with individuals, as well as with organisations, there is some divergence of opinion as to what exactly constitutes bullying behaviour.

In general, research has demonstrated little difference among different kinds of bullying behaviour (Leymann, 1992; Leymann & Glinfroth, 1993; Niedl, 1996; Papannou & Vartia, 1995). More recently two kinds of bullies' behaviour have been identified by Einarsen (1999; 2002). The first kind is 'predatory bullying' which is classified under three subclasses (i) the victim does nothing to attract the bully except be in place for a bully to demonstrate their power. In other instances (ii) the victim may be attacked because they are not a member of the in-group, or because they are a member of an out-group, and (iii) the victim may be an easy target for the bully to vent his or her frustration and stress. Examples of predatory bullying include: exposure to a highly aggressive leadership style; 'being selected as a scapegoat; and acting out of prejudice' (Einarsen, 1999 p. 12). The second kind of bullying is referred to as 'dispute related bullying' (Einarsen, 1999, p. 12), which is further classified as: (i) using aggressive behaviours and interpersonal conflict; (ii) using malingering as a tactic; and (iii) being resentful of perceived unfair treatment or wrongdoing.

Measuring bullying at work

Research methods into workplace bullying appear to be dominated by postal questionnaires, some of which are combined with structured interviews. It is not surprising therefore that much workplace bullying predominately relates to self-reported incidents by the victims. Also, many researchers (Bassman, 1989; Adams, 1992;1997) have worked with victims who have contacted them, in effect self-selected groups. This type of subjective approach also involves giving a bullying definition to the victim (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001). There are problems in collecting such data as it is the victim's subjective account, which is effectively anecdotal evidence and cannot be

relied upon. A limitation is that most research does not include bullies' or observers' reports of bullying, but tends to rely on subjective self-reports of victims (Cowie, Naylor, Rivers, Smith & Pereira, 2002).

There appear to be two types of approach. The first type is the subjective approach and involves respondents being given a definition of bullying and asked if they considered themselves to be bullied. A positive response enables the interviewer to classify respondents as victims if they fit into the researcher's bullying inventory. There is also the required time-frame (of once a week for six months), with regard to frequency and duration (Leymann, 1996). Another type of subjective method may also include a definition of bullying and involves the respondents' accounts of their own experiences being rated against an inventory of broader bullying types of behaviours. This method includes a more flexible time frame of aggressive acts within the last six months (Einarsen, 1996). Neither approach avoids the problem of subjectivity.

There is an obvious need in the first instance to establish whether the researcher is collecting subjective or objective accounts and to agree on an objective measurement. The operational approach is the latter method, and uses an objective inventory, for example, the Inventory of Psychological Terrorization (LIPT) (Leymann, 1990) and the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ) (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997), to ascertain if employees have been the recipients of a number of negative workplace behaviours in a fixed time range, such as six to twelve months. As suggested by Frese and Zapf (1998), one possible method could be through the medium of observers' accounts of bullied colleagues; however, this method is liable to the possibility of 'bias' reporting

(Einarsen, 1996). Other researchers (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994) refer to obvious confidentiality problems, such as disclosing the identity of the victims.

There can also be difficulties in obtaining an equal distribution of employees across the workforce. Most researchers have focused on white-collar workers (Rayner & Hoel, 1997); possibly blue-collar workers are more reluctant to come forward and seek counselling guidance, or they may not have the access to such resources. There is, however, little evidence to support this notion. Furthermore, it is difficult to make direct comparisons of incidence levels of bullying behaviour between countries because of differences in cultures (Pavett & Morris 1995), in socioeconomic conditions, and in the research methods employed.

Prevalence of workplace bullying

As referred to in the previous subsection, studies tend to employ different criteria to select victim samples, with the result that there is a strong possibility of inaccurate findings when attempting to compare findings across countries and studies (Cowie et al., 2002). Research in Europe found national levels of bullying varied from country to country. Sweden (Leymann, 1992) recorded the lowest level of 3.5%, Norway (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996) 8.6%, Austria (Niedl, 1996) 7.8%, Finland (Vartia, 1996) 10.1%, and the U.K. (Hoel, Cooper & Faragher, 2001) 10.6%. In Ireland a national survey revealed figures of 7% (Task Force, 2001). Different methods of measurement might partially explain these differences. There is general agreement in Scandinavia, that a range of 10-15% could be applied to incidence levels of bullying (Einarsen, 2001).

However, at an earlier date the Swedish researcher Leymann (1966) made particular reference to Norway, claiming that direct comparisons cannot be made between that country and Sweden. In Sweden an objective behavioural assessment was made by means of Leymann's Inventory of Psychological Terrorization (Leymann, 1990). This attempted to provide an operational definition of bullying by listing forty five acts of bullying. If persons were to be regarded as bullied, they would have to have suffered at least one such action at least once a week and for at least six months. There has been some doubt relating to how accurate the LIPT is for assessing the behaviour of the bully (Zapf et al., 1996).

In contrast to the method used in Sweden, Norwegian research, which developed from Olweus' work (1989) with school bullying, tended to rely on a more subjective method involving the victim's perception of being bullied, using a broader frequency category and a time scale of within the last six months. Although a definition of bullying was included, it was the victim's interpretation of an event that determined the meaning assigned to the act, as to whether it should be classified as bullying. Einarsen et al. (1994) make the point that this procedure gives victims the advantage of understanding bullying behaviours, and also takes into account the global subjective perception which includes individual vulnerability. Their method also has the advantage of applying the same time scale as Olweus (1988; 1990) used with school bullying.

The Norwegian researchers are, nevertheless, aware that their method (which sometimes includes the NAQ) can be at a disadvantage when measuring workplace bullying, as it

lacks the objectivity of Leymann's inventory with its list of varieties of bullying behaviour and its classification of victims' responses.

The contrast between these two approaches is reflected in the reported national incidence levels in the two countries. This difference (3.5% in Sweden and 8.6% in Norway) shrinks into insignificance when the Swedish technique is applied to the Norwegian sample. Using Leymann's measure, the incidence level of workplace bullying was reduced to 4.5%.

However, it seems unlikely that the gross differences among all countries can be solely explained by differences in measurement. Differences in definition of bullying as outlined in Part One of this literature review have an obvious effect on measurement, as also does the use of self-reports by victims. That is, most studies do not include self-reports from the bully or neutral employees in the organisation (Cowie et al., 2002). Differences have also emerged between public and private sectors and there is some evidence that the private sector of employment had higher levels of bullying in Norway (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). However, research in the UK (Rayner, 1997) found no difference between public and private organisations. Whilst Zapf et al. (1996) found that public employees were more receptive to being bullied because of possible unresolved conflicts, which escalated over long periods of time.

At the early stages of bullying, the victim is the target of discreet and indirect aggressive behaviour which can extend to both psychological and physical violence. Research into violent behaviour at work, such as Painter (1981), believes that the subjective evaluation and vulnerability of the alleged victim should be assessed.

Aggression

In one important aspect, physical aggressive behaviour in the workplace differs from that among school children. In the workplace, as little as 8% of physical aggression has been reported (Einarsen et al., 1994), whereas in the school setting, about 33% of victims in both primary and post-primary schools were physically hurt (O'Moore et al., 1997). That is not to say that violence never occurs in the workplace; in the U.S.A., Van Aslten (1994) reported alarming figures of 1,000 workplace murders. It should be understood that many of these acts result from a single violent incident, such as an armed bank raid, and arguably may not arise from bullying. However, the same author reports a clear incidence of bullying acts in the workplace reaching six million threats and about two million physical assaults. Weide and Abbott (1994) estimate that there is a workplace homicide every week in the US, and one of the main reasons why workers shot their employers was because they were upset with the way they were treated. Randall (1997) points to factual difference between the U.S.A. and the U.K., the general homicide rate in the former being ten times that of the U.K.

Although there is little research into violent behaviour in Nordic countries, Raknes and Einarsen (1995) suggest that there is growing concern about such effects. Researchers in the U.K, such as Leather, Cox and Farnsworth (1990) also claim that both the frequency and severity of work related violence has increased and 'it is not only actual violence that is a source of stress nowadays, but also the threat of violence' (p. 3).

In an attempt to explain violence at work, Cox and Leather (1994) apply the cognitive behavioural theory of aggression, in which aggression is defined as a coping or

problem-solving approach to frustrations within the workplace. Aggression is analysed as a subjective perception between the involved parties, influenced by their values and expectations. In stressing 'the importance of identifying the structure and dynamics of the cognitive representation underpinning aggression, 'the concept of aggression may be tied in with the transactional concept of stress' (Lazarus, 1976, cited in Hoel, Rayner & Cooper, 1999, p. 207).

Stress

Bullying at work can be a significant source of stress to individuals subjected to aggressive behaviours. Job stress is defined by Beehr and Newman (1978) as 'the interaction of work conditions with worker traits that changes normal psychological or physiological functions' (p.180, cited in Rice, 1999). Cooper (2001) states that stress at work is a very significant factor in bullying which accounts for between a third and a half of employment stress at a cost of about £1.3 billion a year.

In addition to the economic effects, stress has many related causes and similar health effects to those that are reported in workplace bullying, which has been described by Niedl (1996) and Zapf et al. (1996) as a form of social stress. Bullying in the workplace is included as one category in the list of occupational stressors drawn up by Cooper and Marshall (1976).

Stress in the workplace is described as any force that may affect the physical and psychological well-being of an individual, and includes the threat of stress that can cause a strain because of what it signifies to the person (Cummings & Cooper, 1979).

Stress is perceived as an unbalanced state of physical and psychological well-being, with demands being placed upon the individual contrasting with that individual's perceived ability to cope (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Niedl, 1996; Zapf et al., 1996).

Bullying as an extreme form of social stress (Hoel et al., 1999) claims to cause more trauma than all other work-related stressors taken together (Wilson, 1991). Research, such as that of Zapf (2001), suggests that social stressors are usually experienced as daily hassles. The effects of being bullied, however, can be more severe and critical for life events, as, for example, in work related violence (Leather, Beale, Lawrence, Brady & Cox, 1999). Social stressors may happen more or less often than bullying. Although bullying can happen in equal power situations, it becomes unequal when the victim loses power, whilst social stressors can occur in both equal and unequal power. When social stressors occur, other employees are usually negatively affected, whilst the victim of bullying is usually the only person affected by the aggressive acts.

Although social stressors are compared with other organisational stressors (Schwartz & Stone, 1994), the observed differences between bullying and social stressors seem to be neglected in organisational research (Zapf, 1999; Keashly et al., 1997). Stress levels are increased in the workplace when corporate tactics of downsizing and delayering are used to restructure the working environment (Hartley, Jacobson, Klandermans & Van Vuuren, 1991)

Stress in work psychology can be explained by the Transactional Model (Cox, 1980), formerly and perhaps more widely known as the Lazarus model (Lazarus and Folkeman, 1984), for identifying bullying as a severe social stressor (Zapf, 2001). This

model acknowledges that stress is a subjective experience, and examines the processes of how the situation is appraised and what possibilities there are for coping (Lazarus, 1966). Reaction to groups of stressors such as physical, environmental, social and cognitive may be short or long term. One of the main coping strategies relied on by victims is social support which is a moderator of stress (Zapf, 2001).

The association of stress with bullying can have the advantage of helping to remove some of the stigma that is usually associated with bullying. In addition, it can help organisations to acknowledge the prevalence of bullying and perhaps put some sort of prevention plan into action.

Explanations of workplace bullying

Research tends to focus on the psychosocial work environment as a possible explanation for workplace bullying. The popular view held by many researchers considers 'the quality of the organizations work environment as the main determinant of such misconduct' (Einarsen, 2000, p. 10).

Perhaps the best known and accepted model for explaining bullying behaviour in the workplace is proposed by Einarsen of the Bergen Group (1996). Three factors are identified to account for such behaviour, namely the (i) work and organisational climate of the workplace, (ii) characteristics inherent in human organisations, and (iii) personality traits. (As Chapter Two is devoted to personality, treatment of personality (iii) is reserved until then).

Organisational factors

Leymann (1992) has gone so far as to claim that the sole causes of bullying at work are working conditions. Based on case studies, Leymann (1996) claims that there are four aspects involved: (1) Deficiencies in work design, (2) Deficiencies in leadership behaviour, (3) Socially-exposed position of the victim, and (4) Low moral standard in the department concerned.

It is likely that some organisations may encourage bullying through their culture of work practices, where it provides a solid base for aggressive behaviours for some individuals to surface and freely express their aggression. In such cultures, as noted by Zapf et al. (1996), a factor contributing to organisational bullying may arise because of restricted control over time, which interferes with the opportunity and possibility for conflict resolution, and makes future escalation possible.

Regardless of whether these factors relate directly to employees or employers, it is an organisational issue, since it is an organisational responsibility to provide a bully-free environment. In reality, this is rarely the case, particularly in a strained work environment, where Vartia (1994) found bullying to be prevalent. These were competitive organisations, where the superior workers treated their inferiors unfairly. The quality of leadership within the working environment is closely related to bullying (Ashforth, 1994; Einarsen et al., 1994; Vartia, 1996), as also are the ways in which work is controlled (Einarsen et al., 1994; Vartia, 1996).

An outlet for bullying can occur when there are changes within the working environment, where there is lack of communication and authoritarian management methods (Vartia, 1996), and where there is an abdication of leadership responsibility in conflict situations (Ashforth, 1994; Einarsen et al., 1994). Reports of inappropriately coercive managerial behaviours used against other people were obtained from non-bullied work colleagues (Sheehan, 1998).

Bullying behaviour was also found to occur in organisational climates influenced by autonomy (Einarsen & Raknes, 1994; Vartia, 1996), role conflict, and work control (Einarsen et al., 1994). Employees who were more likely to be bullied reported an 'elevated level of role conflict and were dissatisfied with their social climate, and their superiors' leadership behaviour' (Einarsen, 2000, p 10). Bullying was also more likely to occur when there was little encouragement for personal development, and where work is uninteresting, unvaried and unchallenging (Einarsen et al, 1994). Similar findings are reported by Niedl (1996) and Zapf et al. (1996). It was also observed that non-victims can be affected by bullying when there were aggressive practices by supervisors, and also when there was lack of stimulating and challenging work (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997).

Such settings can provide the opportunity for deviant group members, that is non-conforming employees, to be ridiculed, punished, or even rejected from the group. It could be argued that management could be regarded in the light of Zimbardo's (1969) theory of deindividuation, that is, being a manager provides these individuals with an anonymity shield, which allows them to diffuse their aggression and achieve organisational goals – Brown (1977) views this as the psychological state of

deindividuation. In this state, managers who use authoritarian and/or macho leadership styles, which, as noted by Hoel and Cooper (2001) can partly be identified with increasing organisational demands, create the potential for inter-personal conflict and bullying to escalate. There is agreement here with Jordan and Sheehan's (2001) model of the antecedents of managerial bullying, where organisational factors such as a stressful environment, when combined with aggressive managers' behaviour towards other employees, result in bullying between all levels of employees. Earlier research, such as Bowles (1971), found that the potential of some individuals, who are dominant, insensitive and cruel, and have little regard for the well-being of others, would then be realised.

Organisational causes affect different sectors of employment. In some work environments, bullying is more likely to occur among office workers and managers than factory workers. In addition, there are more reported incidences of bullying in stressful environments such as teaching (Wynne, Grundemann & Moncada, 2000), social and health workers, and also in banking, insurance, and public administration (Einarsen & Skogstad; 1996; Zapf, 1999). Possible explanations for different categories of reported bullying can be that less skilled factory victims may find it easier to find other employment, whilst skilled/professional victims are more likely to be on a career path and to be 'managed' with work performance and appraisals. However, in some countries, for example, the USA, where the job market is more flexible and complemented with favourable 'employee rights' legislation, there are less reported incidences of emotional abuse. In the USA, workplace bullying is only recently being researched as the 'dark side' of job security (Keashly et al., 1997).

Some obvious reasons for this 'dark side' are the result of practices such as downsizing. The knock-on effect is that employees at all levels are faced with increased work loads, and usually this occurs in a climate of uncertainty in relation to their current and future employment (Stewart & Swalfield, 1997). This problem tends to be exacerbated by increases in working hours, which, for example in the UK, are the longest in Europe (Worrall & Cooper, 1999). Although there is a European legal limit of 48 working hours per week, much pressure is put on UK employees by some employers to work for longer hours (Cooper, 2002). In addition, a growing number of people now hold temporary contracts and part-time jobs and 'may endure bullying in the interest of job security' (Zapf, 2001 p.18). It seems a logical and realistic step that, with increased job insecurity, employees become less resistant to pressure and less likely to challenge unfair and aggressive treatment by management, and less likely to challenge any abuse (Lee, 1998). As a result, bullying tends to thrive in such organisational settings, when some managers make use of the situation to adopt authoritarian and even abusive behaviour in order to carry out their work (Sheehan, 1999).

Such an environment can be created where social factors in the organisation include having aggressive norms, poor physical work settings, and unfair treatment of employees. Research, such as that by Newman and Baron (1998), related these factors to a variety of aggressive acts.

Further discussion of bullying at an organisational level is explored in Chapter Six.

Characteristics inherent in human organisations

The second factor of the bullying explanatory model (Einarsen, 1996), concerns aspects 'inherent in human organisations'. This dynamic view sees the expression and disposal of aggressive behaviour and the resulting occurrence of interpersonal conflict as part of normal everyday life.

Whether aggression is learned (as proposed by the Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1978), or whether individuals differ in their innate tendencies to be aggressive as proposed by psychoanalytic theory (Freud, 1917), could be relevant to bullying research. What is important is to discover how far, and which environmental factors bring out aggression in different individuals. This interactionist approach involves the whole dynamic field of personality and situations (Furnham, 1999).

Frustration may play an active role in this process: when an individual's goal is blocked, the frustration experienced may be a mediating factor in causing aggressive behaviour (Berkowitz, 1989). On the other hand, social interactionist theory (Felson, 1992) argues that external factors can indirectly affect bullying by eliciting rule and norm-violating behaviour. Bullying can therefore be seen as 'an intentional response to such behaviour and an instrument for social control' (Hoel, Rayner & Cooper, 1999, p. 206).

Exploring the notion that anger could be an intervening variable between frustration and aggression, the 'excitation transfer' theory (Zillmann, 1974) suggests that when individuals interpret others' behaviour as aggressive, they are more likely to retaliate.

That is, when one arousing event follows another, some of the arousal from the first event may persist and be added to the second. So that the second event taken alone, although relatively innocuous, may nevertheless spark off an apparently over-strong reaction (Zillman, 1987). If a series of events follow one another fairly closely in time, the aggressor will remain in an aroused state, which may be labeled as 'anger', and which may be attributed to his pathology. There are many opportunities for increased levels of arousal in stressful environments which can result in apparently pathological behaviour. This means that minor and harmless provocation could be the start of an escalating spiral process of attacks and counterattacks. Also the victim's perception of such acts as being aggressive can strengthen and reinforce the provocator's response.

This ties in with the notion that bullying can be related to both affective and instrumental aggressive behaviours. Affective aggression is usually accompanied by strong negative emotional states, more often associated with anger, and aimed to cause injury to the provocateur (Fashbach, 1964). Instrumental aggression, on the other hand, has little associated emotion and is singularly directed to achieve set goals in a situation where the individual attempts to gain social and coercive power by behaving aggressively to others (Tedeschi, 1983). Instrumental aggression could be described as a type of workplace bullying where organisational variables are either antecedents or setting conditions facilitating a proclivity to achieve the desired goal.

The expression and occurrence of aggressive behaviours can serve as a breeding ground for interpersonal conflict and organisational stress (Cooper & Payne, 1978; Van der Vliet, 1984). Within this setting, the distinction between bullying and conflict seems confused; whereas one person might see a conflict situation in one way, the same event

might be perceived by another as bullying. Researchers, such as Einarsen et al. (1994), tend to agree that when a conflict situation increases, bullying acts also escalate. It is noted, however, that negative interpersonal conflicts do not always lead to bullying. Although when conflict increases, the disadvantaged person usually becomes the victim (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994).

When work related conflict serves as a 'trigger' for bullying, the process is steady and gradual. The aggressive acts tend to be very indirect and discreet (Einarsen, 2000), and, in the first exposure, it may be difficult for the victim to pinpoint such behaviour. However, as these aggressive acts become more visible, the victim feels humiliated, becomes vulnerable, and as a result is often isolated. In the final stages, as the conflict situation and acts of bullying escalate, both physical aggression and violence may be used by the bully. These aggressive acts become more obvious and frequent to the extent that victims are bullied on a weekly and/or on a daily basis (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). The effects of such stigmatisation resulting from bullying, may often result in the victim being less able to cope with personal and organisational needs. It is noted that in some organisations, both management and union officials accept these prejudiced effects and often turn to blame the victim for such misfortunes. In some cases, management interpret this process as a just treatment for neurotic and difficult employees (Einarsen, 2000) and seldom look for other causal factors of bullying or consider the harm done to the victim. However, it is arguable that some blame could be attributed to the victims.

Regardless of the 'blame' factor, the effects of such exposure to conflict and aggressive behaviours are similar to bullying, for example, in the victims' reports of being

suspicious, fearful, etc. (Van de Vliert, 1984; Einarsen et al., 1994). With a more positive outlook, some researchers such as Dereu and Van de Vliert (1994), perceive conflict as a positive situation for increased work performance.

Personality

In relation to the role that personality plays in organisational settings, studies such as Warr and Wall (1975) found that individuals with an anxious personality perceived role conflict more acutely and, not surprisingly, reacted with high tension compared to the non-anxious individual. This leads to the third factor in the model proposed by Einarsen, (1996) that personality may explain why some individuals are bullies and others are victims.

Some attempts have been made to ascribe certain personality traits to the victim and some pathological or personality disorder specifically to the bully (Brodsky, 1976; Crawford, 1992; Randall, 1997) which are examined in the next chapter. Although Einarsen, (1996) acknowledge that personality plays a role and emphasises the importance of the bully's and victim's personalities, there appears in the literature to be little evidence to support the notion of a victim and bully profile as a factor contributing to bullying behaviour. Indeed, other researchers (Leymann, 1992; Bjorkqvist et al., 1994) are still questioning the notion that personality traits are precursors to bullying. More recently, Zapf (2001) suggested that victim's characteristics may contribute at least in part to being bullied at work.

Central to much discussion in this thesis, are the conflicting opinions surrounding the constancy and stability of personality. Costa and McCrae's (1980; 1992) results based on data from their Big Five' personality factors test, showed that adult personality is stable, other researchers have found evidence for malleability during adulthood (Helson & Wink, 1992). Childhood and adulthood traits will be examined in the next chapter in an attempt to establish if there is a pattern of continuing behavioural traits that predispose the victim to be victimised and the bully to be the bully. The ultimate need, as expressed by Smith (1997), is for a longitudinal study to investigate any link between childhood and adult bullying.

Other factors have also been shown to play a role in workplace bullying.

Status within organisations

Status means the perceived imbalance of power, and is central to the definition of bullying as outlined in Section One of this literature review. Power refers to the formal position within the hierarchical structure of the organisation. In hierarchical organisations a commonly held belief is that the boss is truly superior and the subordinate truly inferior (Hornstein, 1996). From an organisational perspective, there are two types of power based on leaders 'formal position and their personal qualities' (Greenberg, 2002, p. 282).

The first type is Personal Power (e.g., power from unique characteristics) and comes from qualities or knowledge possessed by the leader, with four sources of this power: rational persuasion (e.g., factual documents to support their view); expert power (e.g.,

professional knowledge of the subject); referent power (e.g., comes from being liked/admired by others), and charisma (e.g., engaging personality) (Greenberg, 2002). Personal Power can come from three areas, namely, communication, expertise and goodwill, which are based on an ability to share resources in a positive way. Leaders who have this type of power are usually democratic leaders.

The second type of power is Position Power (e.g., power that comes with being a senior manager) which comes from the organisation and resources attached to the position of leader, with four bases of this power: legitimate (e.g., others accept the authority that is attached with this power); reward (e.g., power to decide how to reward others); coercive (e.g., means to control punishment); and informative (e.g., power given to access valuable data) (Greenberg, 2002). Position Power comes from three other resources, namely, authority, reward and discipline. These bases of power come with the job of a leader, but say nothing about the character of the leader, rather they have negative connotations, that is the power to give or to take away, the power to command without consultation. A leader whose only power comes from Position Power is an autocratic leader (Quillan, 1996).

There are many examples of powerful managerial styles of bullying being rewarded ('Chainsaw AI' case study (Dulap, 1996)), as long as they meet organisational goals. It is also observed that coercive power can be used by leaders as the same power base for rewarding and punishing the victim (Tjosvold, 1995). As McCarthy (1996) declared, 'a range of psychopathic, sociopathic and sadistic behaviours' can be observed in the case of bullying managers (cited in McCarthy, 2000, p. 254).

It is surprising that employee status within the workplace can be a breeding environment for workplace bullying. Some studies (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994; IPD, 1996) found that the majority of bullies tend to be in a superior position. On the other hand, other studies (Leymann, 1992; Einarsen et al, 1994) suggest that bullying may occur among those of equal status. This latter research agrees with school bullying studies which report about fifty percent peer bullies (Einarsen, 1996). The school situation does, of course, differ from the workplace in that there is probably less exposure in a school to those higher up in the school, although bullying also happens outside the class

Although the above discussion identifies some 'managerial styles' it is somewhat surprising that little research has been conducted in the workplace on 'managerial bullying' (Marano, 1995). This prompted Rayner (1997) to investigate this area. Findings from her research indicate that up to 70% of managers are bullies, and as noted by Jordan and Sheehan (2001), use bullying tactics to gain compliance and achieve their objectives in the workplace. The personality traits that shape an abusive manager will be discussed in the 'bully profile' in Chapter Two.

Gender differences and sexual harassment

Rayner (1997) found that only one-third of bullies were women. She noted, however, that the data included a higher proportion of men in management positions and did not therefore necessarily indicate a gender difference in the incidence of male and female bullies.

Sexual harassment is defined by the federal government in the U.S.A. as ‘unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature’ (Neuman & Baron, 1999, p. 46). These authors note that research usually focused on how victims perceive the sexual behaviour and the degree of the seriousness of the act, which may be seen as a ‘continuum from gender discrimination to physical assault’ (Einarsen & Hoel, 1999, p. 32).

Sexual harassment at work is a sexualised form of bullying and is similar to other types of victimisation. It can be described as having a sexual component that includes harassment. Research has shown that organisational norms and culture influence the ‘extent and nature of being sexually harassed at work’ (Pryor, LaVitaie, & Stoller, 1993, cited in Keashly & Jagatic, 2000, p. 3). Although, relatively few studies have explored different cultures (Einarsen & Hoel, 1999), cross-cultural studies have found that gender discrimination and seductive behaviour were also perceived in the US and to a lesser extent in Norway and the UK as being sexual harassment (Tata, 1993). Thus, it has a wider definition than that offered above, in that it could include gender discrimination.

In most Scandinavian countries, sexual harassment is classified as a type of harassment where sexuality is used as a means of oppression (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994). Brodsky (1976) viewed sexual harassment as only one of five types of work harassment, namely scapegoating, name calling, physical abuse, work pressure and sexual harassment. The latter behaviour has the same antecedents as workplace bullying, that is, the inter-relationship of power, sexuality and gender which typifies what is still regarded as a male dominated society.

There have been significant findings of a gender interaction between the bully and victim. Women reported that they had been bullied by nearly as many female as male bullies, whilst men rarely reported being bullied by women (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997). This fact is partly explained by gender-segregated labour markets, in that it is more usual for the same sexes to work together. Bjorkqvist et al. (1994) also point to the fact that certain industries are dominated by males, and there are less females in managerial positions (Einarsen et al., 1994), hence more male bullies.

So do these findings explain the notion that more females are 'sexually harassed' than male employees?

Research has shown that more women are sexually harassed. In some cases, aggressive sexual acts may even enhance a man's status among his peers (Quinn, 1977). However, there are some cases of men being sexually harassed by women, and rarely reported cases involving the same sex (Harvey & Twomey, 1995).

With more men in positions of power in an organisation and with more men acting as harassers, the similarities with other forms of bullying behaviour are obvious. The power difference is common to both, as in the perception of the act. However, unlike bullying, one act of sexual harassment can qualify for the recipient being regarded as a victim.

Age

Research on the interaction between age and bullying is still in debate. Leymann (1990) suggests that older workers are more vulnerable because they are inflexible and unable to respond to organisational changes. Also, older workers tend to be more sensitive than their younger colleagues which makes them an easier target for being bullied. However, in another study by Leymann (1992), no difference was found between older and younger ages.

A later study by Einarsen and Skogstad (1996) found significant differences with older rather than younger people being bullied. Opposite findings were recorded in the U.K., where younger workers reported higher levels of being victimised (Rayner, 1997). The author does, however, suggest that a skewed age sample may have affected her result.

These conflicting data seem to reflect cultural differences as well as differences in the labour market. Facts which may account for these differences are that, in the U.K., there is a lower age for entering the employment market, and in Scandinavia there is a later age for retirement, and there are also discrepancies in employment protection.

Research into the above variables of status, gender and age does not seem to have reached any definite conclusions.

Effects of workplace bullying

The effects of workplace bullying are well researched and focus on the adverse effects upon victims. However, it is important to all concerned to be aware that victims with a history of physical and or psychological ill health are more likely to develop and complain of such ills (Hoel & Cooper, 2000). Such awareness can create problems if there is an ethical/legal dilemma for employers in deciding whether to hire/fire a victim; also for other health related professionals if they should report the victim's state of health. In either situation, it could be argued that the person is treated unfairly, and it could be viewed as a discriminatory act (although it does not constitute a legal definition of discrimination).

In Scandinavian countries, the psychological effects of bullying have been recognised as an occupational hazard. Norway, Sweden, Finland, U.K. and Ireland, within the legislation framework of Health and Safety, acknowledge the employees' right to be mentally and physically healthy in their working environment.

Psychological and psychosomatic symptoms are frequently reported by those who have been bullied (Kihle, 1990; Einarsen & Raknes, 1991; Leyman, 1992; Bjorkqvist et al., 1994). These include: Musculo-skeletal symptoms, and health complaints (Einarsen, 2000); aches and tension; as well as stomach complaints, and sleeping disturbances. The occurrence of nausea was reported by Leymann (1992) to be the clearest difference between victims and non-victims.

The most frequently reported effects of bullying are psychological (Einarsen, 1996), often manifesting in depression (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994) and strain with symptoms of anxiety and irritability (Niedl, 1996), and nervousness (Hoel et al., 1999). Cognitive effects of bullying include poor concentration (Einarsen, 1996), memory disturbance (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996), and inability to cope (Edelmann & Woodall, 1996).

Whether real or perceived, the intentional and systematic psychological harm endured by some victims, seems to produce severe emotional reactions, such as fear, depression, helplessness, anxiety and shock. Such psychological effects seem to alter the victims' perception of their working and social environments to a level of constant insecurity, danger, threat and self-questioning (Janoff-Bulman, 1992). It has been argued by some researchers, that these various complaints can fit the diagnostic criterion of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Bjorkqvist et al, 1994; Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996).

It appears that the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – Fourth Edition (DSM-IV) is employed by researchers to identify the criteria for PTSD in the effects of bullying in preference to the International Classification of Psychiatric Disorders (ICD-10). The main reasons seem to be that the former classification gives a more global exploration of the disorders, and more specifically, it measures enduring personality and psychosocial factors which can be central to a victim's profile. However, Leymann and Gustafsson (1996) acknowledge that both the ICD-10 and an earlier version of the DSM-IV, that is the DSM-111-R refers to the fact that PTSD 'can result in permanent personality change in its chronic phase' (Randall, 2001, p. 151).

PTSD can occur after experiencing a combination of stress symptoms after exposure to extreme traumatic events. Two causes of PTSD have been distinguished: in Type 1, a single traumatic event is held to have been responsible. However, in relation to the time definition of bullying, that is, extending over a period of time, this type of PTSD cannot result. In Type 2, a series of less powerful traumas, or prolonged exposure to a particular stressor, can be the cause of PTSD-Type 2 (Terr, 1979). This may result in the subsequent development of multiple or dissociative personality disorder. However, a very severe single-impact from the trauma of bullying could provide Type 1 response, and then Type 2 response could be provoked by regular and severe exposure to bullying.

Effects of PTSD include: The trauma being relived through recurring nightmares or by intense psychological discomfort; the victim avoiding any situations associated with the trauma which may include memories of the actual event; and the victim having difficulty in emotionally reacting in an appropriate manner (Einarsen, 2000).

PTSD can also result from exposure to violence (Pynoss, Frederick, Nader & Arroya, 1987), which tends to support the belief that manifestations can occur after having suffered the aggressive attentions of a bully. This measurement is challenged by the strict diagnostic guidelines of the DSM-IV, whereby stress has to be life-threatening and accompanied by intense fear (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). It could be that bullying does not need to be life threatening to produce DSM-IV type symptoms, and it would be over strict to refuse to call it Post-Traumatic Stress.

It is argued that it would be rare for bullying to be so traumatic, but some research suggests that it is not. Swedish researchers (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996), who used the DSM-111-R, found a similarity with the effects of being bullied and the DSM-11-R criteria of PTSD. These findings are based on these authors' study of victims who reported PTSD symptoms of psychosomatic stress (vomiting, nightmares), cognitive effects (memory disturbance, concentration difficulties), stress hormone effects, chest pains, sweating, sleep problems, and muscular tension (neck pain, backache). A recent study of Norwegians by Einarsen and Matthiesen (2000), also found PTSD symptoms from 75% of their sample. However, after five years of not being bullied, only 65% of this sample could be classified as showing symptoms of Type 2 PTSD.

Randall (1997) has hypothesized that unresolved childhood PTSD has a significant influence on adult social behaviour and may well act to predispose some adults to block effective responses to being victimised. Leymann and Gustafsson (1996) also believe that this can result in a change of personality, with anxiety-related effects of severe depression and obsession. These authors focused on the psychological results on victims in the middle age range of forty years. The result of being bullied was that many took early retirement and suffered permanent psychological damage. Although there are no firm data to support such findings, Leymann and Gustafsson (1996) suggest that between 10%-20% of long-term victims become seriously ill; the most alarming result of workplace bullying is that between 100-300 victims have committed suicide. This finding is challenged by pastors working as counsellors in this field, and also by other researchers (Einarsen, 1996) who suggest that Leymann's figures are speculative. However, Einarsen et al. (1994) quote figures of nearly 40% of victims who have at least contemplated suicide.

Not only do women have a higher representation in reported bullying statistics, they also report a greater number of, and more intense, complaints (Zapf et al., 1996). Although there is little research on the psychological effects of sexual harassment, some comparisons can be made with workplace bullying as many of the symptoms of PTSD were found in victims who had been sexually harassed (McQuinn, 1996). Victims who experienced PTSD as a result of being bullied at work, as also victims suffering other physical and psychological ill effects, sought to take various forms of action.

Action Taken by Victims

Anecdotal data indicates that many victims just quietly leave their jobs (Adams, 1992). Adams (1992), however, further suggested that there are two options open to victims, they can either accept the situation, or stand up and fight. Perhaps such a suggestion could run parallel to the Canon-Baird theory (1927) of the 'Fight or Flight' response. It could be argued that the flight response is accepting defeat, and may be as Adams (1992) suggested, an easier route for the victims. Other researchers, such as Field (1996), suggest that it is more courageous to 'stand and fight back' (p. 328). Realistically, this suggestion is not always available, particularly in an organisational climate where bullying is tolerated and in some instances encouraged as an effective style of management.

The 'fight or flight' style of action tends to be a more useable response, a victim's range of actions can include contacting personnel and/or union officials, seeking medical/counseling, and/or legal consultation. As noted by Einarsen (2000), lack of

support from these services may result in experiencing a kind of 'secondary victimisation'. A broader range of actions taken by victims - included: confronting the bully, making direct complaints to the perpetrator's boss, asking for a transfer; and/or taking early retirement; or leaving the job (Rayner, 1997). In addition, some victims tried many strategies before withdrawing their commitment or leaving their job (Neidl, 1996). For example, some victims (23.3%) took 'time off' from their jobs as a means of coping, whilst a lower percentage of 18.6% left their jobs (Edelmann & Woodall, 1997).

The choice of legal action is complex. Victims may try to take a legal case if they believe they have been seriously bullied and consequently harmed. The difficulty arises in proving that the physical or psychological damage comes from bullying and not from some other existing situation, for example in the home environment, or personal health of the alleged victim.

The legal route is for most cases to be usually first heard in the industrial tribunal. If no agreement is reached, the case progresses to District and Circuit Court, and if unsuccessful, an appeal can be lodged in the High Court. However, the legal option is still in its infancy; for example, in Australia only two cases have reached the High Court (Sheehan, 2002). A similar pattern is also found in Ireland, with most cases being settled out of court (O'Moore, 2001).

Action taken by - and effects of bullying on organisations

Actions taken by management usually include informal enquiries, procedural practices and preventive action. Other actions can include sacking or transferring the bully, and/or the victim being given extended leave.

The main effects of bullying in the workplace include: Higher absenteeism, reduced commitment, lack of employee motivation and reduced enthusiasm, morale, creativity, vision, loyalty and job satisfaction with large personnel turnover (Randall, 1997; Leymann, 1996). It is possible that some organisations may not recognise, or understand, the extended effects of workplace bullying (Cooper, 2002). In addition to the personal effects suffered by victims, and in some cases bullies, bystanders can also be affected. For example, research identified as many as 20% leave their jobs (Rayner, 1997). In terms of organisational effects, there tends to be increased absenteeism from work, either from sick or other type of leave, in a victim's attempt to return to their former state of health (McCarthy, 1995). This 'temporary' exit from the working environment is reflected in the cost to the organisation and the national economy.

National surveys in the UK estimate that for a large size organisation of about 1,000 employees the cost of replacing 'victims' is about one million pounds (Rayner, 2000). Cost also applies to organisations when victims seek internal procedures, for example in a UK company the cost for an internal complaint procedure is approximately £75,000 (Rayner, 2000). The internal costs for organisations in industrial tribunals (without legal fees) can amount to as much as £120,000 (Lakelands District Council in the

United Kingdom, cited in Rayner, 2000). In addition, expensive legal fees and external consultants all contribute to extensive organisational costs (Archer, 1999).

Toohy (1991) and Niedl (1996) among others have described the economic effects on industry as dramatic. Research points to negative cost-effects as a result of sick absenteeism, reduced turnover, and lowered productivity (Howe & Brown, 1971; Jenkins, 1980; Cooper, 2002). Reduced motivation and work effectiveness have been recorded, both from victims as well as from their colleagues in the working environment (Einarsen et al., 1994). It is difficult to obtain reliable figures for the financial impact on the economy. In the U.K., replacement costing per employee amounted to £15,000 (Rayner, 2000), the estimated figures of 14 billion were attributed to the cost effects of workplace bullying, and gives some indication of the size of the problem.

Workplace bullying in Sweden has been estimated to cost about US \$30-100,000 per case for sick leave, which includes lost productivity, and also lost time for personnel and management (Leymann, 1990). Figures for 'employer abuse' in the USA economy has been recorded at \$5-6 billion per annum (Neuman, 2000). In Australia, research findings suggest that an organisation with, for example, 1,000 employees could expect to incur direct, hidden and lost opportunity costs of between at least \$0.6 to \$3.6 million every year (Barker, McCarthy, Sheehan & Henderson, 2002).

From the above discussion, it makes economic sense, and arguably human sense, to implement intervention strategies to address workplace bullying. The aim of such strategies would be to increase employee satisfaction, and thereby decrease the

consequences on individuals (such as medical and counseling costs), reduce industry costs, and improve productivity (Jordan & Sheehan, 2001).

Preventive managerial strategies for dealing with bullying

The final area to be discussed in this literature review concerns 'managerial issues'. It is acknowledged that some organisations are aware of bullying behaviour and have implemented preventive policies within their workplace (Crabb, 1995). Bearing this in mind, it seems appropriate to focus on procedures for dealing with bullying with regard to 'people skills', particularly in regard to adopting a moral stance regarding organisation restructuring and its outcomes. To be effective, it is necessary for managers to exercise self-restraint and compassion (Goleman, 1996). Suggested strategies in an attempt to prevent workplace bullying include communication, interpersonal relations, negotiation, leadership skills, conflict resolution, team building and stress management (McCarthy et al, 1995).

These skills may be added to the development of personal mastery (Senge, 1992) and emotional intelligence skills (Gardner, 1993; Goleman, 1996) as strategies for managers to develop self-restraint and compassion. The personal level involves the ability to form an honest and accurate self-model at an interpersonal level, it also includes the ability to understand and work with other people (Gardner, 1993). Similarly, emotional intelligence is 'social' in nature and enables individuals to recognize their own and other people's emotions. As a strategy for bullying managers, it enables them to differentiate their emotions, and to make appropriate choices for thinking and action

(Cooper & Sawaf, 1997). With training, this type of intelligence can be learned, developed and improved (Sternberg, 1996).

A number of procedures have been suggested for dealing with workplace bullying which include: Managers abiding by their code of conduct (Whitton, 1994); seeking legal redress (Mullany & Handford, 1993), and legislative change (Overall, 1995).

Procedures for dealing with workplace bullying can be approached by various means. In the first instance, personnel selection may be able to employ procedures that identify possible victims and bullies before they are hired; there are, however, ethical implications with this practice. These procedures involve interviewing and assessing prospective job applicants in relation to skills/qualifications and temperament with the use of pre-employment testing. For example, the ICES test (used in Chapter Four of this thesis) is designed specifically for the assessment of personality in the workplace and can 'profile' a potential victim or bully.

Secondly, organisations should have a clear and 'user' friendly anti-bullying policy (see Appendix 12 for bullying policy). This policy should be designed to establish norms of appropriate behaviour within the working environment and should outline policy procedures for reporting aggressive acts.

The Health and Safety guidelines for work should provide a safe working environment. Work stressors, such as overcrowding, high noise levels, bad quality air, uncomfortable temperature are all associated with 'increased levels of stress, and aggression' (Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 13) that usually result in bullying behaviour. Whilst physical

occupational stressors can easily be identified and addressed, psychological stressors are less clear cut. A suggested strategy could be for management to effect formal training and provide employees with skills to manage psychological stressors and defuse an ideal breeding ground for bullying. Employee Assistance Programs (EAPS) are often used in an effort to address such problems before they intensify and escalate bullying in the workplace.

Research suggests that some bullies lack social skills and as a result are insensitive to other peoples' emotions, which, coupled with an inability to express their wishes, tend to anger others (Baron & Richardson, 1994). This difficulty in emotional outlet can extend to 'individuals lacking in such skills (that) account for a significant proportion of violence in many societies' (Toch, 1992, cited in Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 11).

In addition to social skills training for preventing bullying in the workplace, there are also the important areas of conflict management (McCarthy et al., 1995), interpersonal communication (Johnson, 1978) and stress management (Huesmann, 1994).

It is the legal and moral responsibility of management, as observed by Warr (1992), to ensure the physical and psychological well-being of their employees. If required, organisations can improve the workplace by implementing some of the discussed prevention strategies and treating employees with trust, respect and dignity. In addition there should be procedures for adequate compensation in a real effort to prevent workplace bullying.

It is argued by Rayner (2000), that bullying in organisations is due to incompetent management. It is suggested that if effective action is taken against such incompetencies the outcome could be successful. Perhaps, it could be that such an action against workplace bullying 'would be part of the 'natural history' of organisational culture' (Rayner, 2000, p. 30).

Conclusion

This survey of the literature of workplace bullying has concentrated for the most part on research in Scandinavian countries, and to a somewhat lesser degree in the U.K. and U.S.A. The simple reason is, that although the British Isles and America are increasingly active in their 'bullying' research, they are arguably less advanced in this field. As research on workplace bullying is still in its infancy, it is not possible at this time to fully understand the possible causes and effects of bullying, nor to arrive at any definite conclusions about the existence of victim and bully profiles. However, a good deal of knowledge has been achieved in a short space of time. For example, critical understanding has been achieved among researchers in the field with regard to the terms used to describe bullying behaviour. This has led to considerable clarification and has made more possible comparisons of one research with another.

An examination of bullying at school suggests that a continuum may exist with adult bullying. The many researches in the school setting that have provided data with regard

to personality characteristics of victims and bullies imply that these characteristics will also be found at adult level.

When bullying at work is considered, one finds that explanations are focused on organisational factors, interpersonal and especially power relationships and personality variables. No definite conclusions are yet possible with regard to the roles played by status, gender, or age. However, there are such qualifications regarding the injurious effects of being bullied. Psychological and psychosomatic symptoms are frequently reported, often leading to absenteeism and giving up work.

The injurious effects on the organisation itself are often not recognised, although the cost in financial terms may be large. It makes economic as well as human sense to implement preventative strategies (which are to be legislated in Ireland early next year). These may include managerial development of 'people skills', in addition to clear anti-bullying policies in the organisation. These possibilities are beginning to be realised as is evident in the current literature.

Although this thesis explores Leymann's (1996) rigid view that victims' personality is not a contributory factor to them being bullied, it follows the more flexible approach of Einarsen (1996), that personal and social factors as well as the victim's perceptions should be included in studies of bullying at work. Central to this thesis is the view held by Hoel and Cooper (2001) 'that knowledge of the impact of personality factors is seen as essential to make sense of bullying' (p.15).

It is hoped that the investigations to be reported in this thesis will provide a little more information, especially with regard to the personalities of victims and bullies. It is because of this lack of information that the next chapter will examine the literature which strongly suggests a victim and bully personality profile as a contributing factor to workplace bullying.

Chapter Two: Literature review with reference to personality

Introduction

Chapter One initially explored the literature on school bullying and how this may relate to workplace bullying. Three contributory factors of workplace bullying were presented (organisational factors, characteristics inherent in human organisations, and personality). In this chapter the notion of personality as an antecedent to workplace bullying will be explored further. In the first part of this chapter, the research literature examines the personality of victims and bullies, then, in the second part, the chapter explores the developmental history of victims and bullies.

There are three aims of this literature review – to:

- explore if there is a victim personality profile which predisposes an individual to being bullied
- examine if there is a bully personality that predisposes an individual to bully
- establish if there is evidence that individuals possessing a victim or bully profile have had prior experience of childhood bullying.

This thesis attempts to explore why some adults are prone to be victims and others bullies. Much literature refers to Smith (1997), who emphasized the need to extend research from school to workplace bullying, as other authors (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 1999) urged ‘bullying’ researchers to employ longitudinal studies designed to focus on the personality of adult victims. An obvious advantage in the use of longitudinal studies is their ability to ‘disentangle cause and effects’ (Furnham, 1999, p. 32). Studies have found that personality traits remain constant over time; for example, Eron, Huesmann, Dubow, Romanoff and Yarmel, (1987) found aggression in boys to be stable over time, extending into adulthood, thus illustrating a direct relationship with bullying behaviour.

A central problem is the direction of causality: Which is cause and which is effect? An individual's personality may contribute to him/her being bullied, or, as Leymann (1996) believes; the bullying may cause the individual to change his/her personality. To explore this problem, it may help to understand the views of the classic personality and occupational theorist in their use of variables. Furnham (1999) believes that personality theorists use personality as the independent variable, and work behaviour as the dependent variable. The opposite approach is taken by some occupational/work psychologists who employ the work behaviour as the independent variable, (for example, bullying), and the dependent variable as personality (for example, traits of anxiety).

One reason why the role of personality may have not been extensively researched in workplace bullying may be because investigating personality in the workplace is perceived as 'sensitive' due to the potential of 'labelling' individuals, and requires caution from researchers who may read too much into such findings (Hoel & Cooper, 1999). In labelling individuals, there is also the possibility of these individuals developing a 'self-fulfilling' prophecy (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1988), in that they may rehearse their 'definition of bullying, or a schema of that experience' (Rayner, 1997, p. 21).

Parallels may be drawn with research on school bullying, when over twenty years ago bullying received little recognition as a serious psychological issue. The small number of studies, such as that of Olweus (1979), considered the problem of personality involvement to be 'sensitive' and 'taboo'. It was, however, soon recognised that specific research into the area of personality was necessary to gain a complete

understanding of school bullying. It would seem logical, therefore, to recognise that personality as a possible contributory factor should also be extended to adults within the working environment.

In view of the paucity of general research into bullies, little is known about any typical personality traits. In the case of victims, there has probably been a reluctance to attribute any blame to them for the suffering they experience. This 'politically correct' stance is evident in other situations involving target groups. For example, it is 'forbidden' to assume that any responsibility for sexual harassment should be ascribed to the ways in which a woman may dress or behave. Applying Kelly's (1972) attribution theory, the male perceives the female as provocative and therefore believes that she deserve what she gets! Although, it is the predatory male to whom blame is usually ascribed. Similarly, the victim of bullying is usually assumed to be innocent in being chosen as a target. One can examine this problem impartially and without attributing blame.

In working settings, there may be cases where victims are not perceived as being the entirely passive receiver of aggressive acts, as in most cases, a victim's response is met with further response by the bully. This circular action in many cases of bullying is best described by Einarsen's (1999) transactional theory of bullying. Such dynamic factors are influenced by the personalities of both parties. As noted by Liefoghe and Olafsson (1999), individuals' perception of bullying varies in the workplace and is acknowledged as a social problem.

It is possible that a person who is to become the victim of one or more bullies has

certain personality characteristics which the bully recognises, namely, 'weaknesses' within the victim's personality (Vartia, 1998). Deficiencies in social behaviour, with a tendency to avoid conflict (Zapf, 1999), and an inability to cope (Einarsen, 1999) are all contributing factors to the victim being singled out as the 'victim type' (Liefoghe & Olafsson, 1999) and as a potential target of bullying. As observed by Randall and Parker (2000), they tend to stay as potential victims if they accept their deficiencies and passive role in the bullying arena. In some cases these characteristics may be such as to elicit sympathy, help and friendship from those who are not bullies. Conversely, bullies may exploit others, resulting in the support of other colleagues who would not otherwise be bullies themselves (Randall & Parker, 2000).

It seems likely that in most cases of bullying the scenario is more complicated, being multi-causal. One cannot rule out the possibility that there may be provocative victims who bring bullying on themselves. It could be that they may be the cause of their victimisation. Indeed, it is probable that some victims do provoke aggressive behaviour in bullies (Einarsen et al., 1994), and that the personality traits of those victims who provoke anger in others might be different from those that cause some victims to be vulnerable when faced with aggression (Einarsen, 1999).

Predatory bullying (as described by Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, in the previous chapter), on the other hand, is when innocent victims (meaning that they are not involved in provocative behaviour as, for example, in any disagreement) are targeted for aggressive behaviour, and may be used as a scapegoat because they are easy targets. The reasons for the perpetrator's aggressive behaviour range from a need to fulfill personal goals to pathological disorders (Randall, 1997).

It is also possible that the characteristics of both bully and victim interact. The pleasures of power by the bully and pain of the victim are 'depicted as mutually furthering in the bully-victim, a characteristic that carries forward the mutual lubricity of ecstasy and pain' (McCarthy, 2000, p. 194). This dyad of bully and victim interaction involves an interplay leading to the bullying behaviour, such dyads relying on the submissive character of the victim.

Whatever the reason, victims do not deserve less sympathy for their plight on that account, they may be unaware of, and unable to alter their behaviour responsible for such acts. These attribution problems can best be discussed later in this thesis when the data from the three studies conducted by the author are added to previous research.

An ongoing theme in this thesis is to investigate if similar conclusions can be drawn from adults to those obtained from studies of childhood victims and bullies. As outlined in Chapter One, the role that 'personality' plays in school bullying has been investigated in numerous studies and various personality traits have been identified as typical of victim and bully (Olweus 1986; Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Randall 1997; O'Moore et al., 1997). Bernstein (1979) also supports the notion of a victim type and further suggests that victimisation can be stable, which implies a consistency in the relevant traits that extend through to adulthood.

An important consideration to this chapter is to explore the different view points of the trait (Costa & McCrae, 1980;1994) and situation (Mischel, 1973;1977) theories, that is whether an individual's personality changes or remains stable over time. In an attempt to answer the on-going debate, this thesis holds the view that:

'Personality is the relatively stable organization of a person's motivational disposition, arising from the interaction between biological drives and the social and physical environment' (Eysenck, Arnold & Meli, 1975, p. 779).

The trait approach argues that personality is a relatively stable phenomena, and as noted by Furnham (1999), refers to traits of individuals that last over time in a stable and consistent way in dealing with daily situations. Research such as Plomin (1994), shows that behaviour involves the complex interplay of situations and traits.

Trait theorists, such as Costa and McCrae (1980; 1994), point to stability in adulthood, thereby supporting the author's position that personality traits are stable and develop from childhood through to adulthood. However, evidence for trait consistency is mixed and theorists such as Mischel (1993;1977) and McAdams (1994) take the opposing view that human behaviour is largely determined by situations which change in response to different external demands and traits. So could this latter approach be extended to an ongoing bullying problem in the workplace and therefore support Leymann's (1996) view that bullying does change the personality of the victim? This is also the view of some work psychology theorists, who state that bullying is the independent variable that causes one's personality, as the dependent variable, to change (Furnham, 1999).

Other studies suggest that humans show an impressive degree of consistency with respect to many aspects of behaviour even throughout long intervals of time (Moskowitz, 1982). Such consistency does not exist in all traits over time; however, nearly all seem to show tendencies towards consistent behaviour. For example, there is

growing evidence that aggression is stable over time (Olweus, 1979). Personality traits are probably developed from early childhood experiences, that is, individuals bring their own legacy from early family life which can provide some insight into both victims' and bullies' personality.

The two exponents of extreme views on the role of personality in workplace bullying are Leymann (1996) and Einarsen et al. (1994). The former consistently stating that there is no victim or bully profile, and indeed arguing that researchers who focus on personality characteristics as a cause of bullying are making a fundamental attribution error (Leymann, 1996). Einarsen et al. (1994), on the other hand, have argued that personality does have a role to play, and stress that individuals do not act in a uniform manner as they all have different perceptions and thresholds of acceptance for bullying behaviour. He and his colleagues found that 'individual behaviour was rated as the major reason why someone was bullied' (Einarsen et al, 1994, p. 33).

A middle view is taken by Hoel and Cooper (2000) who propose that, 'Bullying has to be understood in the light of the character traits of both victim and bully, as well as their surroundings, where the victim's contribution can be due to behaviour, as well as action, personality, position or group-allegiance' (p. 54).

In other words, personality traits are to be understood in context, that is, bullying occurring as a result of the organisational climate. An example of this could be the way that victims are often intimidated when they resist the 'over-controlling style of a supervisor or boss' (Bassman, 1992, p. 19). Vartia (1996) too has stressed the need for further investigation into the reasons why personality should be of importance at the

stage when the victim is 'selected'.

Personality may give indications as to whom will be bullied, but not why bullying occurs. A particular combination of personality traits may be the trigger to a particular bully to choose this individual to bully rather than someone else. In other words, the bully spots a weakness in the victims' personality that makes them more vulnerable to being bullied (Zapf, 2001).

Although it would be desirable for research to have investigated the personalities of both victim and bully in a given situation in order fully to understand their interaction, that has not been the case; mainly, of course, because it has proved difficult to investigate the bully. Thus, there are many more studies of the personality of the victim. The main problem is to establish if a victim's profile is instrumental to being bullied, or whether it is a result of being bullied. In the case of the bully, it is also possible that their characteristics either predispose him/her to be aggressive to others or result from his/her experience of acting as a bully. Research of this complexity can only be established via longitudinal type studies, and in any case it is questionable if the same results would be obtained in the case of adults. In adults, data are certainly more difficult to obtain because of the 'sensitive taboo' on, and ethical concerns about, researching adult personality in the working environment. Also it is important not to forget that adult bullying can be more complex and latent than school bullying, in that motives can be different and stakes higher (Rigby, 2001).

The development of those who later will become victims or bullies is an extremely complex and interactive process involving biological, cognitive and socio-emotional factors. There is also evidence which suggests that parents and siblings play a crucial

role in the development of the child's theory of mind, namely in the ability to manipulate and understand the mental states of others (Premack & Woodruff, 1978). Victims and bullies may be created in dysfunctional families, and that will be examined in more detail later on in this chapter.

Part One: Personality traits of victims and bullies

Here, research into the personality traits of victims and bullies is summarised. Table 2.1 presents the personality characteristics described in previous research on adult victims and bullies. It is clear that there is a general clustering of traits around the 'typical' victim and bully, and this holds in spite of the fact that there is nothing like unanimity in the measures used by different researchers.

Table 2.1:
Personality profiles of adult victims and bullies.

	Victims	Bullies
Adams, (1992)		Obsessive; narcissistic
Adorno et al., (1950)		Authoritarian
Ashforth, (1994)		Petty Tyrant
Barron & Newnan , (1998)		Hostile; obstructive; aggressive Type A behaviour
Brodsky, (1976)	Conscientious; overachievers Paranoid; rigid; compulsive	Aggressive; power driven Sadistic? Bigot?
Crawford, (1992)		Psychopathic elements
Einarsen et al., (1994)	Low self-esteem; poor self-image	
Matthiesen & Einarsen, (1999)	Generalized anxiety; negative affectivity; vulnerable	
Field, (1996)		Psychotic; aggressive; vindictive; insensitive
Gondolfo, (1995)	Over-sensitive; suspicious; angry	
Levinson, (1978)		Abrasive
Vartia, (1996)	Neurotic; poor self-image	
O'Moore, (2001)		Dictator, Incompetant, psychopath
Randall, (1997)	Submissive; passive; provocative; low self-esteem	Aggressive, anti-social- personality disorder
Wright & Smye, (1996)		Low self-esteem
Zapf, (1999)	Anxious,; depressed; poor social skills; psychosomatic problems	

Victims

In the working environment, three different kinds of adult victims have been identified (Einarsen, 2000): (1) Victims who are exposed to ongoing bullying and who are depressed and suspicious in social environments, (2) victims with a variety of pre-morbid psychological problems and low social competence, and lastly (3) victims who seem to have an average personality, that is their range of personality characteristics does not deviate from the average norms in observable working interactions. However, as noted by Matthiesen and Einarsen (1999), colleagues of victims and bullies felt that victims were selected to be bullied because of their personality and general behaviour.

In early research, Brodsky (1976) found that victims were conscientious, literal-minded over achievers and somewhat unsophisticated. By means of clinical interviews, various personality disorders were also found, with paranoid, rigid and compulsive tendencies. He suggested that bullying preys directly on these inadequacies in the victim's personality. Gemzoe Mikkelsen and Einarsen (1999) found that victims had low levels of self-esteem, were prone to shyness and anxiety, they also showed lack of coping skills in conflict situations with management.

Gondolfo (1995) found that victims tended to be over-sensitive, suspicious and angry, and Vartia (1996) described victims as having a poor self-image and tending to be more 'neurotic'. Matthiesen and Einarsen (1999) found that both colleagues of victims and bullies themselves agree that it is the personality and manner of the victim that leads them to be selected for bullying. This vulnerability is described by Randall (1997) as though they 'have the word 'VICTIM' above (their) head in neon light' (p. 89). Randall believes the characteristics of being weak, timid and submissive with low self-esteem

can be common to child and adult victims and leads to social deference, social wariness and anxiety about interactions, poor self-regard and self-negative attitudes with an acceptance of low status. Some of Randall's victims merited the label of 'provocative'.

This smaller group of provocative victims have both anxious and aggressive behaviour patterns, they may also have poor attention span and behave in ways that irritate others who then become their bullies. These victims are often over active, their general disruptive behaviour may contribute to them being disliked by other colleagues, who tend to distance themselves from them, with their belief that these victims deserve what they get. This situation is in agreement with Lerner and Miller's (1978) 'just world', where individuals, who believe in a just world, perceive that these victims deserve what they get. Randall (1997) makes the point that colleague observers refer to bullying as a punishment delivered by the most powerful to the undesirable.

Most researchers (O'Moore et al., 1997) within school settings were able to identify these provocative victims, whilst others were able to identify pupils who act as both bullies and victims (Austin & Joseph, 1996). Such victims/bullies tend to show the highest levels of psychological difficulty (Duncan, 1999), lower levels of self esteem and mood. It appears that many tend towards being psychotic (Mynard & Joseph, 1997), are impulsive, and characterised by mixed emotional conduct disorders with little regard for the norms of peer-appropriate social behaviour.

Child victims are also characterised by being anxious and having low levels of self esteem. Differences between these types of victims and the provocative victims are identified by higher levels of tension, by being over-controlled, suffering psychosomatic

complaints, with a tendency to be socially withdrawn. Their parents commented on their withdrawal from social settings marked by reduced peer interaction in social events. As noted by Zapf (2001), these personality traits are similar to their adult contemporaries.

This corresponds with the notion of an adult victim profile of: Poor social skills; low efficiency in social behaviour; being submissive, and having a tendency to avoid conflict by giving way (Zapf, 1999). Victims were also found to show pre-existing symptoms of anxiety and depression, possibly before they were bullied, which could point to a consistency in those personality traits.

Regarded intuitively, and consistent with trait theorists such as Costa and McCrae (1980; 1994), most of this evidence makes sense. But, as mentioned, without longitudinal studies it is impossible to reject Leymann's view that changes in personality characteristics develop as a consequence of being bullied rather than act as precursors to bullying (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996). This could, of course, occur in childhood when bullying might lead to a childhood variant of PTSD, which would lead to the personality characteristics seen in adult victims.

Randall (1997) who investigated this possibility, found that most adult victims reported a history of being bullied. It could therefore be argued that childhood PTSD may lead to the development of certain characteristics reaction patterns, which will be present in prospective victims, before, as adults, they are victimised, the characteristics being themselves the result of earlier bullying.

Victims of school bullying have similar behaviours to adult sufferers of PTSD (Randall, 1997; Rigby, 1997; Sharp & Thompson, 1992; Smith & Sharp, 1994), indicating that bullied students tend to be increasingly at risk of suffering post-traumatic stress disorder. In Hawker and Boulton's (2000) review of cross-sectional studies, they found a closer relationship with depression and bullying than with anxiety.

Randall (2001) makes the point that if PTSD in children is not successfully treated, it can manifest and develop into mental health and adjustment problems in adulthood. It is therefore reasonable to assume that an inadequate or inappropriate response to child victims could develop into problems for these victims during adulthood.

Of course, one could argue that all kinds of traumatic events might occur in childhood from a great variety of reasons besides being bullied, and these could conceivably lead to the sort of traits found in adult victims. Or it may be the case that a victim profile only emerges in the workplace when social systems from childhood can no longer be relied upon. In other words, lack of social support from colleagues in the working environment place a victim in a more vulnerable position and hence an easier target to be bullied. It is really unprofitable to speculate on these matters without some hard evidence.

Bullies

Some observational studies have been conducted in an attempt to portray types of bullies. A recent unpublished Irish study identified three categories of bullies, namely, dictators, incompetent managers, and psychopathic bullies (O'Moore, 2001). Two

kinds of bullies have been identified in premeditated workplace aggression (Stybel, 1996): Those who have an early exit from the organisation because their behaviour is obviously counter-productive (ironically, they themselves become victims of their own aggression), and those who are perceived to be intelligent and who make significant contributions to the organisation. In some organisations, aggression can be the central force that makes them successful; hence, these types of bully are tolerated as long as they achieve the goals of the organisation.

Other research, such as that of Smith (2001), gives a personal account of bullies, who were mainly male in an age range of 30-40 years. Characteristics included, blaming others; someone who tends to be rigid; who has had a recent life stressor; who is addictive; who lacks social skills, and who has a history of being bullied.

Despite the difficulties of studying bullies directly (as will be discussed in Chapter Five), there has been little hesitation among researchers in describing bullies and their behaviour. It can be seen from Table 2.1 that there has been a consensus of opinion about the bully. These descriptions (with the exception of Gondolfo, 1995) have not, however, been derived from personality tests applied to bullies, but from subjective reports and from the victim's descriptions of the bullying behaviour.

Since the works of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950) on the authoritarian personality, the traits ascribed to the bully have tended towards extreme condemnation, for example, as power driven (Brodsky, 1976), abrasive (Levinson, 1978), vindictive (Field, 1996), hostile (Baron and Neuman, 1998) and aggressive (Randall, 1997).

Some bullies are described as having an anti-social personality disorder with psychopathic elements (Crawford, 1992; Randall, 1997). They are viewed as egocentric in the sense that they are unable to see the effects that their behaviour has on their victims. It could be, as suggested by Randall (1997), that 'bullies do not process social information accurately and seem unable to make realistic judgements about the intentions of other people' (p 23). These types of bully do not understand the feelings of others and are unaware of what others think of them. Field (1996) describes their insensitivity as 'perhaps the bullies' worst trait' (p. 66), and one which may lead them to be unaware of the results of their actions. Moreover they may think that their behaviour is normal and acceptable, and express great surprise and hurt if they are criticised by anyone (Brotsky, 1976). Also to rely on self-reports, bullies tend to underestimate their own levels of aggression (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994), and are prone to be biased by defensive attributions of social desirability (Ashforth, 1994).

The obsessive and narcissistic behaviour of bullies is evident in their selfishness, an important feature of the bully being their compulsion to have their own needs met at all costs. Their egocentricity enables one to understand why they exhibit such unreasonable behaviour.

Aggression, as commonly associated with bullying behaviours is not typically characterised by physical aggression or shouting, but expressed in 'criticism, derision, Chinese whispers and other insidious behaviour to bewilder and intimidate' (Randall, 1997, p. 58). Newman and Barron (1997) found significant relationships among all three forms of workplace aggression, that is, expressions of hostility, obstructionism

and overt aggression, which are closely associated with Type A personality. Some ten years earlier, these authors described bullies' aggressive acts as tyrannical behaviours characterised by arbitrariness and self-aggrandizement, belittling subordinates, lack of consideration, forcing style of conflict resolution and non-contingent punishment.

Ashforth (1994) refers to bullies as 'petty tyrants', and Brodsky (1976) describes them as 'sadistic harassers' who need to demonstrate power by evoking fear in others. Brodsky also includes the characteristics of being 'bigots' because of the bullies' unchallenged frank and overt expression of bias directed at their victims (Brodsky, 1976). In an interpretation of bullies' abusive behaviour, Wright and Smye (1966) view it as a dysfunctional means of dealing with their own problems of low self-esteem. The bullying reproduces similar problems in the victims creating what they term 'the cycle of abuse' (p. 65).

Hornstein (1996) agrees, saying that some bullying managers or bosses frighten and belittle their victims in a vain attempt to conceal their own fears and 'in the futile hope that it will make them appear big' (p. 33). It is also noted by Spiers (1995) that bullies frequently intimidate those who 'have the potential to do their job better than them' (p. 4). It is also observed that bullying bosses regard 'disparate suggestion and independent ideas of employees as declarations of war' (Hornstein, 1996, p. 62). It seems often to be their insecurity about their own competence which allows them to intimidate potential rivals (Adams, 1992).

There is an obvious need to supplement the observations of victims and observers with measures of bullies' perception of themselves. In an attempt to understand the

behaviour of bullies and victims, this next section examines their behaviour in childhood and how their personality may have developed.

Part Two: Developmental perspective of victims and bullies

There are many definitions of personality. Most refer to an interaction between biological drives and the physical and social environment. The 'emotional predispositions' present at birth are usually referred to as 'temperament' (Rothbard, Ahadi & Evens, 2000). The developmental process can be conceived as a transition between temperament and personality which is influenced by parental input. Some attachment theorists, such as Sroufe (1988), suggest that the bond of attachment between child and parent is established within the first year of life, with enormous influence on social development. Ainsworth's (1989) well known view is that attachment provides a secure base for exploration and for later development.

Not all researchers agree with the stress placed by attachment theorists on the experiences of early years. Notably Clarke and Clarke (2000, cited in Bee, 2002), who emphasise later environmental interactions. Studies, such as Criton (2000), found the impact of a positive early family and peers interaction is crucial in the development of secure relationships in later life (Criton, 2000, cited in Bee, 2002). In the case of victims of workplace bullying, the family background does appear to be significant.

Victims

Stephenson and Smith (1989) found that 35% of victims and bullies came from families with problems at home. In the case of victims, Olweus (1993) conducted in-depth interviews with parents of victims and found that their problems arose from the fact that their children were rather cautious and sensitive at an early age. These characteristics were often combined with weakness which made it difficult for the children to assert themselves in peer relations, with the result that they were repeatedly victimised, which in turn led to them becoming anxious, insecure and having a negative view of themselves.

The following dysfunctional parenting styles are identified as possible 'contributory' factors to the development of a victim: These types of parenting can produce children who are likely targets for bullying. As outlined in Table 2.1, some of the most common characteristics identified with the child victim are insecurity, timidity, sensitivity, anxiety and caution. These children seldom provoke or show aggression.

- 1 Rejecting parent: Although less common, this type of parents has no interest or affection for their children. In order to avoid further rejection and confrontation in such an environment the child learns to be submissive, which tends to develop into a trait involving all aspects of social life. Having a characteristically submissive reaction pattern may contribute significantly to the frequency with which this type of child is bullied (Olweus, 1993). They also become so anxious in their efforts to please their peers and parents that these characteristics develop into a habit which is 'maintained into adulthood' (Randall & Parker, 2000, p.94)

- 2 Authoritarian parents: This style of parenting is likely to create social anxiety, extending to being insecure and unhappy with peer relations. The child develops low self-esteem, lack of spontaneity and shows poor confidence in social settings (Lempers, Clark-Lempers & Simons, 1989).
- 3 Overprotecting/over-indulgent parents/smother love: Social interaction outside the immediate home tends to be restricted, and as a result the child is likely to be timid and dependent on adults (Randall & Parker, 2000). This dependency tends to breed naivety and social innocence which is apparent to potential bullies (Randall, 1997). As noted by Gore (1976), over-dependent and insecure children 'may develop a school refusal or phobia' (p. 47).

Other studies identified the effects of parents' individual roles; for example, Rigby, Slee and Cunningham (1999) found a link between girls who were bullied at school and over-protective fathers. A mother's hostility towards her daughter is also linked to being victimised, particularly when their peers perceived them to be physically weak (Finnegan, Hodges & Perry, 1997). In both sexes, Randall (1997) found that low levels of parental care are associated with hostility and bullying; and high levels of over protectiveness are associated with poor peer relations (Rigby, 1999).

This concurs with Troy and Sroufe's (1987) study on dyads of children where victims usually come with a history of insecure parent/child attachment patterns. Many of these victims had patterns of relating that match with Ainsworth's category of anxious-resistant attachment (Ainsworth, Blebar, Waters & Wall, 1978).

What seems without doubt is that parenting behaviours and styles are strongly associated with overprotection and control, which significantly contribute to a wide range of behaviours classified as social withdrawal (Olweus, 1978). The view expressed by the social information model (Rubin & Krasher, 1986) sees the bully being attracted to socially withdrawn children, who tend to be quiet and shy, and who suffer from psychological maladjustment (Rubin, Chan & Hymel, 1993).

During their development these types of children show steady traits of low assertiveness, they are compliant and thus an easy target to bully. As these children grow older, their problems become more marked (Stewart & Rubin, 1995), with social withdrawal becoming a characteristic trait expressed in depression and loneliness (Rubin & Mills, 1988). It is often these characteristic behaviours that inevitably influence their social life during their adult years.

Many victims who availed of counselling services confessed to being bullied for years at school and/or in their home environment (Randall & Parker, 2000). These authors suggest a reason that they were bullied as children is that they easily cried and/or were not included within the security of group friendship, as a result they were often ignored and isolated by their peers who did not defend them when they were being bullied. It is hardly surprising that most long-term victims did not enjoy normal peer relations (Randall & Parker, 2000). Thus it would seem possible to trace a long history of victims' status from their childhood through to the time of being bullied at work, and/or in the social environment.

The particular parental behaviours listed above do not seem to create children who will become provocative victims, who according to Olweus (1993) tend to be both aggressive and anxious in their behaviour. They often act in ways that annoy others who later become their bullies, and are often generally disliked because of their high level of activity and disruptive behaviour. Their peer group can take a 'pro-bully attitude', to the extent of saying that 'they got what they deserve' (Randall, 1997). It should be noted, however, that some researchers (Smith & Sharp, 1994) have not been able to discover the existence of the provocative type of victims, and it is suggested that more evidence is needed to establish this category, and to understand the parenting that may produce it.

Bullies

The developmental histories of bullies tend to be rooted in family relations which are in most cases unsatisfactory and inconsistent. Often many parents of bullies also had unsatisfactory experiences of being parented when younger, they learnt their parenting styles from the same power-assertive means used by their own parents. In so far as the child imitates the action of the adult, aggressive responses will tend to exacerbate the problem (Bandura, 1978). Hence a cycle of aggressive behaviour.

Clinical narratives of Crawford (1992; 2001) and Randall (1997; 2001) suggest that the aetiology of bullies' behaviour is based in unresolved childhood conflicts. Data from clinical interviews identified attitudes about people, including the bullies' own home environment, which were lacking in empathy. As noted by Field (1997) many recidivist bullies used the same bullying tactics in their home environments, attempting to

overpower their families to the point of gaining satisfaction primarily from the amount of control they exert.

Four factors have been suggested in the creation of aggressive reaction patterns in the child (Olweus, 1980).

1. A negative attitude on the part of the parents characterised by a lack of warmth. This is likely to involve an increased risk of the child becoming aggressive and hostile. The indifferent attitude, usually by mother to son, is referred to as the 'silent violence' (Olweus, 1980).

2. The parents being permissive and being at first tolerant of the child's aggressive behaviour. This can lead to parents later rejecting their children which can result in the child having little motivation to control hostile impulses. Olweus (1980) has pointed to maternal permissiveness of aggression as an important reinforcer. An example might be where a child has learned that temper tantrums cause the mother to give in to the child's wants. One of Randall's case histories describes how 'bullying into adulthood was one of several unpleasant traits he possessed for getting his own way' (Randall, 1997, p 34). An emotional outlet of anger can be provoked and if not sensibly addressed in early childhood can develop into intentional aggression (Edgecumbe & Sandler, 1974). Such a developmental process can affect the child's poor emotional functioning, which could explain why these children act aggressively towards their peers (Coie & Dodge, 1985), and also why bullies lack empathy toward their victims. Further, permissive parenting gives no clear limits for acceptable levels of aggression and so increases the child's aggressive behaviour.

3. The parents use of power-assertive methods for rearing children, for example, violent emotional outbursts and physical aggression.

4. The child's own temperament, that is, a 'hot-headed' child is more likely to develop into an aggressive child (Olweus, 1996). This aggressiveness is usually channelled in bullying interactions between the bully and victim, which is an avenue the bully uses as a coping mechanism for being abused in their home environment (Dodge, Coie, Pettit & Price, 1990).

There seems little doubt that a parenting style of rejection/hostility is one of the best predictors of childhood aggression (Olweus, 1984). The parents' response to aggressive behaviour represents the beginnings of a circular tragedy, because as parents become more rejecting and power assertive in discipline, so do their children respond by increased aggressive behaviour (Sroufe, 1988).

In relation to parenting styles, the role that earlier attachment plays is central to explaining the origins of aggressive behaviour. Studies such as those of Matas, Arend and Sroufe (1978; cited in Sroufe, 1988) found a clear link between insecure attachment during infancy and early childhood to later problems with peer relations, including lack of social skills and high levels of aggressive behaviour with peers. As earlier noted, there are clear links between aggressive behaviour and insecure attachments (Erikson, Sroufe & Egeland., 1985).

Although insecurity may be a factor that influences aggressiveness in early school years, it appears to act as an antecedent only if linked with ongoing family stress (Randall, 2001). Clinical narratives by this author found that such children were

difficult to handle from pre-school years, especially in relation to how they expressed their anger. The origin of bullying can be found in early attachments and the result of parental interaction during the infancy of the child (Greenberg & Speitz, 1988, cited in Bee, 2002). Attachment researchers, such as Erikson et al. (1985), found that infants, who were withdrawn, angry and who often exhibited explosive behaviour, were from inconsistent homes where their parents were distant and reactive.

Troy and Sroufe (1987) follow Ainsworth (1989) in describing attachment patterns as being either 'anxious-avoidant' or 'anxious-resistant'. In both cases, the individual experiences anxiety, but in the former this leads to the avoidance of situations where anxiety might be aroused, in the latter, the individual resists the arousal of anxiety. There is some evidence that bullies tend to be anxious-avoidant. If this type of child played with an anxious-resistant child, it was the anxious-avoidant child that would exhibit bullying behaviour. However, if two anxious-avoidant children played together, either of them could be bully or victim. It is clear that one or more factors other than attachment must be brought in to explain this situation. Possibly, it is the more aggressive of the two children who becomes the bully. It can be concluded that the effects of earlier attachment and socialisation play a crucial role in how children interact with others.

Asher and Williams (1993, cited in Bee, 2002), found that every child can predict to some degree whether he or she will be accepted or rejected, and accordingly be assigned to an in or out-group. This 'belongingness' to a particular peer grouping could be considered to continue to a child's bully status; being a non or rejected group member allows easy access for a bully to prey on the 'solitary vulnerable' child.

Victims' vulnerability factors when combined with peer group negative attitudes are described by Byrne (1994), under the following: (1) Family back-ground. (2) Changes in family circumstances. (3) Physical characteristics, as for example, being too small or too tall, or/and different from peer group. (4) Personality traits. (5) Jealousy (on the part of the bullies), and (6) School/club atmosphere. Is it possible to picture the origins of how bullying develops from the aforementioned school studies? What seems certain is that aggressive anti-social behaviours can contribute to the socialisation of bullies.

Research conducted by Xie, Cairns and Cairns (1999) found that aggressiveness seems to precede relationships – that is, boys who are aggressive seek out boys like themselves as friends, and being friends does not seem to make either member of the pair more aggressive (Poulin & Boivan, 2000). Research also suggests that children have more positive attitudes toward aggressive peers whose aggressive acts are seen as mostly retaliatory, and also toward those who engage in both pro-social and aggressive behaviour (Coie & Gillisen, 1993). Although social norms discourage aggressive behaviour, they do seem to help maintain it: For example, interventions designed to reduce aggressive behaviour typically have little effect on those aggressive boys who are popular (Phillips, Schween & Saklofske, 1997, cited in Bee, 2002).

This was confirmed in a study by Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl and Van Acker, (2000), which revealed that school boys were reinforced for displaying aggressive anti-social behaviours by being popular with their peers. Based on their earlier success, many of these boys internalised and developed a schema that aggression, popularity and control are an effective combination for achieving their aims. In adult social settings, their

schemata are applied and extended with the possible use of physical aggression as a means of achieving their goals.

During a person's life-span development, the best predictor for aggression in adolescence and early adulthood is the persistence of childhood aggression (Eron et al., 1987). These authors found that a high percentage of very aggressive boys at 8 years of age showed criminal behaviour at the age of 30.

Aggression has been described as 'part of normal development in most children' (Parke & Slaby, 1983, cited in Randall, 1997 p. 74). Persistence of aggression can lead to the creation of the bullies and their behaviour, which is described as a subset of human aggression that is often expressed and maintained in the social and working environment

Conclusion

In conclusion, the literature review of this chapter found that there is tentative evidence which identified a personality profile of both victims and bullies which predisposes them to be selected for their respective roles in the workplace. There was also some evidence to suggest that some of these individuals have a childhood history of bullying behaviour. Central to this thesis is to establish if bullying contributes to a change in personality, or if 'personality' is the reason why some individuals are bullied and others bully in the workplace. The following chapters attempt to discover more about personalities of victims and bullies in order to understand the complex interplay of them with the working environment

Chapter Three: Contributory factors of workplace bullying

Introduction

This pilot study of workplace bullying is exploratory in nature and relates to previous international research into organisational and personality factors referred to in the Chapters One and Two. The present study explores and reports on the contributory factors of bullying as perceived by an Irish sample of self-selected victims.

The following method was applied.

1. A sample of self-selecting victims (n=30) was taken
2. The sample represented different occupations from different parts of Ireland in both public and private sectors of the workforce
3. Interviews were conducted with the aid of a interview schedule (Seigne, 1996) (see Appendix 1)
4. Cattells' 16PF5 was employed as a measure of personality.

As discussed, Chapter One outlined different definitions and related terms of bullying. The definition used to describe bullying behaviour in this thesis is by the English psychotherapist Neil Crawford (1996;1998), in addition, Leymann's (1992; 1996) time frame of bullying is used as a measure of bullying. Both of these definitions are defined in the measurement section of this chapter.

In Ireland, the subject of bullying at work was identified by Byrne (1994); O'Moore, (1994); O'Donnell, (1995); Murray and Keane (1998) and Costigan, (1998). However, with the publications of the first Irish survey of workplace bullying by O'Moore, Seigne,

McGuire and Murray (1998a; 1998b), employees, employers and the Irish Government became increasingly aware of the serious nature of this problem. In response, the government gave a Ministerial order for a national survey on 'bullying at work' to be conducted (Irish Task Force, 2001).

As discussed in Chapter One, a large proportion of previous research into this topic has focussed upon the rates of workplace bullying and problems associated with different measurements (Einarsen, 1999). Differences of opinion and methodology emerged in Irish incidence rates. The Irish Government study (National Task Force, (NTF) 2001) identified an incidence level of 7%, whilst the National Survey of Bullying in the Workplace (NSBWP) (O'Moore, 2001, of the Anti-Bullying Center in Trinity College Dublin) recorded a slightly lower level of 6%.

Possible explanations for reported incidence differences could be that the analysis for the Irish Task Force represented a broad section of the Irish workforce (conducted by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), 2000), and was 'based on an analysis of 5,252 questionnaires' (NTF, 2001 p. 24), which consisted of 77 questions. The NSBWP questionnaire consisted of 67 questions and although targeted at 4,425 questionnaires, only 1,009 bullying questionnaires were completed for analysis. As a result, the sample size was significantly smaller than NTF, as also representation of employees. As noted by O'Moore (2001) 'some factors must be borne in mind when analysing the study's results; not all sectors of Irish life were fully represented, also there was a disproportionate number of respondents from non-unionised enterprises' (NSBWP, 2001, p. 2).

Both studies used similar, but different definitions. The NSBWP based their measure of bullying/harassment:

‘Where aggression is being used not in the service of the organisation, but where cruelty, viciousness, intimidation and the need to humiliate dominate a working relationship. Thus a person is bullied or harassed at work when he or she is repeatedly exposed to aggression, whether verbal, psychological or physical. Isolated incidence may be regarded as bullying but our definition emphasises repeated negative behaviour’ (NSBWP, 2001, p. 2).

The bullying definition used in the NTF survey was central to their results and quoted as:

‘Repeated inappropriate behaviour, direct or indirect, whether verbal, physical or otherwise, conducted by one or more persons against another or others, at the place of work, and/or in the course of employment, which could reasonably be regarded as undermining the individual’s right to dignity at work. An isolated incident of the behaviour described in this definition may be an affront to dignity at work but it is not considered to be bullying’ (NTF, 2001, p. 25)

In addition to comparing the incidence of bullying at work, international research has also looked at the causes of bullying (Zapf, 1999; 2001). Research focussed on three explanatory models for workplace bullying, namely: ‘personality traits’, ‘inherent characteristics of human interaction in organisations’, and ‘work environment and work conditions’ (Einarsen, 1996, pp. 18-20).

In terms of personality, as outlined in Chapter Two of the literature review, more empirical investigation is being undertaken within school settings (O'Moore et al., 1997). It is suggested, that there is a need for structured empirical research into personality as a contributing factor to workplace bullying (Einarsen, 1999). As discussed in the previous chapter, there is some agreement on the personality of the victims in the working environment, such as being unable to cope, being shy and neurotic (Vartia, 1996), anxious (Nield, 1996), depressed (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994) and with low levels of self-esteem (Einarsen et al., 1994).

A well researched area, as outlined in Chapter One by researchers such as Zapf (2001), surrounds the adverse effects upon the victim and the organisation. Both psychological and physical ill health of bullying are discussed in Chapter One. As outlined in the above overview of the literature research, the aim of this pilot study in the following sections is to identify the causal factors and effects of workplace bullying in Ireland.

This was the first pilot study to be conducted in Ireland of workplace victims. The aim of this study was to investigate organisational and personality factors as being contributory to victimisation in the workplace. With the exception of the recent Irish government's national report on bullying (Irish Task Force, 2001), most knowledge of bullying behaviour has been gained from other European countries and North America. This work to be reported here employed Cattells' 16PF5, a bullying questionnaire (Seigne, 1996, see Appendix 1), and an in-depth interview aimed to investigate the case histories and personalities of those who had been bullied in the workplace.

Based on the literature of workplace bullying (Zapf, 2001; Einarsen, 2000), the following hypotheses were proposed:

A. Organisational factors:

1. A higher percentage of bullies will be in a more powerful position (Zapf, 1999)
2. There will have been recent job changes (Rayner, 1997)
3. There will be organisational problems (Leymann, 1996) such as strained and competitive working environments (Vartia, 1996).

B. Personality Factors:

4. Victims will perceive the bully being envious of them (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994)
5. Victims will feel that they are different from others (Zapf & Buhler, 1998)
6. Victims will be 'neurotic' with a tendency to be anxious, depressed and to have low levels of self-esteem (Einarsen et al., 1994).

C. Effects of being bullied:

7. Victims will suffer physical and psychological effects (Einarsen et al., 1994)
8. Victims will take avoidant action, such as leaving the organisation (Niedl, 1996).

Method

Samples

Data from the present study were derived from 30 self-selected Irish adult victims. Seventeen subjects were referred from the Anti-Bullying Centre (ABC) of Trinity College Dublin, a further 13 were derived through referrals from unions, external agencies, and by direct contact of victims with the interviewer.

The total sample tested comprised nine men and 21 women. The age range of the respondents was between 25 and 66 years, with a mean age of 44 years (SD = 10.5). One-third of the sample were between 25 and 35 years of age with the remainder in the older ranges, more men (66%) than women (28%) were 46 years and older. Fourteen of the total sample (47%) were married, 15 (50%) were single and one was separated. A greater proportion of the men were married (eight out of nine) than women (six out of 21). Just over half of the sample (n=17), comprising nine males and eight females, were living with their family, and all of them claimed that their social relationships had suffered as a result of having been bullied in the workplace. Most of the remainder (n=13) were living alone, although two were sharing with friends. All except one person said that their home and social environment had been adversely affected.

Participants in this study came from various parts of rural and urban areas in the country reflecting a broad range of backgrounds of the Irish workforce. The respondents worked in a cross-section of workplaces: Semi-state organisations, hospitals, third-level institutions, schools, civil service, public service, private organisations, and broadcasting. Specific occupations of the respondents cannot be listed for reasons of confidentiality, however, Table 3.1 in the following page shows the respondents' different sectors of employment.

Table 3.1

Percentage of Respondents per Employment Sector (N=30)

Employment Sector	Percentage
Education	13.3%
Health	33.3%
Services	23.3%
Industry	20.0%
Other	10.0%

The majority of respondents (73%) worked in organisations in which there were 150 or more employees. Five respondents (17%) worked in medium sized organisations with 50 to one 150 employees, and a further three respondents worked in large organisations with over 150 employees. The remainder (10%) worked in small organisations of less than 50 employees.

Measurements

1 Interview questionnaire (Seigne, 1996) (refer to Appendix One)

The questionnaire was designed from items of the Leymann Inventory of Psychological Terror (LIPT Leymann, 1992); Rizzo, House and Lirtzman, (1970); and from other researchers of workplace bullying (Einarsen, 1996; Zapf, 1996; Kihl, 1990; Niedl, 1996).

This schedule consisted of 30 questions (both open and closed), divided into six sections. These sections covered the following areas:

(1) Personal details - five items. Gender, age range, level of education, marital status and living accommodation.

(2) Work details. - eight items. Type of organisation, size of company, number of employees in department, employment record, length of present employment, position in organisation, description of working environment and union membership.

(3) Bullying behaviour encountered in the workplace - 11 items. To establish if: Respondents were bullied; length of time they were bullied; how they were bullied; if they were bullied by one or several bullies; gender of bully; position of bully; if anyone was aware of the bullying; who might be aware; if colleagues come to victims' assistance; how many colleagues have been bullied; respondents response to bullied colleagues.

(4) Effects of being bullied - nine items. To establish how respondents: Feel after being bullied; if it affects their home life; if it effects their physical; and psychological health; if sick leave was taken as a result of being bullied and how they relate their symptoms to being bullied; if any action was taken; and if they availed of a rehabilitation programme.

(5) Present home and social environments – 10 items. To establish if respondents: were bullied at home; and at what age; who was the bully; did victim take any action; were

they bullied for a reason; if presently bullied; did they also bully; and what tactics were used.

(6) School history -five items. To establish if respondent: was bullied; and at what age; was an individual response taken; reason for being bullied; if sick days were taken as a result of being bullied.

Personality was measured by the Sixteen Personality Questionnaire Fifth Edition (16PF5) (Cattell, Cattell & Cattell, 1993), which is a trait-approach oriented personality questionnaire, comprising 185 items. One hundred and seventy of these items were standardised in the US and UK, the other fifteen in the US alone. The UK sample comprised 1,322 persons and provided a good normative base. Reliability in terms of internal consistency was also shown to be good. Alpha coefficients for twelve of the primary factors and four global factors were above .70, the remaining four primary factors (A,E,I) and the global factor (IM) were around .60.

The test measures sixteen primary factors: Warmth (A); Reasoning (B); Emotional Stability (C); Dominance (E); Liveliness (F); Rule-Consciousness (G); Social Boldness, (H); Sensitivity (I); Vigilance (L); Abstractedness, (M); Privatness (N); Apprehension (O); Openness to Change (q1) Self-Reliance (q2); Perfectionism (q3); and Tension (q4). The five global factors are: Extraversion (EX); Anxiety (AX); Tough Mindedness (TM); Interdependence (IN); and Self Control (SC). The authors stressed the value of this questionnaire for collecting key information of an individual's personality traits and then objectively combining the trait data with their life history.

Procedure

The interviewing process was conducted with subjects from three different sources. The first sample of 17 respondents originated from the Anti Bullying Centre (ABC) at Trinity College that referred telephone calls to the interviewer from self-selected victims. This sample contacted the Centre with requests for information and counselling services. In total about 250 employees contacted the ABC, many fitted with the study criteria, that is within Leymann's (1992) bullying time frame and the definition of bullying.

The interviewer contacted these self-referred victims and asked if they were willing to be interviewed in this first study of workplace bullying in Ireland. Arrangements were made for those who agreed (n=17) to meet in Trinity College, where interviews were conducted.

The second sample (n=6) of interviews were conducted in union branch offices. The remainder of the sample (n=7) were interviewed in venues suitable to the respondents. All three sample groups followed the same procedure. The interview began with the interviewer reading the following definition of bullying.

'(Bullying) is where cruelty, viciousness, the need to humiliate and the need to make somebody feel small is a dominant feature of a relationship' (Crawford, 1996; 1998).

The interviewer then elaborated on the definition to describe workplace bullying which can occur, often from a conflict situation, when persons over time feel repeatedly subjected to negative acts, feel powerless, and are unable to defend themselves.

Participants were read some examples of negative acts and then asked about their experiences and to 'tell their stories' about being bullied at work. Specific questions, as outlined in the interval schedule were asked, but only if the respondents were not spontaneous in their delivery of required responses. Frequency of exposure to such negative acts was carefully examined to ensure that it concurred with Leymann's (1992) time scale which was adopted for the definition of bullying, that is, at least once a week and over a period of at least 6 months. All respondents reported frequencies beyond these limits.

Although the interview was designed around spontaneous responses from the victims, such as their job description, organisational details, the forms that bullying had taken in their case, their childhood experiences and so on, it continued with an open-ended interview in conjunction with the interview schedule (Seigne, 1996), which was designed to explore areas not covered by the victims. Effectively this procedure allowed victims to voice their ideas about the possible causes and effects of bullying, and the organisational structure and procedures for coping with incidences of bullying.

As the whole session lasted on average about three hours (this included time to complete the 16PF5), there was ample time to explore and expand on some of the issues raised in answering specific questions. This enabled the interviewer, to obtain a deeper understanding of the victims' case history. All interviewees were given an assurance of confidentiality for all stages of the study.

Results

History of Victimisation

Over half of the sample (57%) had been bullied as children, all of whom had been bullied at school. Four (24%) of these confessed to having been both bullies as well as victims of bullying. Most of the childhood bullying had occurred in the latter part of the primary school period, that is, between the ages of seven and ten.

Out of the 30 victims, seven (23%) had been bullied in their previous jobs. Of the seven, two had been bullied occasionally and the remaining five had been victimised on a frequent basis. Only one of the seven victims was bullied on commencing the present job. The duration of bullying ranged from six months to nineteen years. Eight victims (27%) were bullied from six to twelve months. Eleven victims (37%) had been subjected to bullying for one to three years. A further 11 victims (37%) were victimised for as long as three to ten years

Employment status

Over two-thirds of the victims were employed in large organisations. All respondents had defined job roles, and the majority (n=19) were satisfied with their level of responsibility. An examination of job status revealed that three (10%) had managerial positions and two (7%) were administrators, 10 (33%) were employed as professionals, three as supervisors, while the majority were staff (n=12). Within these categories, all three managers (10%), one administrator (33%), seven professional (23%) and six staff (20%) were also bullied in their childhood.

Length of time in present job before onset of bullying

The whole sample had been in their present employment for at least two years, nine respondents had been in the same job for between seven and twelve years, and the remainder between twelve and twenty-two years. The length of time that respondents were in their jobs before they were exposed to bullying behaviour ranged from two to twenty years. The average length of time was seven years and three months.

Duration of bullying before reporting the behaviour

Most of the respondents had been bullied at work for a long period of time before they had contacted the interviewer: Eleven had suffered for three to ten years (four on a daily basis, two several times a week, and five once a week), another 11 for one to three years (eight on a daily basis, and three several times a week), and the remaining eight for six to twelve months (all on a daily basis). Women reported the bullying sooner than the men. On average females had waited two years and four months before reporting that they were bullied, while men had waited three years and two months.

Victims Perception of the Work Environment:

Victims were asked to describe their perceptions of the work environment, the percentage of responses per description is displayed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Frequency of Occurrence, as a Percentage of Total Sample of Victims, for Description of the Workplace

Description of Workplace	Frequency of Occurrence		
	Often	Occasionally	Never
Strained/stressful Environment	76.7%	20.00%	3.3%
Competitive Environment	83.3%	10.0%	6.6%
Interpersonal Conflict	73.3%	20.0%	6.6%
Organisational Changes	90.0%		10.0%
Authoritarian Leadership	90.0%		10.0%
Pleasant physical Environment	80.0%		20.0%
Friendly/supportive Atmosphere	16.7%	10.0%	73.3%
Communicative Atmosphere	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%
Effective feedback re work	40.0%	26.7%	33.3%

As shown in Table 3.2, nearly all the victims reported that their working environment was often or occasionally stressful, and that interpersonal conflict was present in a competitive climate where organisational changes had occurred under authoritarian leadership. Twenty-seven of the victims (90%) reported that they found the leadership

in their organisation to be autocratic. Twenty-five (83%) also found their work area to be competitive.

Most respondents found their work area to be physically attractive, and received feedback with regard to work performance which occurred at least occasionally for two-thirds of the sample, in a climate that only a minority considered to be friendly and communicative. Twelve victims (40%) reported that they were satisfied with the frequent feedback that they received about their work, and another 27% found it effective, although occasional.

Victims also described the types of bullying that they experienced which are listed in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3

Frequency of Occurrence, as a Percentage of the Total Sample of Victims, for Types of Bullying Experienced in the Workplace

Type of Bullying	Frequency of Occurrence		
	Often	Occasionally	Never
Verbal aggression	100.0%		
Humiliation	86.6%	13.3%	
Belittling remarks	80.0%	20.0%	
Rumours circulated	90.0%	10.0%	
Work criticised	90.0%		10.0%
Physical aggression	26.7%		73.3%
Unrealistic work targets	76.7%		23.3%
Work level increased	73.3%		26.7%
Work level reduced	26.7%		73.3%
Isolation	66.7%		33.3%
Exclusion	56.7%	10.0%	33.3%
Alerted to job vacancies	66.7%		33.3%

As illustrated in Table 3.3, all respondents reported being the recipients of verbal aggression. Some of the forms this could take were specified as: being humiliated, having belittling remarks made about them, having rumours circulated, having their work criticised. In contrast, there was much less physical aggression, with seven men and one woman reporting having suffered from it. The remaining types of bullying

most frequently reported were: being given unrealistic work targets and having their work level increased. A minority reported work being decreased, and, in the sphere of social interaction, being isolated and excluded from a group. With regard to this latter behaviour, there was a marked difference between the sexes, some 15 females reporting being isolated and excluded in contrast to five male victims. It is interesting to note that two-thirds of the sample were alerted to job vacancies elsewhere, a fact which could be interpreted in various ways, but which was seen by them as a hint that they were not wanted.

Victims gave their perceptions as to reasons why they felt that they were bullied. The reasons are listed in following Table 3.4, the results are in percentages.

Table 3.4

Perceived Reasons as a Percentage of Total Sample as to why Victims were Bullied

Perceived Reasons of Total Sample	Percentage Response
Bully's difficult personality	100.0%
Bully envious	63.3%
Victim different	33.3%
Victim more qualified	30.0%
Promotion of bully	43.3%
Change in victim's job role	16.7%
Management restructure	16.7%
New boss	23.3%

As shown in Table 3.4, all of the sample considered that the bully's difficult personality was ultimately responsible for them having been bullied. Nineteen (63%) thought the bully was in some way envious of them; in that nine of the group (30%) were more qualified than the bully, and 10 (33%) believed that they were bullied because they were different in some way from their colleagues. Many of the differences quoted reflected social class distinctions, such as type of schooling (i.e., fee paying or state), location of home (i.e., north/south side; inner-city), and accent (rural/urban), as well as qualifications (trade/third level), appearance, and sexual orientation.

Changes in the work situation were offered as other explanations for being bullied; the most frequent change reported by victims (43%) was the promotion of the bully to a

position of increased power. The less frequent change reported was in the victim's (17%) own job role. Other relevant changes reported by the victims were the arrival of a new boss (23%) and the restructuring of management (17%).

The gender and job positions held by the bullies and victims is shown in Table 3.5

Table 3.5

Job Position and Gender of Bullies and Victims

Job Position	Bullies		Victims	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Senior management	10		1	
Middle management	4	6	2	
Administration				2
Professional				10
Supervisory	5	3	2	1
Staff	1	1	2	10

Table 3.5 shows that the majority of bullies were in the most powerful positions. Nearly all bullies were in management or supervisory positions. In only two cases were colleagues reported to be bullies. In contrast to the 20 bullies in management, there were only three victims at this level, and the same number in supervisory positions. Victims holding other positions included two administrators and 10 professionals, the remaining 12 being staff.

Nearly two-thirds of the sample of victims (63%) reported that they were bullied mainly by one person. Ten victims were bullied by predominantly one person but with the assistance of two to four others. Bullying by a large group of up to 11 was experienced by one of the sample. Two-thirds of the bullies were male, and all seven male victims were bullied only by male bullies, while female victims were bullied more or less equally often by male bullies and by female bullies.

Table 3.6

Age Range of Alleged Male and Female Bullies.

Age Range	Bullies (N=30)	
	Male	Female
25-30		7
31-39		1
40-45	3	2
46-49	7	
50+	10	

As shown in Table 3.6, all of the 20 male bullies were over 40 years of age, while only two of the 10 alleged female bullies were over 40 years of age. Thus male bullies tended to be older than their female counterparts.

Effects of bullying

Turning to the effects of bullying on victims, all respondents reported some psychological disturbance, 28 of the thirty also reported physical symptoms. A total of 26 had taken sick leave and all attributed this to their having been bullied. The duration of sick leave varied from a week to over three months, with nine taking a week, three taking up to four weeks, 13 taking from one to three months, and seven taking over three months.

The victims described psychological symptoms that they suffered as a result of being bullied. The percentage and frequency of occurrence of these symptoms are displayed in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7

Frequency of Occurrence of Psychological Symptoms as a Percentage of Total Victim Samples' Experience.

Psychological Symptom	Frequency of Occurrence		
	Often	Occasionally	Never
Anxiety	73.3%	16.7%	10.0%
Irritability	70.0%	20.0%	10.0%
Stress	66.7%	20.0%	13.3%
Depression	70.0%	13.3%	16.7%
Helplessness	63.3%	6.6%	30.0%
Angry thoughts	56.7%	30.0%	13.3%
Paranoia	66.6%	13.3%	20.0%
Mood swings	50.0%	20.0%	30.0%
Lower self esteem/ confidence	63.3%	10.0%	26.7%
Social withdrawal	60.0%	13.3%	26.7%
Feeling isolated	50.0%	20.0%	30.0%
Frustration	30.0%	6.6%	63.3%
Poorer concentration	20.0%		80.0%
Self-blame	16.7%		83.3%
Fear	13.3%		86.7%

Table 3.7 shows that over 80 percent of victims support the view that there are adverse psychological effects from being victimised at work. There was general agreement about suffering from anxiety, irritability, about feeling stressed, depressed and helpless, about having angry thoughts, becoming 'paranoid', and suffering mood swings. Over two-thirds of the victims (70%) reported suffering from lower levels of confidence and self-esteem, becoming socially withdrawn and isolated. Loss of concentration was a problem for six of the victims (20%). Five victims (17%) suffered from self-blame and four victims (13%) became fearful. Relatively few respondents reported feelings of frustration, poorer concentration levels, self-blame or fear. A brief overview of the living arrangements, as outlined earlier in the sample section of respondents would suggest that, without the support of the family environment, victims living alone were more adversely affected, being more socially withdrawn, feeling paranoid and reporting higher levels of anxiety and depression.

Table 3.8 in the following page summarises the most common physical symptoms suffered by nearly all the victims as a result of prolonged bullying.

Table 3.8

Frequency of Occurrence of Physical Symptoms as Percentage of Total VictimSamples' Experience

Psychological Symptom	Frequency of Occurrence		
	Often	Occasionally	Never
Disturbed sleep pattern	60.0%	26.7%	13.3%
Crying	63.3%	20.0%	16.7%
Lethargy	46.6%	20.0%	33.3%
Stomach disorder	40.0%	16.7%	43.3%
Headache	26.7%	20.0%	53.3%
Rashes	26.7%	13.3%	60.0%
High blood pressure	26.7%	6.6%	66.7%
Irritable bowel syndrome	16.7%	3.3%	80.0%
Aches and pains	16.7%	10.0%	73.3%
Kidney infection	3.3%		96.7%
Increased drinking	26.7%	6.6%	66.7%
Increased smoking	6.6%		93.3%
Eating disorder	20.0%	10.0%	70.0%
Panic attack	23.3%	10.0%	66.7%
Shaking	20.0%	10.0%	70.0%
Sweating	16.7%	13.3%	70.0%

As illustrated in Table 3.8, the most frequently experienced group of symptoms reported by victims were those associated with depression. These included disturbed sleep

patterns/nightmares (87%), crying (83%) and lethargy (67%). Other symptoms of probable psychosomatic origin were stomach disorders (57%), headaches (47%), rashes, high blood pressure (34%), a variety of aches and pains. Irritable bowel syndrome was also reported as resulting from the stress associated with bullying by six of the 30 victims (20%). There was one reported case of a kidney infection. Behavioural changes were not as prevalent as other effects; they included increased intake of alcohol, eating disorders and increased smoking. More extreme emotional reactions, such as panic attacks, shaking and sweating were also reported by a minority of victims.

Twenty six victims (87%) had taken sick leave as a result of bullying in the workplace, nine victims (30%) had taken a week off work; three (10%) had taken up to four weeks, 13 (43%) had taken one to three months and one victim was on indefinite sick leave which had extended beyond three months at the time of the study.

Victims and Action

Many of the victims took informal and formal action, also legal and non-legal actions as a result of being bullied (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9

Actions Taken by Victims as a Result of Being Bullied as percentage response of total sample

Perceived Reasons of Total Sample	Percentage Response
Communicated indirectly with bully	56.5%
Confronted bully	36.7%
Contacted personnel	80.0%
Contacted union	76.7%
Consulted family	73.3%
Contacted doctor	70.0%
Consulted social friends	53.3%
Consulted work friends	43.3%
Contacted counsellor	50.0%
Obtained legal advice	46.7%
Contacted the A.B.C,	6.6%
Resigned	23.3%
Took early retirement	10.0%

As illustrated in the above Table 3.9, over 50% of the sample had tried to communicate with the bully indirectly and about a third had confronted the bully directly. The most usual responses to being bullied were to ask for help from others, from the personnel department, and/or from their unions. Over seventy percent of the victims told their families and many consulted their doctors, presumably on account of the disorders they

were experiencing. Other resources were friends, half of the victims had sought the services of professional counsellors and just under half of all the victims had taken legal advice. Only two of the victims (7%) had not consulted anyone else before calling the ABC for help.

The most disturbing result was that nearly half (n=13) of the respondents had left their jobs; of these, seven (23%) had resigned, three (10%) had taken early retirement and a further three (10%) were dismissed. However, 12 victims (40%) were offered counselling to help them overcome the ill-effects of the bullying. A further two (7%) were offered career breaks, whereas four victims (13%) were suspended and another three were dismissed. Six of the seven who resigned obtained jobs elsewhere, whereas only one of the three retirees was re-employed. However, none of the three victims who were dismissed have secured another position.

Of the 24 victims who had consulted personnel, only three (12.5%) were satisfied. Although 17 respondents of the 24 made contact with a union representative that led to formal hearings with the organisation's representative, only two (11.8%) of the complainants were satisfied with the procedural outcome.

Management attempted to rehabilitate 12 victims (40%), for example, by transferring them to other work areas, by giving time off in the guise of study leave, by referring to counselling, or urging attendance at employment assistance programmes. There were no reports of bullies being rehabilitated, although two organisations took disciplinary action against the alleged bullies, which resulted in transferring them to other

departments within the organisation. Management also managed to avert two strikes by negotiations between the concerned parties.

A considerable number of the respondents in this study were adversely affected by bullying in terms of their job status. Three were dismissed (all of whom remain unemployed), four were suspended, and two were sent on career breaks. As a result of unsatisfactory action with management, 14 victims sought legal advice, 10 victims took their cases to the Labour Court, three had their cases referred to the High Court, and one victim to the Circuit Court. Five of the seven cases heard in the Labour Court have been settled; two were awarded costs on technical grounds and three were compensated. To date, only one of those that have gone to the High Court has been settled, in that an agreement was reached to compensate the victim out of court. Similarly, an agreement was reached in the other Circuit Court case.

Victims and Personality

Each of the 30 victims completed the 16PF5 and the sten scores were obtained for each of the primary factors and each of the global factors of personality. These sten scores were then averaged over the sample to provide a mean sten score for each of the primary factors and each of the global factors (Tables 3.10 and 3.11 respectively). In addition, graphical representations of the mean sten scores for the primary factors and the global factors respectively are illustrated in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.10

Personality Profile of Victims Comprising the Mean Sten Score of Victims for PrimaryFactors of Cattells' 16PF5 Questionnaire

		Victims (N = 30)
Primary Factors		Mean Sten Score
A	Warmth	5.6
B	Reasoning	5.2
C	Emotional stability	3.9 **
E	Dominance	4.3
F	Liveliness	4.6
G	Rule consciousness	5.4
H	Social boldness	5.1
I	Sensitivity	7.5 **
L	Vigilance	5.2
M	Abstractedness	5.7
N	Privateness	4.3
O	Apprehension	7.0 **
Q1	Openness to change	6.1
Q2	Self-reliance	4.6
Q3	Perfectionism	5.2
Q4	Tension	6.1

** outside of 'normal' range

As shown there are only three factors apparently outside the average range (sten scores four to seven being considered average), namely C at 3.9 (more emotionally reactive, changeable), I at 7.5 (subjective and sentimental) and O at 7.0 (more apprehensive, self-doubting and worried). It is stressed that interpretation of these scores should take into account their closeness to the average range and the standard error of the scores.

Figure 3.1 provides a graphical representation of the Victim Profile, using the mean sten scores for the primary factors on the 16PF5

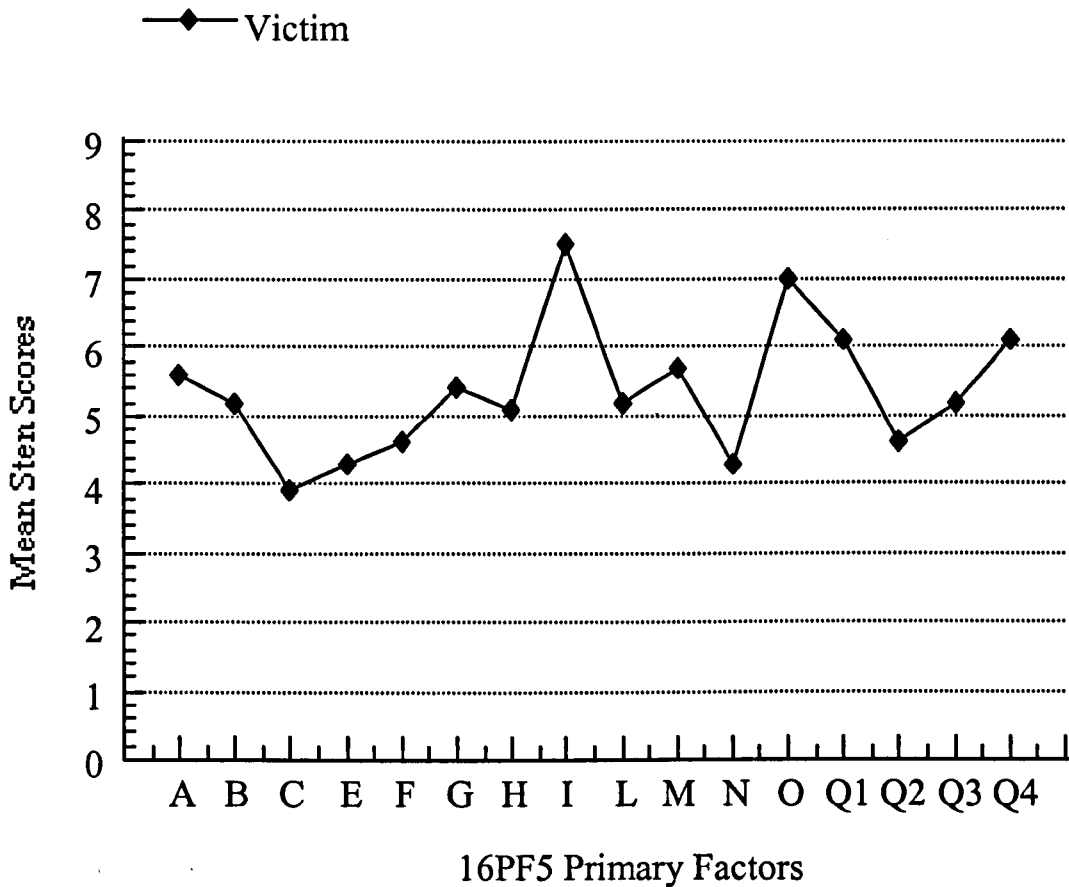


Figure 3.1 Victim Profile for the mean sten scores for the primary factors on the 16PF5

Scores on the global factors for the 16PF5 are shown in Table 3.11 and in Figure 3.2 in the following page.

Table 3. 11

Personality Profile of Victims Comprising the Mean Sten Score of Victims for Global Factors on Cattells' 16PF5 Questionnaire.

Global Factors		Victims (N = 30)
		Mean Sten Score
EX	Extraversion	5.7
AX	Anxiety	6.9
TM	Tough minded	5.9
IN	Independence	4.9
SC	Self control	5.8

The mean score achieved on the global factors are all within the normal range.

However, AX (anxiety) at 6.9 is within the range, but borderline.

Figure 3.2 in the following page provides a graphical representation of the Victim Profile, using the mean sten scores for the global factors on the 16PF5

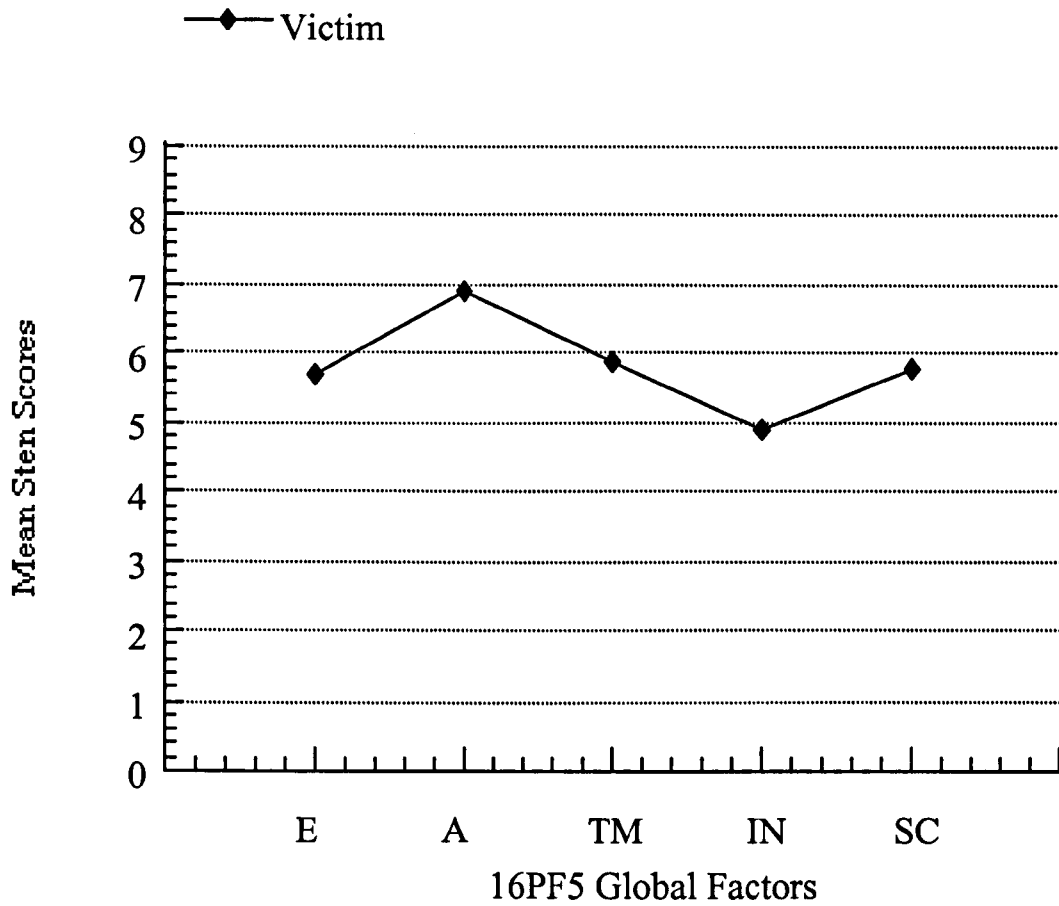


Figure 3.2 Victim Profile for the mean sten scores for the global factors on the 16PF5

Discussion

Although this pilot study should be regarded as 'exploratory', findings did emerge to support previous research of victims being bullied in a highly stressed and competitive environment, within an aggressive social milieu, with frequent organisational changes, interpersonal conflict, and an authoritarian style of leadership. Similar factors were also present in studies by Einarsen et al. (1994) and McCarthy et al. (1995).

Findings from this study are in agreement with Archer (1999), who identified bullying as a phenomenon in the working environment. As discussed, an attempt was made to understand the processes of making sense of bullying, that is, within organisational and personal levels, it appears that both are central to explaining the processes involved in organisational bullying within these working environments.

Although the bully's perceived 'difficult' personality and envy of the victim were most often cited as reasons for being bullied, organisational changes were also often involved, especially the promotion of the bully and the arrival of a new boss. Certainly, consistent with other research (Rayner, 1997), most victims were bullied by those in more powerful positions within the organisations and accordingly found it difficult to defend themselves. This is a common finding, supported for example by Bjorkqvist et al. (1994) in Scandinavia, and by anecdotal evidence from within the U.K (IPD, 1996). It might be appropriate to describe these bullies in the same terms as those used by Elbing and Elbing (1994), as militant managers and aggressive bosses, who abuse their legitimate power.

The uneven gender balance of this study, which comprised 9 men and 21 women, mirrors similar findings of the proportion of boys and girls in a survey of Irish schools (O'Moore et al., 1997). Research into workplace bullying does suggest that males and females are equally at risk of being bullied (Einarsen et al., 1994), although females are more likely to report such incidents (O'Moore, 2001). However, it may be, as Bjorkqvist et al. (1994) claimed that more women actually do experience being bullied at work. Another explanation could reflect the inequalities of gender in the labour market (Hoel et al., 1999).

Rayner (1997) has drawn attention to the scarcity of women in managerial roles, which may explain the relative scarcity of female bullies in this study and the preponderance of males. The 10 female bullies were younger than their male counterparts and had restricted their bullying to females, a restriction that did not apply to the male bullies. This finding agrees with that from other studies (such as Einarsen et al., 1994) that male perpetrators bully both male and female victims.

Respondents tended to fall within the older age ranges, a fact in agreement with other research, which found that older workers were at a higher risk of being bullied (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). Possible explanations have been provided by Leymann (1992) who suggested that older workers tend to be more rigid and have difficulty in responding to changes in the organisation, and in their work role, etc. The older workers who participated in this study felt that the knowledge and experience they had achieved because of their wiser years was mistaken by some colleagues, and, in one case, it was perceived as being a threat to a younger supervisor.

The most frequently reported type of bullying behaviour at work consisted of varieties of verbal aggression (Zapf et al., 1996), with rare reports of physical violence (Keashly, 1998). The present study, reported eight cases of physical aggression (27%), which is higher than the 8% found in Norway by Einarsen and Skogstad (1996). A further study of Norwegian ship-workers reported a lower level of 2.4% (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997). An explanation for the higher level of physical aggression reported in the present study might be explained by different levels of tolerance between these two countries with regard to physical punishment in schools. The Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1993) found that only one fifth of Irish adults believed that physical punishment is wrong and were in favour of a similar legal ban to that operating in Scandinavia. It is noteworthy, that much must depend on the degree of physical aggression and the make-up of the workforce in a particular organisation, as well as gender differences in behaviour.

It is generally accepted that bullying causes ill health (McCarthy et al., 1999), as reported by most victims in this study. However, it could be argued that people who are prone to ill health, with a 'history of health problems' (Hoel & Cooper, 2000, p. 107) are vulnerable to being bullied in the workplace. Although there is no direct evidence of ill health preceding bullying, some victims in this study confessed to having some 'illness' prior to being bullied at work. There is, however, evidence to suggest that ill health is associated with being bullied (Adams, 1992;1997). All victims reported psychological and some physical symptoms, which they ascribed to being bullied. Twenty-six of the 30 respondents took sick leave in an effort to cope with their work situation, a finding consistent with that of other studies, such as Zapf et al. (1996).

In addition to the psychological complaints, the reported physical illnesses were of a psychosomatic nature. Similar findings were also reported by previous researchers (Leymann, 1992; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). These reported physical and psychological effects of being bullied at work can readily be understood to have resulted from stressful experiences the victims had undergone in the workplace (Cooper & Payne, 1988). Perhaps these stressful experiences can be attributed to post-traumatic stress disorder, as reported by Bjorkqvist et al. (1994), and Leymann (1996). It is noteworthy, that up to one third of stress-related legal cases are predominantly a result of workplace bullying (Earnshaw & Cooper, 1996).

As reported in this study, one-third of the victims believed they were bullied because they were 'different'. Some of the differences quoted by victims were 'having a superior accent', being from a 'better class', having an 'individual dress style', and being a 'homosexual'. It is interesting to note that external differences in school settings did not contribute significantly to being bullied in a Scandinavian setting (Olweus, 1998), but any generalisation across cultures would be hazardous. However, being an 'outsider' in a social group setting, or being in some way 'different' from others in a group carries the risk of being used as a scapegoat (Thylefors, 1987, cited in Rayner & Hoel, 1997), and hence a target for being bullied at work (Zapf, 2001).

School studies have found that child victims tend to be more anxious and insecure, and to have personality characteristics of being sensitive, quiet and cautious (Olweus, 1993). Victims also tend to have low self-esteem, to be restrained and rule bound (O'Moore & Hillery, 1994), which, not surprisingly, affect their levels of self-esteem (Boulton & Smith, 1994). Contrary to research such as that of Leymann (1996), who claims that

personality factors do not contribute to workplace bullying, data from the present study suggest that victims tended to be more emotionally reactive, sensitive, apprehensive and anxious. It is possible that these characteristics emerged as a consequence of being bullied and were not evident before bullying began, and were not therefore causal in victim selection. An examination of a possible personality victim profile, and the hypothesised effects of prolonged bullying (Randall, 1977) will be discussed later in the thesis.

A final area for discussion concerns the actions taken by victims, unions and management as a result of workplace bullying. Most of the victims attempted to communicate with the bully, although only about a third felt able to confront the bully directly. Over half tried to negotiate with the bully by indirect means. Most went on to communicate with the personnel department and their union, and tried to enlist help from both social and work friends. Most of the official channels of communication appear to have proven unsatisfactory for the complainants. This is not to say that the complaints were not taken seriously, union representatives nearly always took the matter up with the company and were also often restricted by policy and legal restraints. The outcome, however, did not resolve the problem for the victim. Whatever changes may have been necessary to prevent the continuation of bullying were generally not put into place, or when they were, they were not to the victim's advantage.

Nearly all victims took sick leave, a finding which agrees with the high level of absenteeism identified in an Australian study (McCarthy et al., 1995). As Niedl (1996) suggested, the action of taking sick leave need not be considered a destructive form of response, but as a constructive move to remove oneself from the workplace for a period

of time to recover one's well-being. Just under half the sample left the firm and this could also be perceived as a constructive rather than a self-destructive move. However, Niedl (1996) suggested that the reaction of victims in leaving their place of work could be prevented if management were trained to monitor the early indication of conflict. Such training would undoubtedly also see a reduction in the number of victims who, as in this study, seek vindication through the legal system.

It is noteworthy to mention, that the Irish Business and Employers' Confederation (IBEC) published a report on: *How organisations are dealing with bullying in the workplace* (2001). In addition to acknowledging that organisational bullying is a problem, they offer support and advice to all concerned personnel in such environments. In a similar way, the Irish Trade Union movement offer explanatory leaflets and advice to their members on how to cope with workplace bullying.

In conclusion, this study supports the hypotheses outlined in the introduction section. In regard to the contribution of personality factors to workplace bullying, data presented in this study complement other findings, such as those of Zapf and Buhler (1998), who found that victims reported that they were different from their colleagues. Victims, profiled by Cattells' 16PF5, showed high levels of anxiety, similar to the findings of Einarsen et al. (1994), which showed that victims had a tendency to be neurotic, depressed and to possess low levels of self-esteem. Further personality traits were identified by Cattells' 16PF5, with victims being emotionally unstable, highly sensitive and apprehensive. In agreement with other studies (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994), victims felt that the bully was envious of them; in addition many victims reported that it was the bully's 'difficult personality' that contributed to being bullied.

The hypotheses relating to organisational factors were also confirmed and found to contribute to workplace bullying. Consistent with studies such as that of Zapf (1999), victims in this study reported that most bullies were in higher positions. Findings were in agreement with those of Rayner (1977) concerning victims who reported recent job changes as a contributory factor. Victims in this present study were also similar to those in Leymann's study (1996) in reporting organisational problems, and also similar to those of Vartia (1996), who found that working in a strained and competitive environment was a contributory factor in being bullied.

The hypothesised effects of being bullied were also supported in the present research, and were in agreement with the findings of Einarsen et al. (1994), who found that bullying at work affects the physical and psychological health of victims. Other effects were that some victims took the action of leaving the organisation (Niedl, 1996). Further non-hypothesized action taken by victims in this study are reported in the results and discussion sections.

In addition to the outlined hypotheses, findings from the study indicated an awareness of the negative implications for the organisation and the national economy, as also for the victims' families, work colleagues and the bullies. A main reason why bullies survive is that colleagues of the victims 'do not know how to confront the bully, or to assist the bullied' (Mellish, 2001, p. 208). With management training and support of staff representatives and employees (O'Donnell, 1995), workplaces should have a clear policy. The policy should include mediation and grievance procedures and be recognised as an intervention strategy (Crabbs, 1995). Ironically, it is more often the alleged bullies, as identified in this study who are not formally addressed by such

disciplinary action. Despite this fact, research within the school setting has indicated that levels of bullying can be reduced and prevented, if those who offend are challenged and accept the responsibility for their negative behaviour (Smith & Sharp, 1994). Such procedures could be learned from school bullying research. As Smith (1997) suggests, methods such as 'assertiveness training ..and no blame approach ..with suitable management adaptation, could be useful in the workplace' (p. 254).

Further research into the causes of workplace bullying is ongoing, and, as indicated by school bullying (Randall, 1997), the role that personality plays is identified as a probable contributory factor. Despite such empirical data which points to a 'victim profile' (Olweus, 1996), the author of this thesis is aware of the sensitive issue of researching personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying. However, it is clear that to obtain a balanced view of workplace bullying, it is necessary to respond to Vartia's (1996) request for further exploration in the field of personality.

Although this pilot study has addressed some of the contributory factors of workplace bullying and suggested the notion of a 'victim profile', the personality characteristics of individuals in the workplace remains relatively unexplored. It is for this reason that the next chapter exclusively explores the personality traits of victims.

As discussed some interesting findings emerged from the pilot study, however, there are many necessary reservations and precautions that need to be taken in the following research.

The sample size was too small (n=30) and unrepresentative of victims in general to enable the author to draw any firm conclusions. It did, however, provide an opportunity for the author of this thesis to get the 'feel' of the area, and to test out the questionnaire. Secondly, the victims were self-selected and may well have differed in various ways from those chosen on a different basis.

The main reason why these self-selected victims were employed, was their ready availability at the ABC in Trinity College, also it seemed a good way to begin the research without committing resources in contacting and going into companies unprepared. The subjects made direct contact with the interviewer as a result of the first radio programme on workplace bullying in Ireland. Thus, there was an uneven balance of gender and age, and also there was no control group of non-victims available from this source, as only the victims of bullying contacted the ABC for advice and counselling.

Although the sample represents different occupations in the public and private sectors of the workforce, the study was not conducted in the respondents' work environment, a fact which could be important, as the interviewer would have had the opportunity to have an overall picture of how the victims interacted in their working environments.

In relation to the bullying measures, although the qualitative interviews were conducted with the help of a structured interview schedule (Seigne, 1996), which was based on other validated questionnaires and research, the author was aware of a number of shortcomings.

There were inadequacies with regard to the exploration of the victim's previous working history, and it would also have been better to have included further items more specific to their experience of being bullied in their home as a child, in the school, and in their social environments. In the light of these deficiencies, an attempt was made in the main study to correct them.

Finally, in an attempt to measure a 'victim personality', Cattells' 16PF5 was not the best choice as a personality test. The main reason is because of its general nature and its lack of focus on the working environment. Also, advances in personality theory would suggest that a more direct examination of the 'Big Five' personality factors might prove more fruitful (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Hence the following chapters explore the personality traits of victims (and bullies respectively) taking into account these points.

Chapter Four: Victim's personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying

Introduction

This chapter is in two parts and attempts to address the listed concerns of the pilot study and sets out to examine the role that personality plays in bullying behaviour. The following changes were made in procedure in an attempt to rectify the noted shortcomings:

1. The sample size is larger (n=120) and includes an experimental group (n=60) and control group (n=60).
2. Consistent with the pilot study, the sample represents both public and private sectors and different occupations within the Irish workforce.
3. The sample was not self-selected, it was chosen by the interviewer from large groups of employees in the respondents' work environment.
4. The sample was designed to represent an even balance of gender and represented a broad age range.
5. For the interview stage of this study an extended and more exploratory type interview schedule (Seigne, 1998) was employed, which was more appropriate for statistical analysis (see Appendix 2).
6. The ICES personality inventory (Bartram, 1994; 1998) was employed, which is designed to measure personality within the working environment and is based on the Five-Factor Model (Costa & McCrae, 1992).

The second part of the study used the following method in an attempt to explore the life-span perspective of victims.

7. For the purpose of comparing victims and bullies, the data from the ICES in the first part of this study are included and information about their school experiences of bullying is used.

8. A subsidiary pilot study comprising of 18% of the sample was also conducted and these subjects were further re-assessed using additional inventories to test the validity of employing such tests in further research.

This study of victims' profiles used the same definition of bullying behaviour (Crawford, 1996; 1998), and time frame (Leymann, 1992; 1996) as described in the pilot study. Literature reviews (Barrick & Mount, 1991) have reached agreement, that when personality measures are classified within the Big-Five domain, they are systematically related to a number of job-performing criteria. It is for this reason, in addition to the strong association with Cattells' 16PF5 (of content and construct validity (Bartram, 1993)), that the present study used the ICES as a measure of personality within the working environment.

The literature on workplace bullying has mainly focused on organisational factors which were discussed in Chapter One. The next chapter of the literature review section focused on the complex nature of personality from a developmental, clinical and occupational perspective. As discussed, Leymann (1996) strongly opposed the idea that the personality of an individual can predispose victims to be bullied in the workplace.

He argued that (1) it is meaningless to suggest personality causes bullying because victims develop changes in personality due to being victimised, which suggests that they do not have a history of being bullied; (2) the symptoms of bullying are misunderstood and interpreted as being that which the individual brings into the organisation in the first place.

Einarsen (1996), on the other hand, acknowledges the role that personality plays in workplace bullying. In a later study by Matthieson and Einarsen (1999), they empirically addressed the relationship between the victim's personality and bullying by employing the MMPI-2 personality test. Adding to the research into personality, Zapf (2001) acknowledged the victim's personal characteristics as a reason for being bullied.

This unresolved debate as to whether personality is the independent or dependent variable is explored in this next chapter and in the sixth chapter of this thesis, where personality is analysed within an organisational setting.

Part One: Comparison of personality traits of victims and non-victims

This main study of a victim profile was in two stages. This first stage reported in this chapter involved 60 victims and 60 non-victims from two large organisations in Ireland, who responded to an in-depth interview and completed the ICES Personality Inventory. The aim of the study was to investigate personality differences between victims and non-victims of workplace bullying, and as outlined previously to rectify the limitations of the pilot study.

The main objective is to test the following four hypotheses developed from earlier work with the aim of constructing an ICES victim profile.

- 1 Victims are expected to score lower than non-victims on the independence scale
- 2 Victims are expected to score lower than non-victims on the extraversion scale
- 3 Victims are expected to score lower than non-victims on the stability scale.

In addition, it is also hypothesised that:

- 4 Victims are expected to score higher than non-victims on conscientiousness on the ICES. This trait was not measured on the 16PF5, but would appear to be a reasonable prediction in view of previous literature, such as Brodsky, (1976).

Other personality traits identified in the previous chapter, and in the research literature such as Einarsen et al. (1994) are proposed in this study for the following hypotheses:

- 5 Victims are expected to be more neurotic than non-victims
- 6 Victims are expected to have lower levels of self-esteem than non-victims
- 7 Victims are expected to be more depressed than non-victims.

Method

Samples

The total sample consisted of 120 employees, 60 victims and 60 non-victims, derived from two samples drawn from two large organisations. Respondents came from different parts of the country with a broad range of backgrounds; they represented different professions and occupations in both public and private sectors of the Irish workforce.

The first sample of 60 respondents (30 victims and 30 non-victims) came from a large public organisation situated in Dublin City with a workforce of about 1,500 employees, which represented a broad range of job titles (e.g., personnel, clerical, porters). The organisation was divided into ten different departments, which were the work stations for the sample of 30 male and 30 female respondents.

The majority of respondents were in the age range 41-50 (40%); 38% were between 31-40; 15% between 25-30; 12% between 18-24; and only one respondent was in the 51+ age group. The respondents were matched in terms of gender, age and occupation, and where possible, the respondents' personal lives (marital status, home, community and social environments).

The second sample of 60 respondents worked in a private multi-national organisation in the Dublin-based office with an approximate total workforce of about 1,300 which was divided into five main departments over a large area (about five acres). As with the first sample, the interviewer (author of this thesis) was successful in obtaining subjects from a broad range of jobs (e.g., administration, sales, security, production). Most of the control (non-victims) and experimental (victims) groups were matched on the same criteria as the first sample, but some differences did emerge in job grades, age and gender.

The sample comprised 34 males and 26 females. The majority were within the 31-40 age range (30%), a slightly lower percentage of 28% was in the 41-50 age range; 22% in the 25-30 age range; 15% in the 51 age and only three respondents in the 18-24 age range.

Appendices three and four, gives a breakdown of the percentages, for gender, age range, department and job title for all employees of the public organisation and private organisation respectively. These tables are further broken down into victim and non-victims addressing the implementation of the following procedure.

Measurements

The interval schedule (Seigne, 1998) for this study was modeled on the schedule used and described in the pilot study in Chapter Three, it consisted of 50 open and closed questions and is divided into six sections (see Appendix two).

Section 1. Personal details – six items

Section 2. Details of the respondents' working environment – eight items

Section 3. Bullying behaviour - 10 items

Section 4. (A) Effects of being bullied - eight items
(B) Other colleagues – five items

Section 5. Home and social environment – 10 items

Section 6. History of childhood - seven items.

The measure of bullying applied in this study was identical with that used in the pilot study, that is, it was in line with Leymann's (1992; 1996) 'Time Scale of Aggressive Acts' which occur very frequently, on average at least weekly, and over a long period of more than six months.

The same definition of bullying was also employed:

'When a person is bullied in the workplace, he/she is repeatedly exposed to aggressive acts, which can either be physical, psychological and /or verbal. It is where cruelty, viciousness, the need to humiliate and the need to make somebody feel small dominates a working relationship' (Crawford, 1996; 1998).

Personality was measured using the ICES Personality Inventory (Bartram, 1994;1998) which was chosen as a more suitable work-related personality inventory. ICES consists of 110 items and closely maps onto the Big Five factors (Costa & McCrae, 1992). The four major scales measure: Independence (I), Conscientiousness (C), Extraversion (E) and Stability (S). Each is further divided into two subscales: Competitive (I1) and Assertive (I2); Conventional (C1) and Organized (C2); Group-oriented (E1) and Outgoing (E2); Poised (S1) and Relaxed (S2). In addition, the ICES has a Social Desirability scale.

All major scales are factorially independent, whilst the minor scales are conceptually distinct and are designed to provide a richer description of personality differences.

Independence (I) refers to the extent that an individual is single-minded and determined to win, as against likeable, diplomatic, and submissive at the other end of the scale. In this respect it reflects agreeableness, in that a person scoring low on independence would be high in agreeableness. The I1 scale focuses on a single-minded/co-operative dimension and the I2 scale on an outspoken/conflict avoidance dimension.

Conscientiousness (C) assesses traits such as rule abiding, moralistic, traditional, organized, and dependable. The two minor scales are C1, which examines aspects such as conventional versus flexible, and C2 which examines orderly versus creative one. Individuals scoring high on Extraversion (E) tend to be sociable, outgoing, and often seeking excitement, whereas low scorers are content to be alone in familiar surroundings. The minor scale of E1 reflects the extent that an individual needs approval and support from other people, and the outgoing E2 minor scale reflects the extent an individual is talkative, impulsive, and likely to be the centre of attention.

Stability (S) examines whether an individual tends to be relaxed and stable at one end of the scale, as against anxious, easily upset and irritable at the other. The minor scale of S1 examines the extent to which an individual can easily shrug off criticism and cope with adversity, and the S2 minor scale reflects the extent an individual tends to be untroubled and not anxious. The social desirability scale indicates the level to which an individual has been frank in their responses. A high score of 9/10 is usually considered an indicator of a possible distorted profile, as the individual has produced merely conventional replies.

The ICES has evidence of good content and construct validity, which strongly correlates with the 16PF (Bartram, 1993) and the Hogan Personality Inventory (Bartram, 1998). Alpha coefficients for the ICES major scales are independence (.76), conscientious, (.71), extraversion (.85), and stability (.78). Test re-test coefficients over a 1-week interval range from .69 to .84.

Procedure

Several meetings with both management and unions of both organisations (public and private) were arranged in order to obtain permission to interview employees. During all stages of this study, management were kept informed of progress; in the private organisation, management provided an office for the interviewer.

Initial contact with the majority of respondents (83%) for both organisations was made in the canteen area during meal breaks. The interviewer introduced herself and outlined the aim of the study which required data from a random sample of respondents in terms of an interview and a questionnaire about their working and social environments. At this stage, the ICES inventory was distributed. Participants were asked individually to complete the questionnaire in their own time. Contact telephone numbers were taken and suitable times for interviews were arranged in their respective departments.

During the interview stage (which included a definition of bullying), the completed questionnaires were collected. It was also at the stage that the control and experimental groups emerged, in that when a victim came forward from within a department the interviewer asked if any of their 'colleagues were bullied' (the same procedure applied to non-bullies). A positive response allowed the interviewer to seek out this person to see if they would co-operate. Thus the victim group was put together.

The interviewer then searched for a near-match colleague (who was not bullied) in their department, where possible of the same gender, age and job status. A near-match was also sought for marital status, similar community and social environments; thus the

control group was formed (see appendices three and four for breakdown of demographic information for victims and non-victims).

All respondents were given assurance of confidentiality during all stages of this study. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner with the help of an interview schedule (Seigne, 1998), and took about an hour to complete. This allowed for expansion and exploration on some of the issues that came up during the interview and enabled the researcher to obtain a richer picture of the respondents' work and life histories

Results

The responses of the victims and non-victims on the ICES were obtained and descriptive statistics were calculated. In addition an independent t-test was used to measure the significance of the differences between groups.

Differences between victims and non-victims in personality

Mean sten scores on ICES major and minor personality scales for victims and non-victims for Samples One and Two were calculated. Table 4.1 illustrates the means and standard deviations on the ICES major scales for victims and non-victims in both samples. An independent one-tailed t-test was used to determine if differences were significant.

Table 4. 1.

Comparison of Sten Scores Between Victims and Non-Victims of Workplace Bullying on ICES Major Scales in both Samples (private sector and public sector)

ICES Major Scales	Sample One (public sector) (N=60)					Sample Two (private sector) (N=60)				
	Victim		Non-victim		t(df)	Victim		Non-victim		t(df)
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t(58)</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t(58)</u>
Independence	2.33	1.79	5.60	2.17	-6.36***	2.60	1.79	5.30	1.67	6.05***
Conscientiousness	7.97	1.94	6.60	2.27	2.51***	7.30	2.20	5.70	2.45	2.78*
Extraversion	2.13	1.36	6.10	2.20	-8.40***	3.73	1.51	5.63	1.54	-4.83***
Stability	1.10	0.30	6.73	2.46	-12.43***	2.16	1.37	5.87	1.77	-9.04**

significance level *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

The following figures are a graphical representation of the spread of mean sten scores for the major scales of the ICES for victims and non-victims of workplace bullying for Sample One (public sector organisation, Figure 4.1) and Sample Two (private sector organisation, Figure 4.2), respectively.

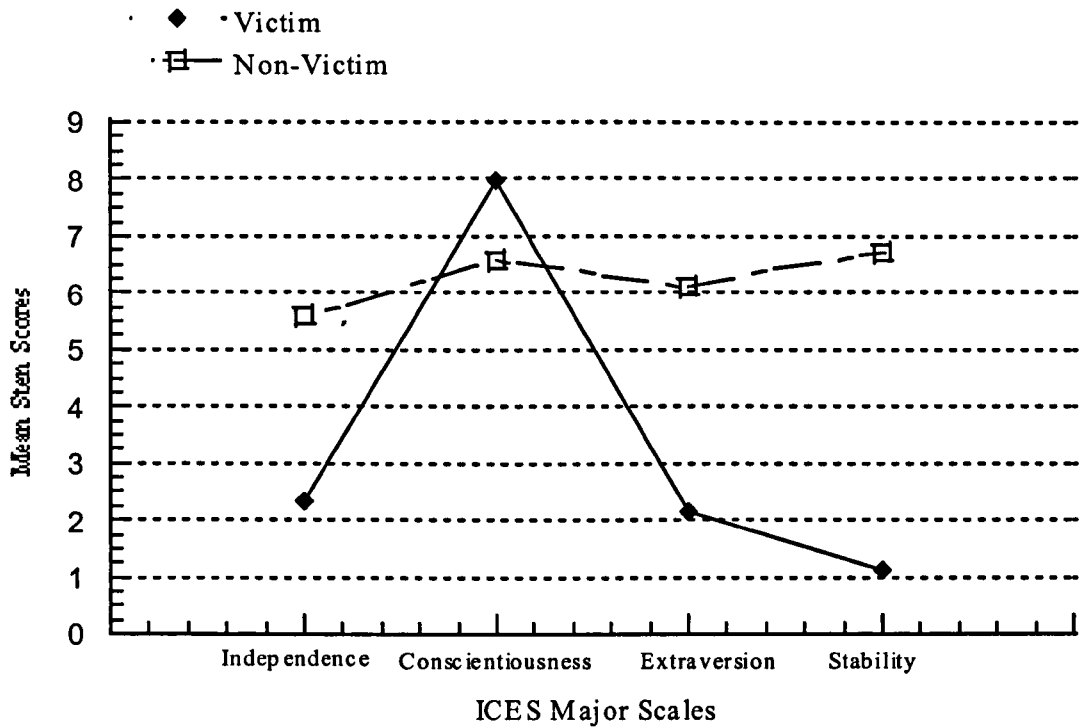


Figure 4.1 Mean sten scores on the major scales of the ICES for victims and non-victims of workplace bullying for Sample One (public sector).

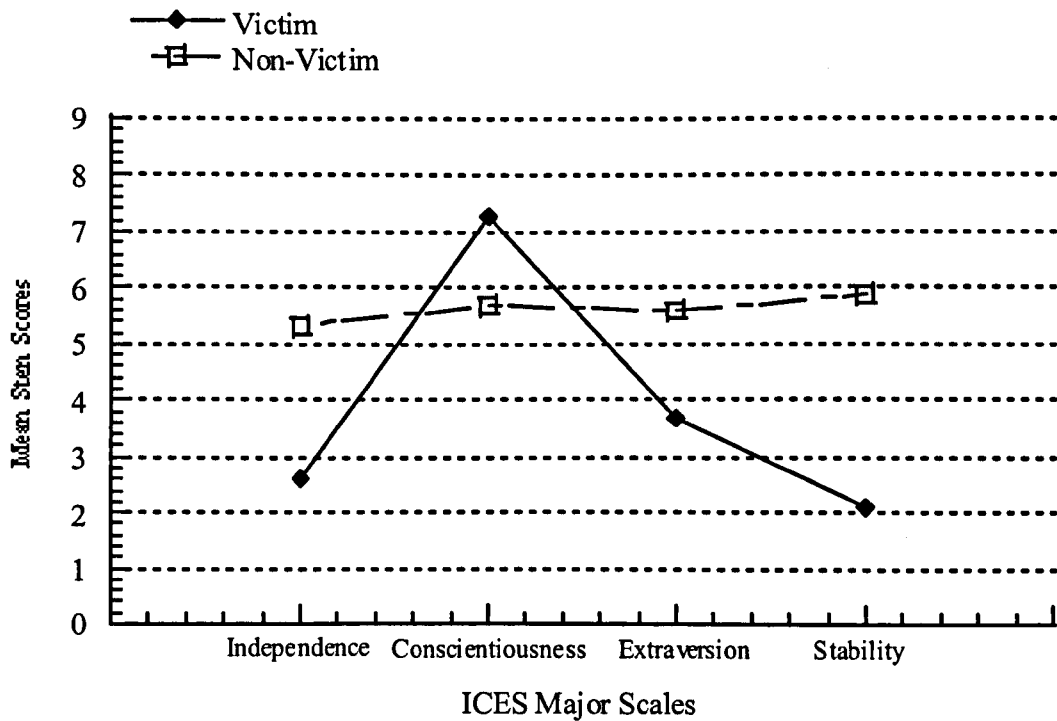


Figure 4.2 Mean sten scores for the major scales of the ICES for victims and non-victims of workplace bullying for Sample Two (private sector).

A comparison of the experimental and control groups with the ICES norm group of working adults (norm group mean is 5.5 and SD =2), reveals that in both groups victims are noticeably lower in independence, extraversion and stability, and slightly higher in conscientiousness. Non-victims did not differ a great deal from the norm group on most scales. However, non-victims in Sample One were slightly higher on Stability (specifically, 'relaxed') and Conscientiousness than the norm group, and in both samples non-victims were higher than the norm in Social Desirability.

For Sample One, in all cases there were significant differences between experimental and control groups on all ICES major personality traits. Specifically, victims tended to be extremely low in stability (mean sten of 1.10). Those low in Stability tend to be anxious, suspicious, sensitive and emotional and may have problems coping with difficult situations (Bartram, 1994, 1998). Furthermore a highly significant difference emerged between the groups for both Independence and Extroversion, in both cases the victim group scored on average lower than the non-victim group. Victims tended to be higher than non-victims on Conscientiousness.

For Sample Two, a similar pattern of results emerged. In comparison to the non-victim group, victims were again significantly lower in Independence, Extroversion and Stability and slightly higher in scores of Conscientiousness. Although victims scored significantly lower on Stability, the mean sten score (2.12) was slightly higher than seen in Sample 1. In other words, it seems that the sample obtained from the private organisations were less anxious than those from the public organisation, a difference that makes intuitive sense, in that there seemed to be greater concern for employee well-being in the private organisation. For example, free sports facilities which included a

gym and swimming pool, social clubs, medical centre, further education and encouragement for career advancement.

Analysis of the data in both samples indicates that victims tended to be anxious, suspicious, submissive and non-controversial, introverted, reserved, traditional, organised and conventional.

Differences between victims and non-victims in each sample were then compared on the minor scales of the ICES (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

Comparison of Sten Scores between Victims and Non-Victims of Workplace Bullying on ICES Minor Scales in both Samples (private sector and public sector)

ICES Minor Scales	Sample One (public sector) (N=60)					Sample Two (private sector) (N=60)				
	Victim		Non-victim		t(df)	Victim		Non-victim		t(df)
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t(58)</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t(58)</u>
Competitive (I1)	3.57	1.61	4.32	2.05	-2.69**	3.87	1.93	5.27	1.96	-2.79**
Assertive (I2)	2.27	1.39	5.87	2.11	-7.80***	2.53	1.31	5.43	1.52	-7.91***
Conventional (C1)	8.30	1.51	7.20	2.23	2.23*	7.40	1.83	6.33	2.43	1.92*
Organized (C2)	6.87	2.00	5.57	1.59	2.79**	6.77	1.87	5.07	1.74	3.65**
Group-oriented (E1)	3.03	1.56	6.57	2.13	-7.33***	4.60	1.67	6.37	1.88	-3.84***
Outgoing (E2)	2.10	1.06	5.70	2.12	-8.32***	3.50	1.33	5.33	1.47	-5.06***
Poised (S1)	1.57	0.50	6.13	2.32	-10.56***	2.60	1.16	5.43	1.65	-7.68***
Relaxed (S2)	1.50	0.63	7.30	2.39	-12.83***	2.63	1.38	6.43	1.81	-9.14***
Social Desirability	8.70	0.92	7.87	1.50	2.49*	8.30	1.44	7.50	1.72	1.95*
significance level	*p<0.05		**p<0.01		***p<0.001					

Table 4.2 shows that the two samples are very similar in their results, and what is true of Sample One applies equally to Sample Two. The highly significant difference on the Extroversion major scale comprises equally significant differences on both minor scales, namely E1 (group-oriented) and E2 (outgoing).

A similar state of affairs exists in the case of the major Stability scale, with both components - S1 (poised) and S2 (relaxed) - showing equally significant differences between the groups.

The significant differences found on the major Conscientiousness scale are again reflected in both minor scales, although the difference is larger in the C2 (organised) component than in the C1 (conventional) component.

The Independence scale is made up of the I1 (competitive) and I2 (assertive) components, and, although both provide significant differences between the groups, it is the assertive component that is the strongest difference.

The groups also differ in their Social Desirability scores, with the victims producing more conventional replies.

Significant differences between victims and non-victims emerge for all ICES minor scales with the exception of C1 and SD. Victims are less competitive and assertive, better organised, less group-oriented and outgoing, less poised and relaxed.

One can conclude that the victims' lack of extraversion is shown by their little need for support from others and their own unobtrusiveness. They are not easily able to cope with adversity and tend to suffer from anxiety. They are more conventional and orderly, and less flexible than non-victims. They show their lack of independence most clearly in their relative inability to assert themselves.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4. in the following page illustrate the minor scales of the ICES for victims and non-victims for Samples One and Two respectively.

Chapter Four: Victim's personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying

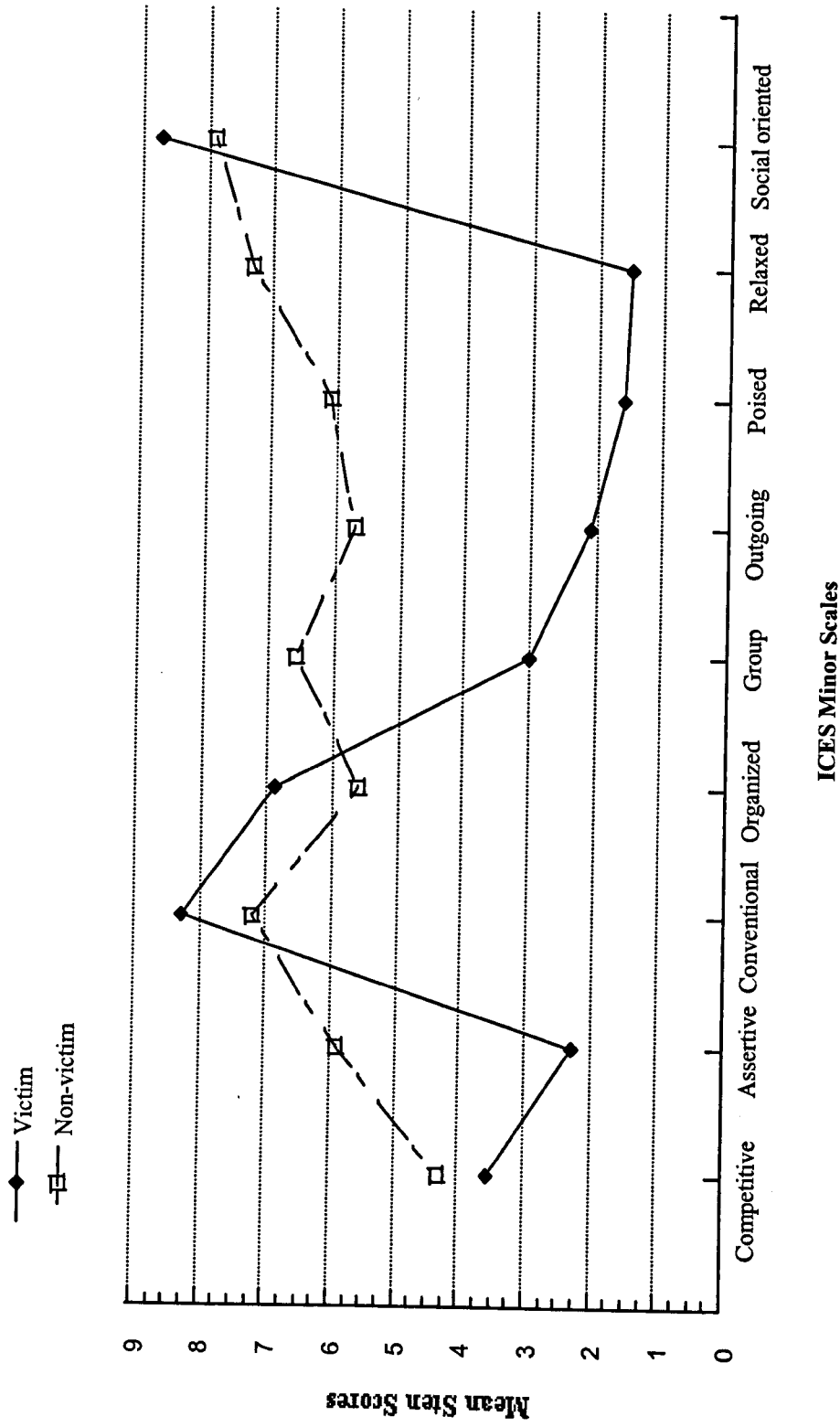


Figure 4.3 Mean sten scores for the minor scales of the ICES for victims and non-victims of workplace bullying for Sample One (public sector)

Chapter Four: Victim's personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying

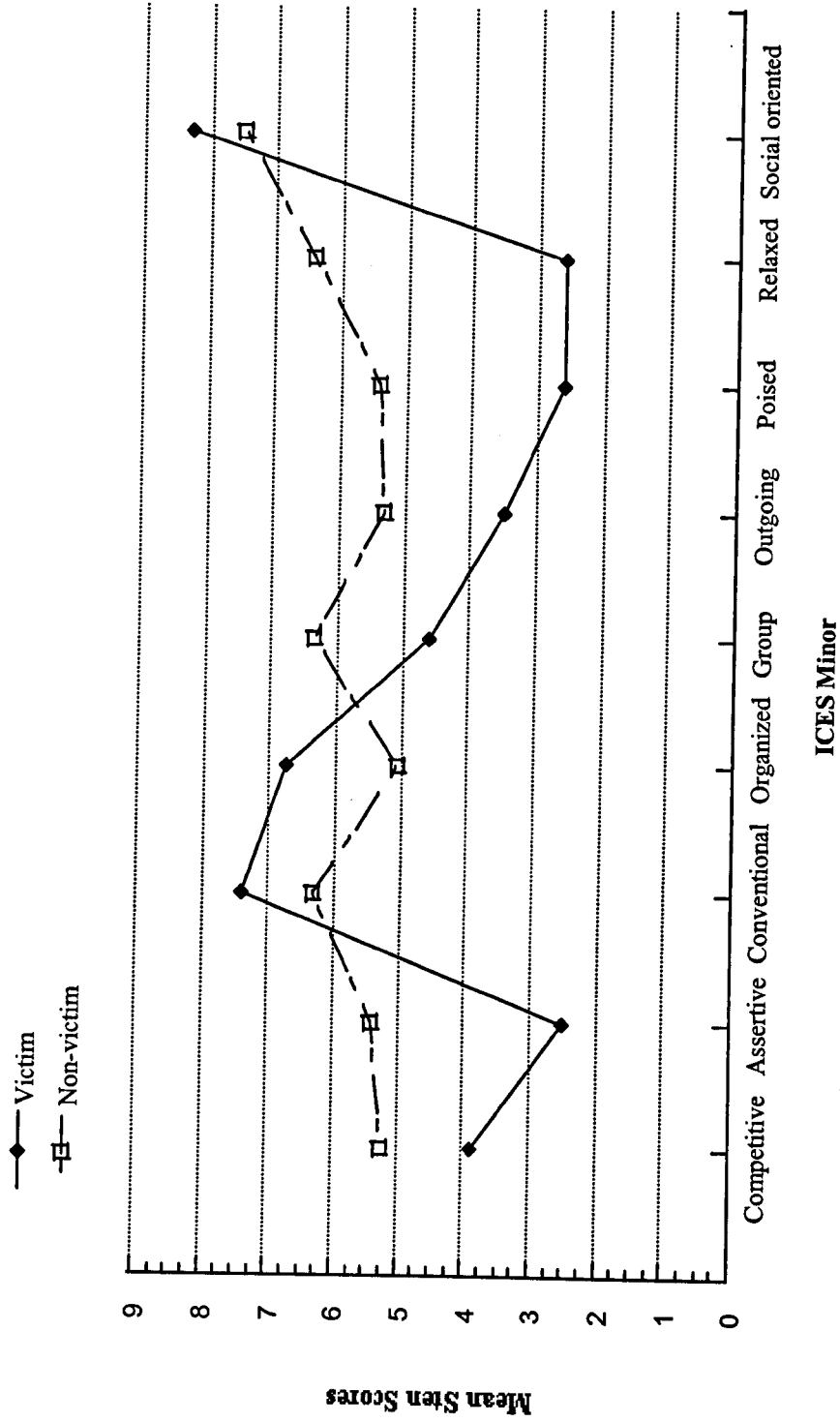


Figure 4.4 Mean sten scores for the minor scales of the ICES for victims and non-victims of workplace bullying for Sample Two (private sector)

Prediction of Victim and Non-victim Status for the Combined Samples

In order to examine the ICES major personality scales as predictors of group membership (victim or non-victim status), a discriminant function analysis was carried out on the whole sample (N=120) in order to ascertain which of the major scales on the ICES were the best predictors of group membership. The function produced had a canonical correlation with group membership of 0.84. Pooled within-group correlations between discriminating variables and the discriminant function were calculated. Stability had the highest correlation (0.90); followed by Extraversion (0.54), Independence (0.49) and finally Conscientiousness (-0.24).

Table 4.3 illustrates the results of the prediction of group membership based on function scores.

Table 4. 3

Summary Table Illustrating Actual and Predicted Group Membership

Actual Group membership	Predicted Group Membership	
	Victim N=60	Non-victim N=60
Victim	56 (93%)	4 (7%)
Non-victim	4 (7%)	56 (93%)

As shown in Table 4.3, function scores correctly predicted victim/non-victim status in 93% of the sample. Only 7% (eight respondents) were incorrectly classified.

Part Two: Second part of study One - Personality of victims

In the second part of this study the role that victims' personality might contribute to workplace bullying is explored by employing a categorical design to investigate the victims' history of being bullied.

Method

Sample and Procedure

Existing data from the ICES questionnaire were further analysed along with the interview schedule to investigate the school history of bullying. This part of the study combined Sample One and Sample Two yielding a total of 120 respondents. Four new categories of victim were formed to produce a fuller picture of the respondents' history of being bullied and to explore the relationship between being a victim of bullying at school and being a victim of bullying in the workplace.

The aim of this analysis was to investigate whether a pattern can be seen in the childhood traits of being victimised and the adult victim personality data. It is hypothesised that those personality traits, which are later expressed during adulthood will extend into the victims' workplace and social environments.

The respondents were categorised into four groups based on their answers to Section Seven of the Interview Schedule (see Appendix two). These new categories comprised,

the 60 victims and 60 non-victims identified earlier. This further analysis was undertaken in order to explore the numbers of respondents who were victims of workplace bullying and were also victims as a child at school.

In order to be considered in the 'bullied at school', it was decided that the extent of the bullying had to be more than 'some bullying at school'.

The four categories were as follows:

Group One (n=35) bullied at work and at school;

Group Two (n=25) bullied at work, not at school;

Group Three (n=23) bullied at school, not at work;

Group Four (n=37) not bullied at work or school.

This further categorisation showed: That of 60 workplace victims already identified, 58 percent were bullied at work and at school, and 48 percent were bullied at work only. 38 percent of the sixty non-victims of workplace bullying reported being victims of bullying at school, while 62 percent of the non-victim sample reporting that they had never been bullied.

Results

A 2 x 2 Chi-square test was carried out and a significant association was found between being a victim of workplace bullying and being a victim of bullying as a child at school (N=120; df = 1; $\chi^2 = 4.805$; $p < 0.05$). In essence, more victims of workplace bullying were bullied at school than non-victims of workplace bullying.

Childhood Victims

The extent of bullying at school and the duration of bullying at school were investigated. In all 58 respondents (35 victims and 23 non-victims) were bullied at school. Figure 4.5 illustrates the extent of bullying. Sixty-three percent of workplace victims (N=21) were bullied several times a week or more, and 44% of workplace non-victims (N=10) were bullied several times a week (none were bullied daily). Victims of workplace bullying appeared to suffer a greater extent of bullying at school than non-victims.

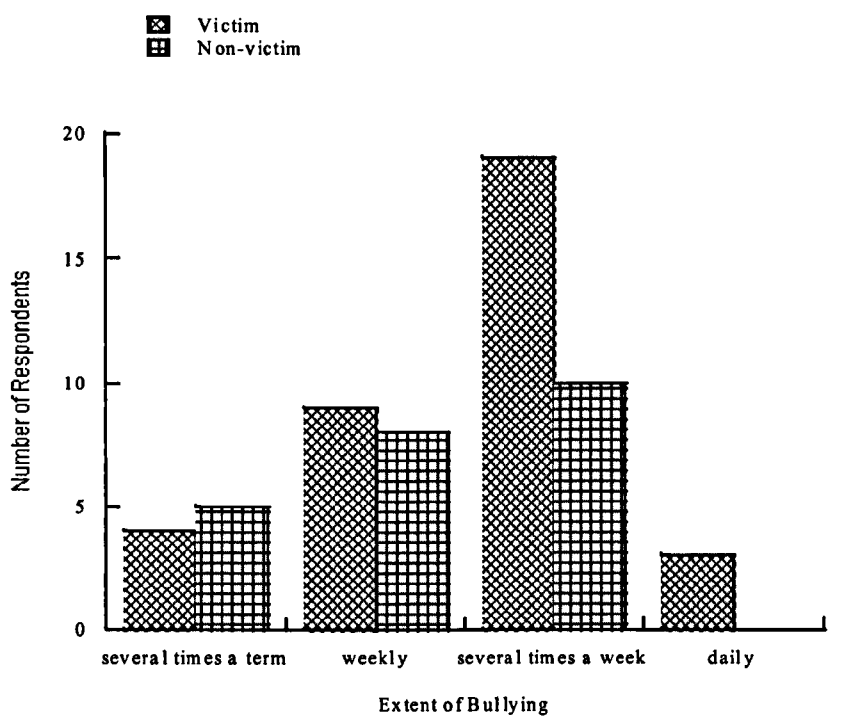


Figure 4.5 Extent of bullying at school suffered by victims of workplace bullying.

However, a 4 x 2 chi-square analysis revealed no significant association between being a victim of workplace bullying and extent of school bullying (N=58; df = 3; $\chi^2 = 3.636$; $p > 0.05$).

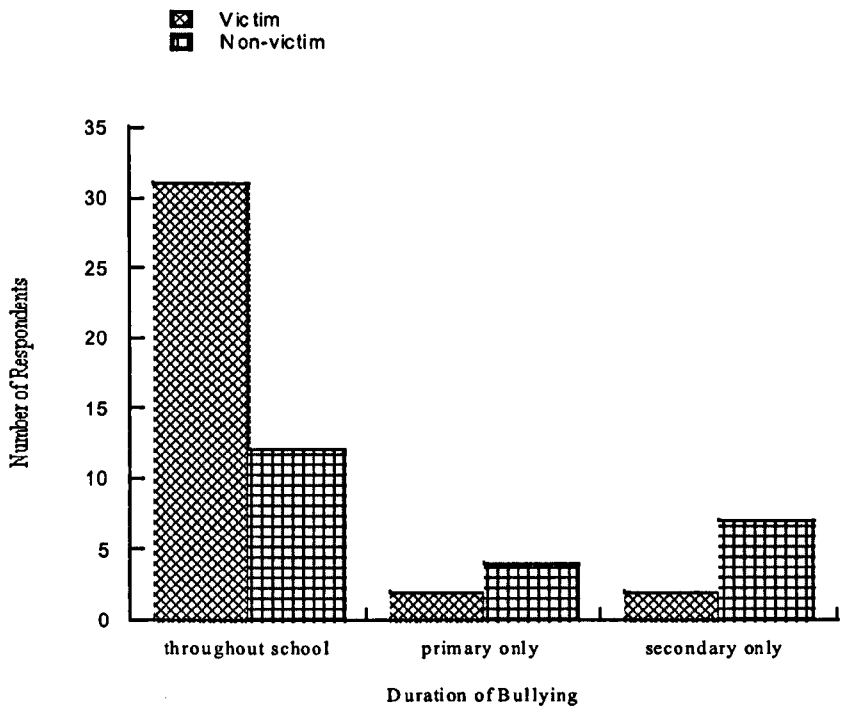


Figure 4.6 Duration of bullying endured by victims of workplace bullying at school. bullying.

The duration of bullying was also explored: 87% (N=31) of workplace victims who were bullied at school, were bullied ‘throughout school’, whilst 52% (N=12) of non-victims were bullied ‘throughout school’, a difference which suggest that victims of workplace bullying were more likely to have suffered bullying throughout school than non-victims. Non-victims, on the other hand, demonstrated an almost 50-50 split between bullied ‘throughout school’ and at ‘primary only’ or ‘secondary only’. A 3 x 2 chi-square analysis resulted in a significant association between being bullied throughout school and being a victim of workplace bullying (N=58; df = 2; $\chi^2 = 9.775$; $p < 0.05$).

An index of school was created by multiplying the 'extent of bullying at school' variable with the duration variable, where a high score indicated a greater extent throughout school. The extent variable was re-coded so that 'daily'=4 and 'not bullied'=0. A t-test was carried out on the 'Index of bullying' for those respondents who were 'bullied at work and school' (Group One) and those who were 'not bullied at work but at school' (Group Three). Group One (N=35) had a \underline{M} =4.88 and \underline{SD} = 1.78, and Group Three (N = 23) had a \underline{M} = 3.52 and a \underline{SD} = 1.85.

There was a statistically significant difference between the two groups when a two-tailed independent t-test was conducted ($t(56) = 2.81, p < .0.01$). This suggests that those bullied at work and school were bullied to a greater extent throughout school than those who were bullied at school only.

All four categories of victims/non-victims were analysed to investigate the differences if any between the category of victim and personality as measured by the major and minor scales of the ICES. The mean sten scores on the ICES major scales and minor scales are illustrated in tables 4.4 and 4.5 respectively.

Table 4.4

Mean Sten Scores on the ICES Major Scales for the Four Categories of Victim/Non-Victim (N=120).

ICES Major Scales	Group 1 N=35		Group 2 N=25		Group 3 N=23		Group 4 N=37	
	Bullied at work and at school		Bullied at work, not at school		Bullied at school, not at work		Not bullied at school or work	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Independence	2.17	1.52	2.88	2.05	5.35	1.77	5.51	2.04
Conscientiousness	7.68	1.90	7.56	2.14	6.43	2.74	6.97	2.15
Extraversion	2.74	1.42	3.20	1.89	5.69	1.82	6.97	1.96
Stability	1.51	1.15	1.80	1.08	5.78	2.21	6.62	2.11

Both victim Groups showed extreme scores on all major ICES scales. Results from members of Groups Three and Four show scores within the normal ICES range.

A series of one-way ANOVA's was carried out on the sten scores for the major scales on the ICES for the four categories of victim. There was a statistically significant difference between the groups for all the major scales as follows:

Independence: $F(3, 116) = 26.68, p < .001$; Conscientiousness: $F(3, 116) = 4.73, p < .01$;

Extraversion: $F(3, 116) = 27.67, p < .001$; Stability: $F(3, 116) = 75.27, p < .001$.

These results suggest that there is a difference between the groups. Victims of workplace bullying (Groups One and Two) tended to be less independent, more conscientious, less extraverted and less stable than their non-victim (Groups Three and Four) counterparts. As already shown, those who were bullied at work and at school scored higher on the index of bullying and were therefore bullied to a greater extent throughout school. Therefore, the greater the extent of bullying suffered, the more extreme the scores in the expected direction on the major scales of the ICES. Hence, victims who were bullied longest were more dependent, conscientious, introverted, and less stable. These findings are explored in the discussion section of this thesis.

Table 4.5

Mean STEN scores on the ICES Minor Scales for the four categories of Victims/Non-Victims (N=120)

ICES Minor Scales	Group 1 N=35		Group 2 N=25		Group 3 N=23		Group 4 N=37	
	Bullied at work and at school		Bullied at work, not at school		Bullied at school, not at work		Not bullied at school or work	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Competitive (I1)	3.57	1.61	4.32	2.05	5.22	2.02	5.35	2.22
Assertive (I2)	2.22	1.24	2.64	1.46	5.47	1.62	5.76	1.97
Conventional (C1)	7.97	1.59	7.68	1.90	6.74	2.70	6.78	2.15
Organized (C2)	6.83	2.02	6.80	1.80	5.60	1.56	5.13	1.73
Group-oriented (E1)	3.57	1.61	4.16	1.99	6.30	1.86	6.57	2.09
Outgoing (E2)	2.57	1.06	3.12	1.72	5.43	1.67	5.57	1.92
Poised (S1)	2.08	1.12	2.08	0.91	5.39	2.10	6.02	1.96
Relaxed (S2)	2.00	1.19	2.16	1.25	6.43	2.25	7.13	2.07
Social Desirability	8.54	1.19	8.44	1.26	7.52	1.72	7.78	1.62

A similar trend was seen on the minor scales of the ICES as was seen on the major scales. A series of one-way ANOVA's on all the minor scales of the ICES yielded significant differences between the four groups: Competitive: $F(3, 116) = 5.79$; $p < .001$; Assertive: $F(3, 116) = 40.96$; $p < .001$; Conventional: $F(3, 116) = 2.81$; $p < .05$; Organized: $F(3, 116) = 7.22$; $p < .001$; Group-Oriented: $F(3, 116) = 20.05$; $p < .001$; Outgoing: $F(3, 116) = 28.76$; $p < .001$; Poised: $F(3, 116) = 53.85$; $p < .001$; Relaxed: $F(3, 116) = 76.88$; $p < .001$; Social Desirability: $F(3, 116) = 3.31$; $p < .05$).

These results indicate that victims who were bullied for longer periods were more dependent, less assertive, more conventional, more organized, less group-oriented, less outgoing, less poised, less relaxed and had more desire to be accepted socially, than those who were bullied to a lesser extent or not at all.

Subsidiary Survey – Second Study

This subsidiary pilot study involves the exploration of a smaller sample to test the value of conducting this type of research with the aim of obtaining a further understanding of the victims' personality. The aim of this section is also to test the viability and practicality of using such time-consuming tools.

Method

Sample and Procedure

In the second stage of this survey, the interviewer renewed contact with management and unions. The public company regretted that they could not take part in this follow-up survey because of the sensitive issue of 'bullying' that they were presently experiencing within their organisation. The private company agreed to participate in this survey, and again the personnel department allocated a private office for the interviewer's use. The interviewer then contacted all the 60 respondents by phone where the aims and procedure of this follow up study were discussed. It was explained that the survey

required data from employees who had previously taken part in the first part of the survey in terms of two additional personality questionnaires, and it would also extend the interview questionnaire (Seigne, 1998) with regard to childhood history and to check if there were any new developments in their working, home and social environments. Only 18% of the 60 respondents (N = 11) of the private organisation were available to take part in this stage of the survey. A suitable time was arranged to meet with these respondents to conduct an interview and to distribute the additional two questionnaires. During all stages of this survey, management and the union representatives were kept informed of the ongoing procedure.

The Sample consisted of 6% females and 11% males with just over 35% of the victims under the age of 40, the balance in the 41-50 bracket, and just 6% in the 51-60 age group. There was no matching with this small Sample (see Appendix 5 for a further breakdown of the percentages, in terms of gender, age range, department and job title for victims and non-victims).

Measurements

The additional items included in the interval schedule involved two main areas. The first involved a more intensive interview with respondents that centred around their childhood experiences of their school, home and social environments. The second area established what, if any, social support systems were used in their child and adulthood.

Two additional test employed were used. Firstly, the Interpersonal Behaviour Survey (IBS) (Mauger, Adkinson, Zoss, Finestone & Hook, 1980) was employed in order to distinguish assertive behaviours from aggressive behaviours and to sample subclasses of these (Mauger et al., 1980).

This test examines a number of aggressive traits which relate to virtually all forms of bullying that clinical narrative studies reveal. The IBS comprises 272 items with four major scales of: Validity; Aggressiveness; Assertiveness; and Relationships. The minor scales of the IBS are listed under the following scales:

Validity

- 1 Denial (DE)
- 2 Interfrequency (IF)
- 3 Impression Management (IM)

Aggressiveness

- 1 General Aggressiveness Rational (GGR)
- 2 Hostile Stance Scale (HS)
- 3 Expression of Anger Scale (EA)
- 4 Disregard for rights (DR)
- 5 Verbal Aggressiveness Scale (VA)
- 6 Physical Aggressiveness Scale (PH)
- 7 Passive Aggressiveness Scale (PA)

Assertiveness

- 1 General Assertiveness Rational ((SGR)
- 2 Self-Confidence (SC)
- 3 Initiating Assertiveness (IA)
- 4 Defending Assertiveness (DA)
- 5 Frankness (FR)
- 6 Praise (Giving/Receiving) (PR)
- 7 Requesting Help (RH)
- 8 Refusing Demands (RD)

Relationships

- 1 Conflict Avoidance (CA)
- 2 Dependency (DP)
- 3 Shyness (SH)

The Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory Second Edition (CFSE1-2) (Battle, 1992) was employed to measure the subjects' perception of their own worth. The CfSEI-2 comprises four subscales with a total of 40 items under the following headings:

1. The General Self-Esteem of 16 items measures an individual's global perception of their worth.
2. The Social Peer-related Self-Esteem of eight items measures an individual's perception of the level of their relationships with peers.
3. The Personal Self – Esteem of eight items measures an individual's intimate perceptions of self-worth.

4. The Lie subtest of eight items measures an individual's veracity for their responses.

Internal consistency of the 40 items were accepted, alpha coefficients for the subscales were: .78 for general; .57 for social; .72 for personal; and .60 for the lie subscale.

Results

Results from the IBS show only slight differences on scales of Validity, Aggressiveness, Assertiveness and Relationship between victims and non-victims.

The T-scores for each victim for each sub-scale on the IBS were obtained from the norms provided in the test manual. The means and standard deviations for the T-scores on the 21 sub-scales of the IBS are shown in the following page on Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Means and Standard Deviations for T-Scores on the Twenty One Sub-scales of the IBSFor those Identified as Victims (N=9) and Non-Victims (N= 2)

		Victims (N=9)		Non-Victims (N= 2)	
	IBS Sub-Scale	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Validity	De	58.67	6.20	58.00	2.83
	If	48.67	9.84	42.50	3.53
	Im	51.22	13.80	40.00	5.67
Aggressiveness	Grg	43.22	8.45	42.00	9.89
	Hs	41.67	6.40	42.50	16.26
	Ea	44.78	11.85	49.00	12.73
	Dr	53.11	3.33	50.00	16.97
	Ve	42.00	7.68	49.00	5.66
	Ph	44.44	9.40	39.00	5.66
	Pa	57.00	15.21	48.00	1.14
Assertiveness	Sgr	45.78	13.21	44.00	2.83
	Sc	45.00	11.58	46.00	1.14
	Ia	44.33	14.88	45.5	6.37
	Da	49.78	11.67	36.00	7.07
	Fr	46.78	14.17	48.00	1.14
	Pr	49.78	8.15	47.00	7.07
	Re	47.11	11.76	51.50	9.19
	Rf	42.00	13.40	43.00	11.31
Relationship	Ca	54.11	19.62	60.50	7.78
	Dp	60.00	16.12	54.00	4.24
	Sh	57.89	11.28	55.50	4.95

Figure 4.7 in the following page is a graphical representation of the mean T-score per sub-scale for the victim group (N=9) and the non-victim group (N= 2).

Chapter Four: Victim's personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying

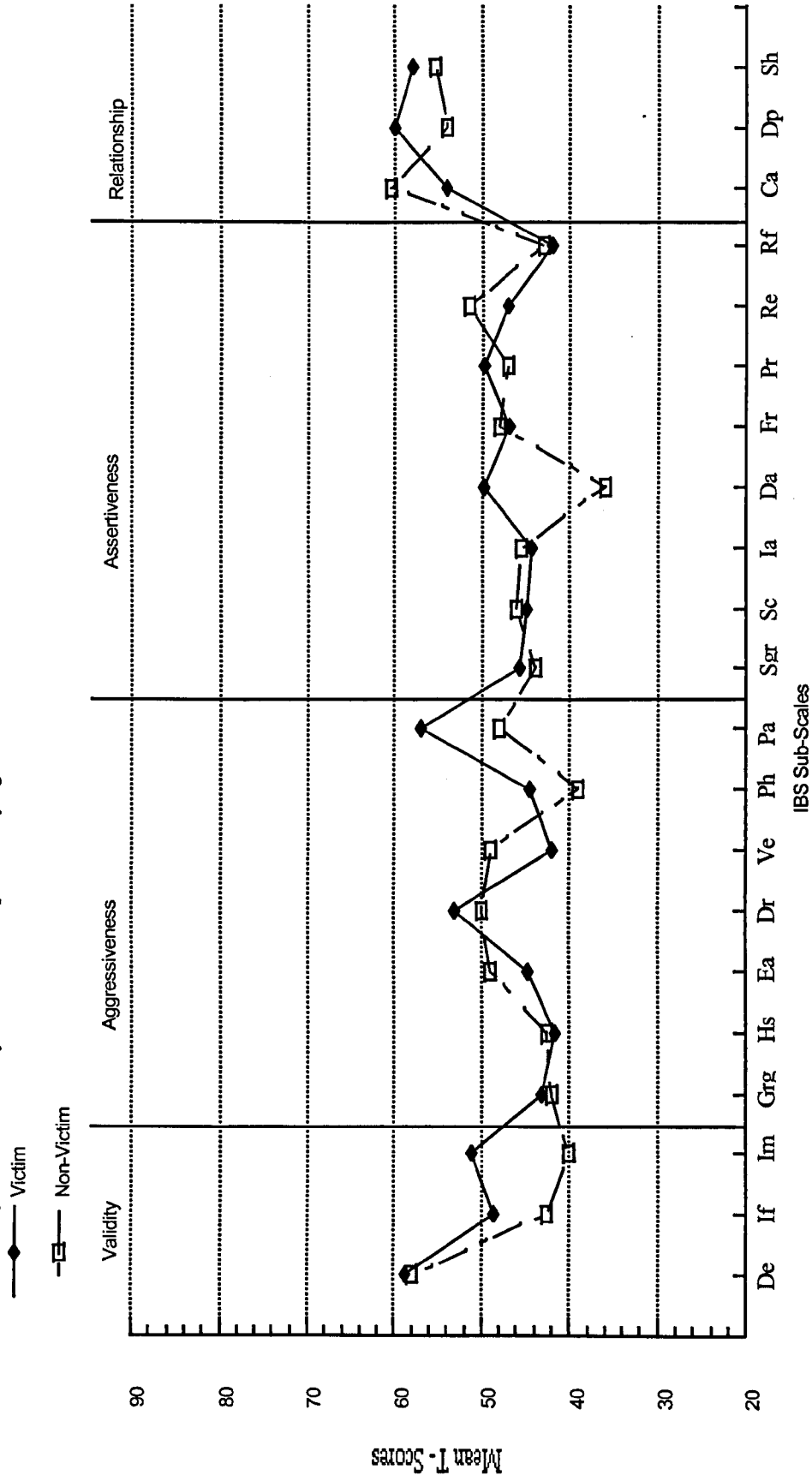


Figure 4.7 Mean T-score per sub-scale on the IBS for the victim group (N=9) and the non-victim group (N=2).

Three main features to be highlighted from this profile are that victims are more likely to want to make a good impression (higher scores on impression management Im), are more passive aggressive (Pa) and have less ability to stand up for their own rights as measured by the Defending Assertiveness Scale(Da) than non-victims

The inequitable group sizes made further statistical analysis untenable. The result of this small sample size is that the confidence intervals around the means are larger with larger standard errors.

Table 4.7

Means and Standard Deviations for T-Scores on the Sub scales of the CFSE-2 For those Identified as Victims (N=9) and Non-Victims (N= 2).

	Victims (N =9)		Non-Victims (N = 2)	
CFSE-2 Sub-Scale	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Social	20.78	13.54	18.50	9.19
General	32.89	11.60	27.50	2.12
Personal	48.22	12.67	35.00	0.00
Total	33.78	12.85	24.50	6.36

Figure 4.8 in the following page illustrate the results from the Culture Free Self-Esteem Questionnaire (CFSEI-2) for victims (N=9) and non-victims (N=2).

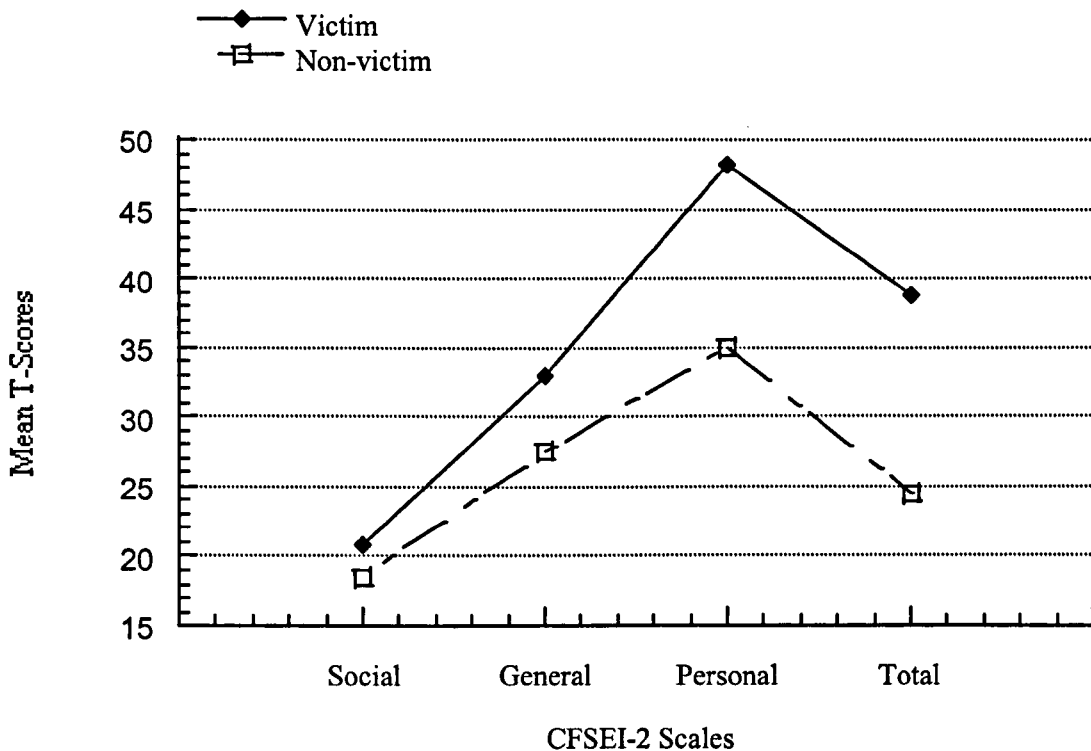


Figure 4.8 Mean T-score on the CFSEI-2 Major Scales for the victim group (N=9) and the non-victim group (N=2).

As illustrated in Figure 4.8, victims show higher levels overall of social self-esteem than non-victims. In particular, victims scored higher in general self-esteem (which reflects one's perception of how others see one), and in personal self-esteem (one's perception of oneself). These results are contrary to what was expected. Again, one can place little confidence in the means.

Discussion

Chapter One of the literature review highlighted the fact that workplace bullying predominantly relates to self-reported incidents by victims. Hence, it is more usual for researchers to work with victims who have contacted them, in effect self-selected groups. Difficulties were also experienced in this study and with other studies of workplace bullying, in obtaining an equal distribution of employees across the workplace, in that most research tends to focus on white-collar employees.

In the pilot study reported in Chapter Three, the samples were self-selecting, and hence open to various forms of bias. The present study aimed to be more structured in its design by obtaining data from victims, who were not self-selected, in experimental and control groups from two large organisations. The interviewer was successful in including a wide variety of white-and blue-collar employees who represented different professions and occupations. A number of organisational and personal criteria were matched in an attempt to control the moderating effects.

The experimental group of victims consisted of 28 females and 32 males. This gender ratio does not correspond with other studies (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994), which found that more women experience being bullied at work. The effects of age vary from one study to another; for example, Einarsen and Skogstad (1996) found that older workers tend to be more vulnerable and at a higher risk of being bullied in the workplace. In the present study, just over half of the victims were under 40 years of age, under half in the 41-50 age bracket, and just 6% in the 51-60 age group. This complements previous research

by Leymann (1992) and Rayner (1997), where no differences were seen between younger and older workers.

In relation to personality and bullying, all four null hypotheses on the ICES were hypotheses were confirmed, that is: (1) victims scored lower on independence; (2) higher on conscientiousness; (3) lower on extroversion; and (4) lower on stability. Results also showed a highly consistent profile of victims from the two different organisations on a trait measure of personality.

Data from ICES major scales for Samples One and Two show the largest differences between victims and non-victims on stability. For Sample One the mean sten score is 1.1 (SD=0.31) and Sample Two the mean is 2.12 (SD=1.37). Victims scored significantly lower than non-victims on stability, expressed in being more anxious, sensitive, emotional, and suspicious. This complements findings from school studies (Slee & Rigby, 1993; Byrne, 1994; Mynard & Joseph, 1997), and work-based studies (Brodsky, 1976; Vartia, 1996), in that victims tend to be more neurotic (low in stability) than non-victims. Similar results were seen on both minor scales of stability.

Support also emerges from previous research that identified the relationship between introversion and bully victim status (Slee & Rigby, 1993; Mynard & Joseph, 1997). Victims were significantly lower than non-victims on the ICES extroversion scale (mean sten of 2.13 in Sample One and 3.73 in Sample Two). Once again, similar differences are seen for the minor scales of group-oriented (E1) and outgoing (E2). These findings are similar to Bartram's (1998) view that those bullied tend to be reserved, quiet and introverted, usually avoiding social events.

Victims in this study tended to score higher on conscientiousness, particularly on the subscale (C2), which portrays an individual as being highly organised, orderly, meticulous, dependable, predictable, traditional and rule abiding. This profile suggest that such a individual is best suited to work in a controlled environment. These findings accord with Brodsky's (1976) view that victims are 'conscientious, literal-minded and somewhat unsophisticated, often over achievers who have an unrealistic view of themselves (p. 56). It is also understandable that victims scored significantly lower than non victims on the Independence (I) major scale, and also lower on the related minor scales, which found them to be less competitive (1.I) and particularly non-assertive (1.2).

This ICES profile contributes to the notion of why some victims are the targets of bullying. As stressed by Vartia (1996), only subjective accounts by victims, as in this study, are obtained, and therefore the results should be treated with caution. One interesting finding was that many victims claimed that they were bullied because they were good at their jobs. This finding also agrees with that of Barrick and Mount (1991) who found a relationship between conscientiousness and job performance.

On examination of the discriminant function in Table 4.3, all four ICES major scales correctly predicted group membership of 93% of the sample. The strongest predictor is stability, but unlike previous studies, other personality variables were shown to be strong predictors of victim/non-victim status. This finding implies that a specific personality profile of some individuals may pre-dispose them to become victims when entering the workplace.

The profile identified allows more of an understanding as to why personality plays a role in causing bullying at work. Two potential arguments are applied. First, as already suggested by Einarsen (1999) and Zapf (2001), the bully may spot the weakness within victims that makes them more vulnerable, and hence an easy target for bullying. Findings from the present study suggest victims could be vulnerable as they are submissive and tend to avoid conflict, and as a result are less likely to stand up to the bully and/or less likely to report the behaviour to avoid conflict. Victims in this study were also found to be highly traditional, rigid, and moralistic, who may follow organisational norms but not informal group norms; and as a result may become isolated. These victims often prefer their own company, tending to be less group-oriented, and as a result are less likely to have the social support network to act as a buffer or deter the perpetrator.

It has been suggested that merely observing another person being innocently victimised is enough to make the victim seem less worthy (Lerner, 1980). It may be that some work colleagues adopt a form of defensive attribution with a tendency to believe the world is just, and that people therefore get what they deserve and deserve what they get! To protect their own beliefs in the just world, they believe that victims brings this injustice on themselves. In effect, these victims have a tendency to be isolated, with little social and poor coping skills – the ideal target for a bully. This means that the bullies are likely to get away with their behaviour, hence disapproval of the perpetrators' actions from others is unlikely to occur. This argument can also be applied to research within the school context (Hodges & Perry, 1999).

The second argument concerns the second part of this study and relates to the notion of 'provocative victims' (Olweus, 1993). In this case, an individual's personality provokes aggression in others and they become the target of bullying behaviour. It is interesting to note that 50 percent of Group One (victims who were bullied at school and at work) showed traits of passive aggression, a fact which may indicate that victims have disregard for others feelings which may fit into the role of a provocative victim (Einarsen, 1999). Other research, such as that of Zapf (2001), suggests that those individuals who perceived themselves as more accurate, honest and punctual than colleagues may be considered by them as patronising.

Some support for that idea arises from the difference between groups on the ICES conscientiousness scale. As seen in Table 4.1, victims scored slightly higher on this scale and hence are generally rule-bound and moralistic (honest and punctual) as well as organised (accurate). It could be that this rigid, traditional, often perfectionistic style may annoy work colleagues and lead to the individual being bullied. Also Zapf (1999) reports that anxious behaviour (low stability on ICES and IBS scale) may produce a negative reaction in a group and lead to bullying.

Within the school setting, these types of victims tend to provoke bullying by others because of their own behaviour (Pikas, 1989). Some longitudinal studies of school bullying, for example, that of Perry, Kinsel & Perry (1989) postulate that personality traits are relatively stable and continue through to adulthood. Hence, as adults in the

working environment, it could be that these personality traits are perceived as annoying by others and result in provoking aggressive behaviour (Einarsen, 1999).

It is possible that victims who promote anger may be different for those who are vulnerable to bullying, but both types of victims are targets of bullying. Arguably, predatory bullying (victim as an innocent target) would be experienced more by victims who are vulnerable and have personality traits that makes them easy targets because of 'weakness' in their personality profile.

The ICES personality profile lends itself more to the vulnerable than to the provocative victim. The victim profile of avoiding conflict, being highly conscientious, preferring to be alone, with ineffective coping skills, points to someone who will be an easy target, rather than someone who promotes aggression in others. This study identified a vulnerable victim who may well experience more predatory than dispute-related bullying.

Although the main focus of this study is on 'personality' as a possible contributing factor, it is stressed that it is not the intention of this thesis to argue that personality is the only factor. There are multiple causes (as identified in Chapter Three) that need to be considered, and personality is but one (Zapf, 2001).

In a multi-causal approach, it may be, for example, that when the working environment is strained and competitive, bullying thrives. Within such an environment, it is expected

that those who are competitive would be expected to cope well in these situations; and those who are non-competitive would not. When non-competitive employees do not conform to the norms of the organisation or work group, they can become isolated from the group with the effect of being more vulnerable and an easy target of bullying. This notion is purely theoretical, but it serves the purpose of illustrating how taking a multi-causal approach could give more insights into the causes of workplace bullying.

The results from Part Two are not clear-cut when it comes to arguing that the personality profile is consistent from school to work. There are no problems with those who were not bullied either in school or at work, their scores are within the normal ICES range. Neither is there a problem with those who were bullied at both school and work, they show the typical victim profile. But with the groups without a consistent bullying history, it is a different matter.

These victims, who were not bullied at school but experienced bullying at work, show a profile similar to those who were bullied consistently. Why then did they escape being bullied at school? One possibility is that whatever social support systems existed in childhood were no longer available in adulthood. It could be that a lack of social support from colleagues in the working environment placed them in a more vulnerable position and hence an easier target for them to be selected for bullying. But this is entirely speculative. Another possibility is that the traits measured on the ICES were irrelevant in a school setting as to whether one was to be bullied or not. They only became relevant in the work environment. This possibility seems unlikely in view of the consistency with which these traits have been found in victims of school bullying.

Problems also arise in relation to the group who were bullied at school but not at work. Their ICES profile is similar to those who were never bullied, in other words, their school experience seems to be unconnected with their personality traits. A possible explanation may lie in the facts revealed in the personal interviews, when many of these victims claimed that they had not been affected by their school experience, perceiving it, especially in the case of the male victims, as normal school practice.

With these qualifications, the author of this thesis suggests that the personality profile of an individual may predispose them to be bullied at work; it does not 'prove' that personality is the only reason for being bullied. Statistically, the profile strongly points to a victim status, but the researcher used a cross-sectional design across samples rather than within a sample over time. This study, however, did try to rectify this by asking for school information in an attempt to gain a developmental history of victims.

Until a longitudinal study is undertaken, the possibility of a prediction from a basis of personality still remains to be ascertained. To return to the two arguments in this discussion, do provocative and/or vulnerable individuals really contribute to bullying, or are they more a target of it, with the bullying being the result of other factors? It seems that some researchers (Rayner, 1997), who direct research to other causal factors of workplace bullying are denying that personality can be a contributory factor. It could be that they are neglecting a fact and are missing the practical point, that if targets can be identified, then those who are vulnerable can obtain help and support earlier rather than later.

In conclusion, present data show that before an individual reaches the workplace, their previous history and their personality may predispose them to being bullied in their working environment. Findings further suggests that the history of the victims' profile can give indications as to who are bullied, but not necessarily why bullying occurs.

As Smith (1977) suggests, 'the traditions of research on school bullying and more recently on workplace bullying have sufficient similarities and continuities that they can learn from each other' (p. 253). The present author acknowledged these similarities by categorising victims and applying a life-span perspective, in the attempt to predict a victim status over time. Findings for this study suggest that certain personality traits of some individuals may single them out to be targets of victimisation which continues into the working environment.

In keeping with the holistic approach, one has to consider the implicit dichotomy that personality research implies. The next chapter of this thesis explores the bully's personality in an attempt to obtain a two-sided objective analysis of personality as a contributory factor in workplace bullying.

Chapter Five: Bully's personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts and attempts to explore a fuller picture of bullying behaviour in the workplace, firstly by categorising bullies and non-bullies, and secondly by identifying specific personality traits of bullies and examining their perception of their working environments.

The following procedural changes were made with the objective of attempting to establish empirical data of a 'bully' profile.

1. Sample size was aimed at 300 respondents from different workplaces (interviewed on the 'street – i.e., not in the workplace as in Chapter Four), the return rate was accordingly 11% (n=34).
2. Bullies and non-bullies were identified using a questionnaire item from the Behavioural Workplace Questionnaire (BWQ) (see Appendix 6).
3. Design was correlational comparing childhood bullying, workplace bullying and personality.
4. In addition, retrospective comparisons of child and adult bullying behaviours were made between natural groups of employees, who either stated they were workplace bullies or who were not.
5. Two of the personality tests previously used were also employed (ICES and IBS).

An overview on the literature of workplace bullying, highlights research on bullies' behaviour in their place of work. It is noted by researchers such as Peters and Smith (1998), that there is a lack of coherent knowledge to assist our understanding of bullying behaviour in the workplace. However, aggressive and violent acts of bullies have been observed throughout history. For example, the exercise of brutal use of power was demonstrated in the eighteenth century by Sade's degrading acts of psycho-erotic intensity (McCarthy, 2000); the inhuman acts of cruelty in the Nazi regime (Bauman, 1991), where subordinates were involved in a chain of command that relayed cruelty to others; Milgram's (1965) recruited volunteers who blindly obeyed orders to administer electric shocks to an unknown confederate; and Zimbardo's (1988) experiment, where subjects in the role of prison warders were very aggressive to prisoners (student colleagues) which escalated to violent attacks.

Arguably more alarming are violent acts by torturers (Conroy, 2000), which can be seen in a modified form in the calculated bullying by cold professionals in modern day workplaces. These aggressive behaviours may also be reinforced by bullies who lack 'people skills', and also by the on-going pressures of contemporary workplaces (McCarthy et al., 1995). Labels such as work related violence (Leather et al., 1999) and 'incivility' (Cortina et al., 2001), similar to workplace bullying, have also been used to describe aggressive behaviours in the working environment.

As noted earlier in Chapter Two, Brodsky (1976) was one of the first psychologists to research bully characteristics, and identified traits of the harasser being aggressive, power driven and possibly being sadistic and bigoted. Other bully traits identified were

being abrasive (Levinson, 1978), abusive (Bassman, 1992); hostile (Baron & Newman, 1998) and violent (Leather et al., 1990). The clinical assessment of anti-social personality disorder with degrees of psychoticism are also included (Crawford, 1992; Randall, 1997).

It is argued by Baron (1989), and Baron and Neuman (1997), that individuals involved in conflict possess the characteristics of a type A behaviour. Type A Personality (TAP) is described by Friedman and Rosenman (1969), as being hard driven, competitive with aggressive tendencies and interpersonal hostility with a sense of time urgency. TAP individuals are likely to express their aggressive and hostile behaviour in the workplace 'against people whom they perceive to be (likely) targets' (Randall, 2001, p. 46).

Although there are individual case studies of bullies (Brodsky, 1979; Crawford 1998), to the author's knowledge there is no study that concentrates on a personality profile of the bully in the working environment. However, as noted in Chapter Two, clinical narrative studies by Randall (1997; 2001), and observation studies by Field (1997), identified personality traits of serial/recidivist bullies at the extreme of being diagnosed as having symptoms of personality disorders.

The personality of bullying managers have also been described to the extreme of being sadistic, psychopathic and sociopathic (McCarthy, 2001). It is expected that bullying managers would be described as autocratic, with an aggressive style of leadership and associated with positions of power (Quillan, 1996), who regardless of personal costs achieve their goals. It is also argued by researchers such as Einarsen et al. (1994), that abuse of power or lack of leadership may cause bullying' (p. 12). Central to bullying

behaviour is the intentional abuse of power, it is hardly surprising that bullies in the workplace have earned the label of 'petty tyrants' (Ashforth, 1994). Some bullies have also been described as egocentric (Randall, 1977), and being incapable of de-coding social information which can result in these bullies being 'unaware' of the effect of their behaviour.

As discussed in Chapter Two, certain aggressive anti-social behaviours can contribute to the socialisation of bullies (Rodkin et al., 2000), in that the best predictor for aggression in adolescence and early adulthood is the persistence of childhood aggression (Eron et al., 1987).

The developmental histories of bullies place them as being reared in aggressive environments (Olweus, 1980), where children tend to model (Bandura, 1997) and repeat the cycle of aggressive behaviour (Sroufe, 1988). It should be noted that some parents may not be aggressive and punitive, but, as found by Parke and Slaby (1983), tend to be inconsistent in their use of power and assertive strategies. Randall (1997) suggests that a consistent pattern of aggressive behaviour on the part of children which usually achieved their childhood goals, is continued as a successful behaviour through adulthood. This self-perpetuating behaviour tends to develop from aggressive schemes being rewarded during childhood.

A life-span perspective points to typical school bullies who are described as having aggressive reaction patterns, and a strong need to dominate (Olweus, 1984), lacking in empathy, and finding joy in making others suffer (Bjorkqvist et al., 1992). Other studies (Randall, 1997) have identified a passive bully who may be insecure and

anxious. These traits also describe the bully/victim who experiences both roles (Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Randall (1997) found that the bully/victim tends to score the same low levels of extroversion as the pure bully, but at higher levels on neuroticism and psychotocism.

Research suggests that being a bully is a stable condition and that experiences in one social situation lead to another, as, for example, from home to school settings (Olweus, 1979). Although some researchers, such as Bjorkqvist et al. (1994), make reference to the fact that a victim in one situation, does not necessarily become a victim in another situation; arguably (in light of the above discussion that pointed to the consistency of aggressive behaviour extending through adulthood), bullying as a child can extend into the workplace.

In pre-meditated aggression in the workplace, two kinds of bullies have been identified by Stybel (1996, cited in Randall, 1997): bullies who make an early exit from the workplace, and those who make a contribution to the organisation. This latter type of bully would occur particularly in workplaces undergoing continuous change, and where managerial styles of bullying are rewarded for achieving their targets as for example in the 'Chainsaw Al' case (Dulap, 1996).

It is reasonable to suggest that such management action could be justified to remain competitive in a tight market, as managers are often forced to adapt to organisational changes to keep their own job, at any cost (Cooper, 1999). As a result, managers, often have to work long hours to meet their targets with, as noted by Lewis (1999), increased accountability and responsibility.

It is suggested that managers bully in a changing work environment because they do not possess the selective abilities or emotional skills to adapt to these organisational changes (Jordan & Sheehan, 2000). It could be as Mischel (1977) believes, that individuals change their behaviour to adapt to different situations.

Bullies have been described in some situations by their victims, using metaphors such as 'drowning', 'struggling' and 'being trapped'; 'a tyrant wrapped in a woman's petticoat'; 'Sergeant Major'; and 'the enemy' (Sheehan & Barker, 2000 p 342). Perhaps this may reflect the cruel nature of bullies, which Einarsen (1999) classified as two kinds of bullies - predatory and dispute related.

Other types of bullies (Leather, Beale, Lawrence, Brady & Cox, 1999) employ aggressive tactics, described as being violent in nature and include 'incidents where persons are abused, threatened or assaulted' (Wynne, Clarkin, Cox & Griffiths 1997, cited in Leather et al., 1999 p. 4). Other bullies are identified as tyrannical and characterised by the belittling of junior colleagues, a lack of consideration, a forcing style of conflict resolution, and non-contingent punishment. with arbitrariness and self-aggrandizement (Newman & Baron, 1998).

A growing and new area of research points to the 'personality' of the organisation.

Jordan and Sheehan (2000) propose a model for the 'antecedents of managerial bullying'. These authors suggest that if the following characteristics are present, the organisation will experience higher levels of bullying (Jordan & Sheehan, 2000, p. 189).

1. Experience of dysfunctional confrontation in workplace.

2. Focus on outcomes at the expense of the process and the means by which those outcomes are achieved.
3. Higher level of workplace stress.
4. Managers unable to regulate their emotions.
5. Managers who have poor social skills.
6. Managers who are low in empathetic concern or perspective taking.

This model forms the genesis of the authors' interpretation of the antecedents of managerial bullying, however, they stress that there is a need for empirical testing of their model (Jordan & Sheehan, 2000). It is proposed to explore the characteristics of this model and how they relate to data in the discussion section and next chapter of this thesis.

In relation to coping with bullies, it is suggested that effective skills, which include listening skills and interaction management skills, should be introduced (Kaye, 1994). According to Overall (1995), the most effective response is to legislate against bullying in the workplace. This is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

This main part of the study of a bully profile in this chapter includes data from a broad selection of employees in the Irish workforce. It was necessary to include a variety of different workplaces and street venues – randomly approaching employees walking to their place of work - because of the difficulties in finding a sample of bullies. It was also necessary to adopt a more indirect approach than in the victim research in the previous chapter. This approach was taken in order to make the enquiry more

acceptable to organisations and to discern a prospective bully. Thus a random sample was taken where possible, and the survey was disguised by calling it a 'Behavioural Interaction Survey'. In Part One of this study it was necessary to include all participants for the purpose of selecting bullies for the second part of the study to compare their personality traits with non-bullies.

Part One: Comparison of personality traits of bullies and non-bullies

This part of the research into the bully profile involves the categorisation of respondents who participated in the final part of this thesis. It is proposed that personality traits of bullies are a contributory factor to workplace bullying.

From the literature reviewed, the following hypotheses were made:

- 1 Bullies are expected to score higher than non-bullies on independence
- 2 Bullies are expected to score higher than non-bullies on emotional stability
- 3 Bullies are expected to score higher than non-bullies on extroversion
- 4 Bullies are expected to score lower than non-bullies on conscientiousness.

Based on the IBS, employed in the pilot study as reported in the previous chapter where it was found that victims tended to be non-assertive and non-aggressive:

- 5 Bullies are expected to be more assertive than non-bullies.

As also based on the literature review of personality traits outlined in Chapter Two, it is hypothesised that:

- 6 Bullies are expected to be more aggressive than non-bullies (Randall, 1997)

- 7 Bullies are expected to be more hostile than non-bullies (Baron & Newman, 1998)
- 8 Bullies are expected to have an anti-social personality with psychopathic elements (Crawford, 1992)
- 9 Bullies are expected to be egocentric (Randall, 2001)
- 10 Bullies are expected to be sadistic harassers (Brodsky, 1976).

Method

Samples

A total of about 300 potential participants in Dublin were approached and asked to take part in this survey, of these 127 refused to take part. Many more hesitated but consented to take part when informed that for every set of completed questionnaires, a sum of £1.00 would be donated to the cancer society. A total of 173 questionnaires were disseminated and despite the 'charity carrot' and pyramid system (of a 'snow balling' technique of asking respondents to take a few questionnaires for their working friends to complete), many respondents did not return the questionnaires and the overall response rate was 19.65% (N = 34).

All respondents were Caucasian with the exception of one Japanese. About 70% were Irish and the balance was English, American and Continental European. Respondents represented mainly Irish workers of different occupations ranging from traffic wardens to accountants.

This sample was compiled from four different sources. These sub-sample sectors were Higher Educators (N =17), Prison Educators (N = 4), Rehabilitation Clients (N = 6), and 'On Street' (N = 7). In all, the sample consisted of 61.8% males and 38.2% females, with 26.5% falling into the 18-25 age group, 14.7% being between 26-30 years old, 23.5% were between 31 and 40 years old, 23.5% and 11.8% fell into the 41-50 years and 51-60 years categories, respectively.

The first sub-sample of 17 respondents came from a Higher Education Institution (HEI) situated in the Dublin area with a staff of about 50. The number of people surveyed was 32, a response rate of 53.12% was achieved. The second sub-sample consisted of four prison educators, from a workforce of about 45. A response rate of 8.8% was achieved. The third sub-sample consisted of six ex-prisoners who were in rehabilitation training for employment (all worked as casual labourers, none of the sample had a previous record of employment). The total sample consisted of 10, but four questionnaires were spoiled, and so a response rate of 60% was obtained

The fourth 'on-street' sub-sample of seven respondents represented various public and private industries, who were stopped at random on the street. Of the 100 questionnaires given out, 93 were not returned (this figure includes some spoiled questionnaires), and so the response rate was 7%.

Appendix 8 gives a breakdown of the percentages for gender, age range, education level, marital status, and living arrangements for all of the sub-samples. Appendix 9, provides a breakdown of the percentages for current job title, organisation type, and organisation size for each sub-sample.

Measurements

The ICES and the IBS were scored in the usual way. The Behavioural Workplace Questionnaire Questionnaire (BWQ) (see Appendix six) was designed using an amalgamation of feedback from the authors' research of victims' profile (1999), items from an ongoing research survey from Hull University, and on related literature (Randall, 1997; Einarsen, 1996). Acceptability of the questionnaire was considered by ensuring the clarity of items, simplicity of design and adhering to best practice in terms of the design, length of questionnaire, wording and order of items.

The questionnaire consists of 47 open and closed questions and is divided into four sections:

- Section 1. Personal details – five items.
and questions relating to a definition of bullying within a required time scale – four items.
- Section 2. Childhood behaviours – 11 items.
- Section 3. Details of the respondents' working environment – in three subsections.
(A) -- four items. (B) – two items. (C) – eight items.
- Section 4. Workplace behaviours – 13 items.

The questionnaire took about 20 minutes to complete.

The measure of bullying applied in this study was identical with that used in the previous victim section of this study, that is, it was in line with Leymann's (1992) 'Time Scale of Aggressive Acts' that occur very frequently, on average at least weekly, and over a long period of more than six months.

The same definition of bullying used in the previous chapter was also employed:

‘When a person is bullied in the workplace, he/she is repeatedly exposed to aggressive acts, which can either be physical, psychological and /or verbal. It is where cruelty, viciousness, the need to humiliate and the need to make somebody feel small dominates a working relationship’ (Crawford, 1996; 1998).

The closed questions of the BWQ were coded on appropriate scales to be analysed using SPSS. Open questions were analysed according to the topic they addressed.

ICES and IBS questionnaires were scored according to the respective manuals.

Procedure

The same ‘introduction’ procedure was used by the interviewer for the four samples. The interviewer told prospective participants that the survey involved collecting data from different workplaces in Ireland with the aim of studying different characteristics of employees. The interviewer showed participants the BWQ, ICES and IBS and read some examples from each of the questionnaires to ensure that they understood the format, the confidentiality of the study was also conveyed. The interviewer also stressed the importance of full employee participation, in that they would contribute to academic research, and also for every completed set of questionnaires, £1.00 would be donated to the Irish Cancer Society (half of their contribution was donated to the Crawford (Cancer) Research and Development Foundation in the UK).

For respondents who agreed to partake in this survey, questionnaires were pre coded (with the exception of the Higher Education (HE) sample) and distributed with a covering letter and instructions on how to complete the three questionnaires (See Appendix seven). Different procedures were put in place for the different samples.

For the HE sub-sample, the interviewer had direct contact with the personnel department of the educational institute in April, 2001, who suggested access to some of the departments within the institute. After several informal meetings, two months later, the interviewer was granted permission to conduct the survey, the procedure as described below was effected. During June and July 2001, a total of 39 employees were approached, 32 agreed to take part in the survey - 14 questionnaires were not returned. Because of the sensitive topic of this area, some employees were not approached.

For the Prison Educators sub-sample, a number of meetings were held with the educational and prison services during the month of April before the interviewer was allowed access into Mountjoy prison. Permission was granted to interview willing participants in May and June 2001, and although 18 agreed to partake in this survey, only two sets of questionnaires were returned by post (14 were not returned). In the 'educational outreach centres' of venue two and three, the interviewer had direct contact with the manager. A total of 17 questionnaires were delivered, but only two participants from 'DCVEC out-reach centre' returned the questionnaires.

The respondents from the Educational Institution and Prison Educators sub-samples were given two weeks to complete the questionnaires. For the Rehabilitation Client sub-sample, direct contact was made with the educational manager of the Liberties VEC

training centre in May 2001. The interviewer individually interviewed this client sample with the aid of questionnaire (BWQ). Because of the limited attention span of this sample, it was necessary to administer the two personality inventories on different training days. Each item was read by the interviewer and respondents ticked (aided where necessary) their appropriate responses. The interviewer collected the questionnaires when they were completed. This procedure was rather time-consuming, as some respondents spoiled the questionnaire, but agreed to restart on fresh ones.

For the 'On Street' sub-sample, the interviewer collected data between the months of May to September 2001. The interviewer randomly stopped pedestrians on the street. A total of 100 questionnaires were distributed, only seven were completed and posted to the interviewer.

All returned questionnaires from the four samples were treated with confidentiality and remain strictly the property of the researcher.

Results

Data from respondents were obtained on ICES, and IBS personality tests and the BWQ bullying questionnaire. The descriptive statistics were calculated under the following headings:

Bully Identification and experience of bullying

Question 2 in the Behavioural Workplace Questionnaire: 'In your current position, how often have you carried out such behaviour?' - was used to divide the total sample (N=34) into bully or non-bully at work. Bullies were identified if they indicated that they had bullied someone in their current position 'sometimes', 'often', or 'frequently'; with those responding 'never' or 'rarely' being identified as non-bullies. Ten bullies (29.4%) and 24 non-bullies (70.6%) were identified.

Appendix 10 gives a breakdown of the percentages, for gender, age range, education level, marital status, and living arrangements for bullies and non-bullies. All of the respondents in the rehabilitation client sample were bullies (N=6).

The extent of having being bullied in the workplace ('current position') was then investigated, and Figure 5.1 in the following page provides a graphical representation of the spread of responses.

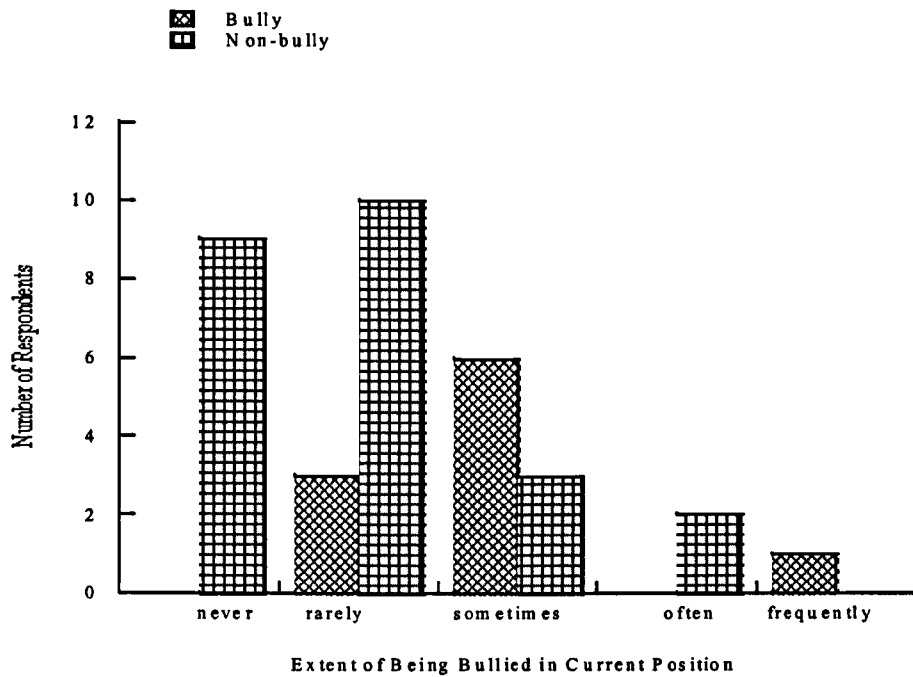


Figure 5.1 Extent of bullying experienced by bullies and non-bullies in current position.

The extent of bullying at work analysis found that 60% of bullies reported being 'sometimes' bullied themselves in their current position, with 10% stating that they were bullied 'frequently' and only 30% reporting that they were 'rarely' bullied in their current position. In the non-bully sample 12.5% stated that they were bullied 'sometimes' in their current position, with only 8.3% reporting that they were 'often' bullied. Unlike the bully sample 37.3% of the non-bully sample said they were 'never' bullied in their current position, with 41.7% stating that they were 'rarely' bullied. In general 70% of bullies reported being bullied in their current position as opposed to only 20.8% of non-bullies.

The extent of being bullied in the workplace in general, not just in the current position was also explored, and the responses ranged from 'never' to 'daily' as represented in figure 5.2.

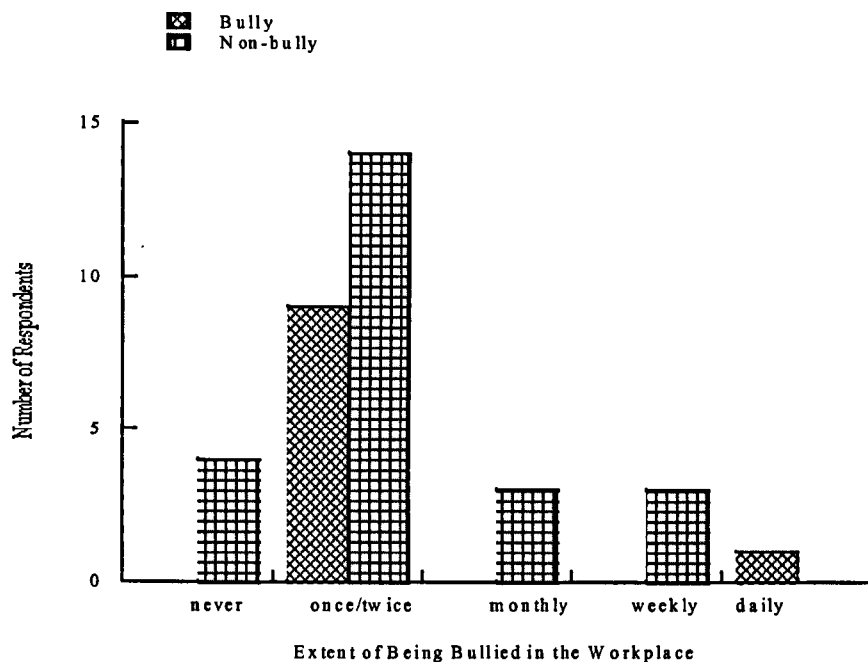


Figure 5.2 Extent of bullying experienced by bullies and non-bullies in any workplace

The extent of bullying experienced in the workplace in general, found that 90% of bullies stated that they had experienced bullying once/twice in the workplace, with 10% stating that they experienced it daily. In the non-bully sample 16.7% had never experienced bullying in the workplace, with 58.3% stating they experienced it once/twice, 12.5% experienced bullying monthly, and 12.5% experienced bullying weekly. None of the non-bully group had experienced bullying daily and none of the bully group had 'never' experienced being bullied.

The bully group suffered bullying to a lesser extent than the non-bullies; however, all of the bully group had been bullied, with the majority experiencing bullying 'once or twice'.

Those who reported having being bullied in the workplace (N=30), described the duration of the bullying in figure 5.3.

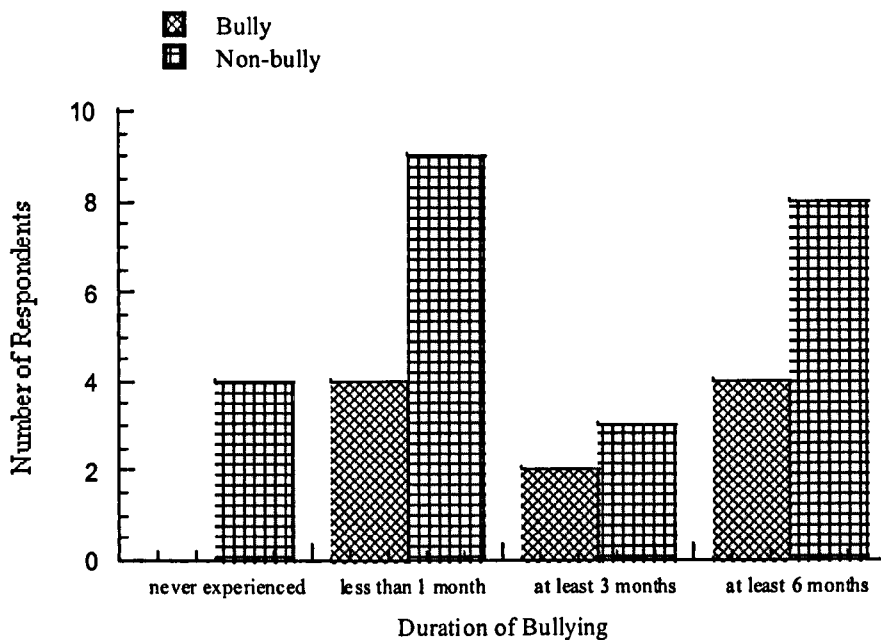


Figure 5.3 Duration of bullying experienced in the workplace

In relation to duration of bullying, 40% of the bully and 37.5% of the non-bully group endured bullying for less than one month, with 20% of the bully and 12.5% of the non-bully group suffering bullying for at least three months. Forty percent of the bully group and 33.3% of the non-bully group experienced the bullying for at least six months with 16.7% of the non-bully group having never experienced being bullied.

Part Two: Personality of bullies

Introduction

The second part of this study explores the role that a bully might contribute to bullying in the workplace by examining data of the ICES and IBS personality tests. In addition, the BWQ was used in this section to examine childhood behaviours and the work environment.

Results

The data on the ICES and the IBS were analysed to identify personality differences between bullies and non-bullies on the traits measured by these scales. The data were initially described in terms of means and standard deviations and a series of independent t-tests were employed to further analyse the differences between the means. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 in the following page contain the means, standard deviations and *t* values for bullies and non-bullies on the major scales on the ICES and minor scales on the ICES, respectively.

Table 5.1

Means and Standard Deviations and *t* Values for Sten Scores on the four Major Scales of the ICES for Bullies and Non-bullies (N=34)

ICES Major Scales	Bully (N=10)		Non-bully (N=24)		t(df)
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t(32)</u>
Independence	7.70	2.36	4.96	2.22	3.23**
Conscientiousness	5.10	2.42	5.79	2.30	-0.79
Extraversion	6.30	2.31	4.87	2.11	1.74
Stability	5.70	1.88	5.33	1.37	0.63

significance level* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

There was a significant difference between bullies and non-bullies for independence. Bullies are more independent than non-bullies. However, bullies did not differ significantly on any of the other major scales. It is worth noting that the mean score for Extraversion for bullies is higher than for non-bullies although not reaching significance.

Table 5.2

Means and Standard Deviations and *t* Values for Sten Scores on the Minor Scales of the ICES for Bullies and Non-bullies (N=34)

ICES Minor Scales	Bully (N=10)		Non-bully (N=24)		t(df)
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t(32)</u>
Competitive (I1)	7.30	2.36	4.83	2.08	3.03**
Assertive (I2)	8.00	1.89	5.17	2.01	3.80***
Conventional (C1)	5.00	2.21	5.96	2.33	-1.10
Organized (C2)	5.30	2.67	5.63	1.81	-0.41
Group-oriented (E1)	6.30	1.70	4.88	2.09	1.90
Outgoing (E2)	6.20	2.49	5.13	1.92	1.36
Poised (S1)	5.60	1.77	4.92	1.44	1.18
Relaxed (S2)	6.20	1.62	5.96	1.71	0.38
Social Desirability	5.10	2.28	7.17	1.63	-2.98**

significance level * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

There was a significant difference found between bullies and non-bullies in relation to competition, assertiveness and social desirability, with bullies being more competitive, more assertive and having less need to conform conventionally than their non-bully counterparts.

The following Figures 5.4 and 5.5 provide a graphical representation of the comparison profiles of bullies and non-bullies for major scales on the ICES and minor scales on the ICES, respectively.

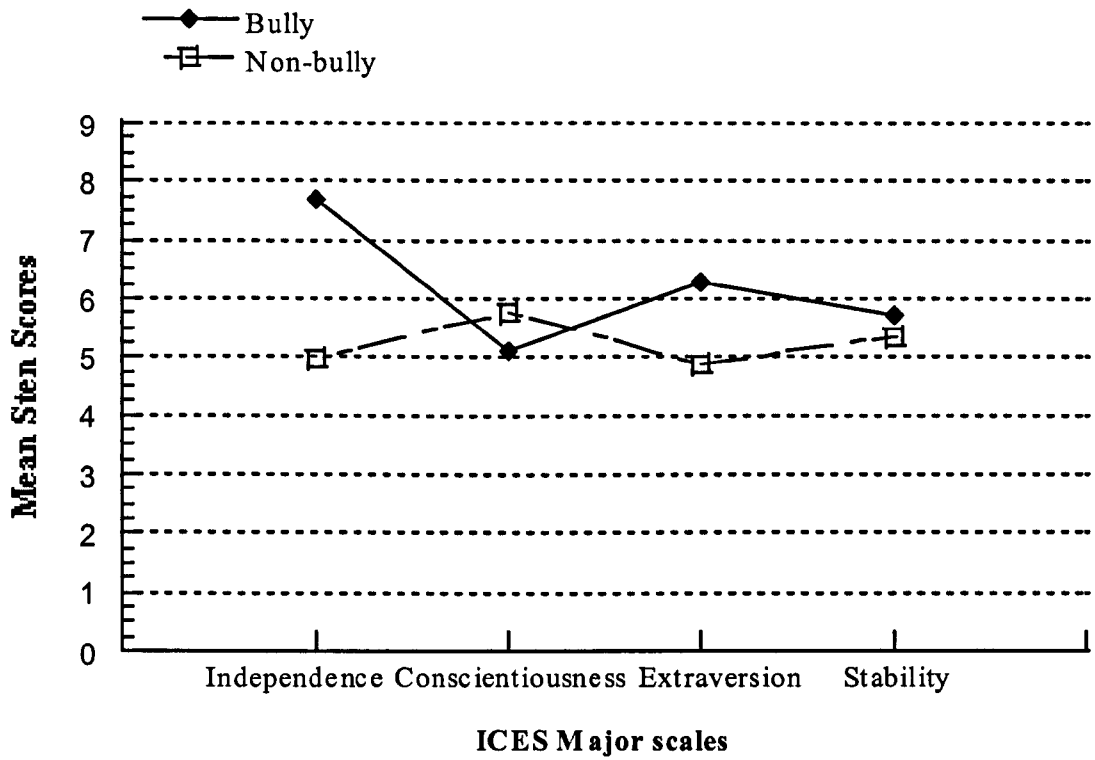


Figure 5.4 Comparison of profiles of bullies and non-bullies on the major scales of the ICES.

Chapter Five: Bully's personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying

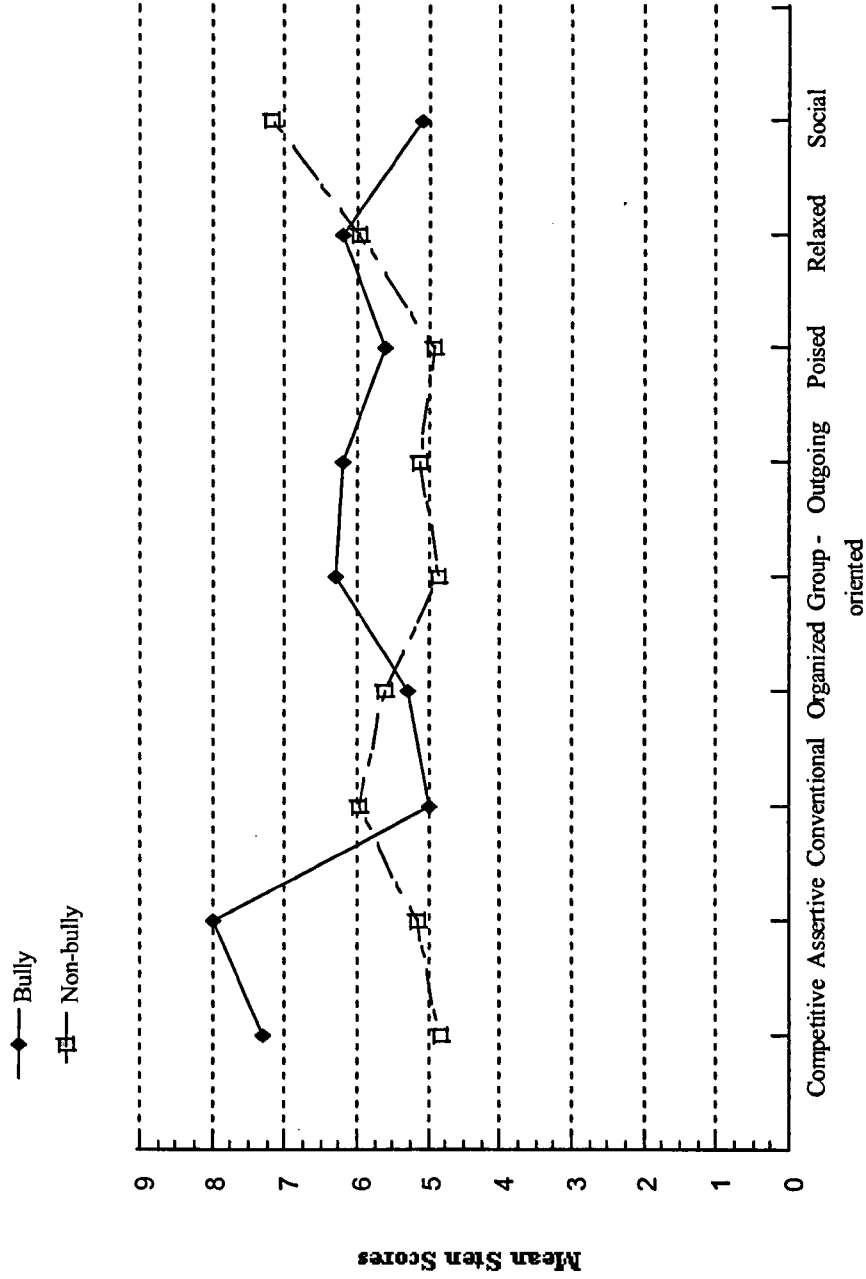


Figure 5.5 Comparison of profiles of bullies and non-bullies on the minor scales of the ICES

Data on the IBS sub-scales (as outlined in Chapter Four) were as follows:

Means and standard deviations were obtained to investigate the differences between bullies and non-bullies in relation to the IBS scales of: Aggression (Ggr, Hs, Ea, Dr, Va, Ph, Pa) Assertiveness (Sgr, Ia, Da, Fr, Pr, Re, Rf) and Relationships (Ca, Dp, Sh). In addition differences on the validity scales (De, If, Im) were investigated. The data were further analysed for significant differences between the means using a series of independent t-tests. Table 5.3 in the following page is an illustration of the means, standard deviations and *t* values for the sub-scales of the IBS for bullies and non-bullies.

Table 5.3

Means and Standard Deviations and t-Scores on the 21 sub-scales of the IBS for those Identified as Bullies (N=10) and Non-bullies (N= 24).

		Bully (N =10)		Non-bully (N = 24)		t(df)
	IBS Sub-Scale	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t(32)
Validity	De	49.90	5.63	51.87	10.14	-0.58
	If	50.10	6.49	49.54	7.08	0.21
	Im	42.20	13.91	52.46	11.05	-2.28*
Aggressiveness	Ggr	60.00	10.34	46.50	8.34	4.01***
	Hs	59.50	8.37	44.54	8.63	4.64***
	Ea	60.90	8.00	47.67	7.17	4.74***
	Dr	56.20	8.13	48.25	7.63	2.72**
	Ve	62.70	11.99	49.80	9.65	3.36**
	Ph	63.90	11.19	48.50	8.68	4.32***
	Pa	53.70	6.38	46.20	7.21	2.85**
Assertiveness	Sgr	55.60	3.81	50.25	9.27	1.75
	Sc	47.50	8.10	48.67	8.87	-0.36
	Ia	57.10	5.17	49.08	11.89	2.04*
	Da	50.40	5.23	49.29	10.18	0.33
	Fr	55.80	4.89	50.87	8.66	1.68
	Pr	46.80	5.18	51.67	8.28	-1.71
	Re	53.10	7.35	52.62	8.13	0.16
	Rf	47.40	8.03	49.08	9.69	-0.48
Relationship	Ca	37.80	8.99	47.71	9.39	-2.84**
	Dp	55.70	10.47	48.75	11.03	1.69
	Sh	53.60	8.93	50.29	7.97	1.06

significance level * p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001

There were significant differences between bullies and non-bullies on all of the aggression scales of the IBS. Bullies were more aggressive than non-bullies. In addition,

bullies were more likely to display leadership potential as measured by the Initiating Assertiveness scale (Ia) than non-bullies. Bullies were significantly less concerned with Conflict Avoidance (Ca) than non-bullies and were therefore more likely to engage in open disagreements with others. In relation to the validity scales, bullies were concerned less with the Impressions (Im) they made than were non-bullies.

Figure 5.6 in the following page provides a graphical representation of the comparison profiles (mean T-scores) of bullies and non-bullies on IBS sub-scales.

Chapter Five: Bully's personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying

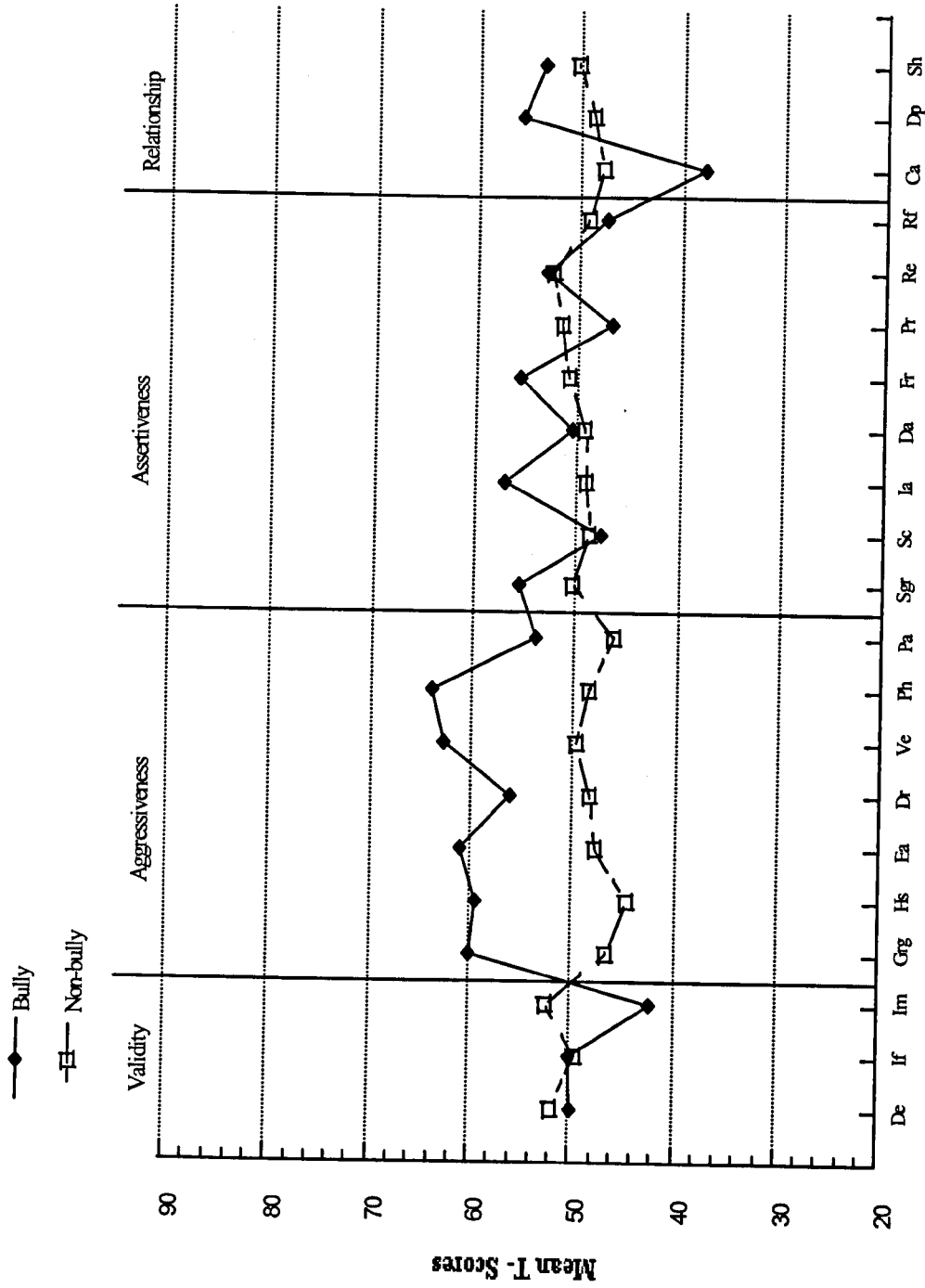


Figure 5.6 Comparison profiles of bullies and non-bullies on the subscales of the IBS.

Prediction of Bully and Non-bully Status for the Combined Samples

In order to examine the ICES major personality scales as predictors of group membership (bully or non-bully status), a discriminant function analysis was carried out on the whole sample (N=34) in order to ascertain which of the major scales on the ICES were the best predictors of group membership. The function produced had a canonical correlation with group membership of 0.56. Pooled within-group correlations between discriminating variables and the discriminant function were calculated. Independence had the highest correlation (0.89); followed by Extraversion (0.42), Conscientiousness (-0.28) and finally Stability (0.19).

Table 5.4 in the following page illustrates the results of the prediction of group membership based on function scores. As shown, function scores correctly predicted bully/non-bully status in 73.5% (N=23) of the sample, and 26.5% (N=9) of the sample were incorrectly classified. The ICES appears to be a better predictor of who is not a bully than of who is.

Table 5.4

Summary Table Illustrating Actual and Predicted Group Membership

Actual Group membership	Predicted Group Membership	
	Bully N=10	Non-bully N=24
Bully	6 (60%)	5 (21%)
Non-bully	4 (40%)	19 (79%)

Childhood Bullying and Workplace bullying

A childhood behaviour scale was employed as a retrospective measure to explore bullying behaviours exhibited by respondents as children. The raw data on this scale were added together to yield a unitary score of propensity to bully as a child, where the higher the score, the more likely a person was to be a bully as a child. The minimum score possible is 11 and the maximum score possible is 55.

The Workplace Behaviour scale was used to investigate bullying behaviours exhibited by respondents as children. Again, the raw data were added together to yield a unitary score of bullying behaviour at work (as an adult), where again the higher the score the more likely the person is to engage in bullying behaviours. The possible range of scores lies between 13 and 65.

A Pearson's product moment correlation demonstrated a significant positive relationship between childhood behaviours and workplace behaviours ($N=34$, $r = 0.74$, $p < 0.01$). The higher the score on the childhood behaviours scale, then the higher the score on the workplace behaviours scale. Those respondents who showed bullying tendencies as children were likely to show such tendencies as adults.

Differences between the two groups (bullies and non-bullies) were investigated. In relation to the childhood behaviour scale, those in the bully group ($N= 10$) had a $\underline{M} = 41.30$ and $\underline{SD} = 5.62$, and those in the non-bully group ($N = 24$) had a $\underline{M} = 23.22$ and a $\underline{SD} = 6.27$. There was a statistically significant difference between the two groups when an independent t-test was used for further analysis; $t(32) = 7.84$, $p < 0.001$.

The same analysis was conducted on the workplace behaviour scale. Those in the bully group ($N= 10$) had a $\underline{M} = 51.00$ and $\underline{SD} = 2.54$, and those in the non-bully group ($N = 24$) had a $\underline{M} = 35.50$ and a $\underline{SD} = 9.01$. There was a statistically significant difference between the two groups when an independent t-test was used for further analysis $t(32) = 5.31$, $p < 0.001$.

Those who were identified as bullies in their current position had significantly higher scores on the childhood behaviours scale and on the workplace behaviours scale, indicating that current bullies displayed more bullying behaviours as children and also as adults in the workplace.

It was decided to explore any relationships between childhood behaviours and personality (as measured by the ICES major scales and the IBS), and workplace behaviours and personality. A series of Pearson's product moment correlations were

conducted to show the relationships, if any, between participants' sten scores on the major scales of the ICES, and participants' scores on childhood behaviours and workplace behaviours. In addition, a series of Pearson's product moment correlations were employed to demonstrate the relationships if any, between participants' t-scores on the IBS sub-scales and subjects' scores on childhood behaviours and workplace behaviours.

Table 5.5

Relationship Between Sten Scores on the I.C.E.S. and Scores on Childhood Behaviours and Workplace Behaviours for the Total Sample (N=34)

ICES Major Scales	Childhood Behaviours	Workplace Behaviours
Independence	0.52**	0.60**
Conscientiousness	-0.18	0.14
Extraversion	0.36*	0.47*
Stability	0.06	0.18

significance level * p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001

There were significant positive relationships between childhood behaviours and Independence and childhood behaviours and Extraversion. These same significant relationships were found between Independence, Extraversion and Workplace Behaviours. High scores on Independence and Extraversion may be indicators of propensity to bully as children and/or adults. Or it could be that bullying as children and/or adults may lead people to be more independent and extravert. Interpretations of their relationship are explored in the discussion section of this thesis.

Table 5.6 provides an analysis of the relationship between IBS scores and childhood and workplace behaviours.

Table 5.6

Relationship Between Scores on the IBS Sub-scales and Scores on Childhood Behaviours and Workplace Behaviours for the Total Sample (N=34)

IBS Sub-scales		Childhood Behaviours	Workplace Behaviours
Validity	De	-0.19	-0.28
	If	0.08	0.09
	Im	-0.41*	-0.39*
Aggression	Ggr	0.59**	0.66**
	Hs	0.70**	0.59**
	Ea	0.69**	0.70**
	Dr	0.48**	0.59**
	Ve	0.54**	0.46**
	Ph	0.64**	0.56**
	Pa	0.53**	0.62**
Assertiveness	Sgr	0.24	0.32
	Sc	-0.09	-0.16
	Ia	0.29	0.37*
	Da	0.12	-0.11
	Fr	0.27	0.15
	Pr	-0.15	-0.07
	R	0.19	-0.07
Erf	0.00	-0.11	
Relationships	Ca	-0.41*	-0.32
	Dp	0.41*	0.48**
	Sh	0.22	0.15

significance level * p<0.05 **p<0.01 *** p<0.001

Significant positive relationships were found between all of the aggression sub-scales and childhood behaviours and workplace behaviours, indicating that those higher in aggression tended to be higher in childhood and workplace bullying tendencies.

The Initiating Assertiveness (Ia) had a significant positive correlation with workplace behaviours, those respondents who were more likely to bully in the workplace were also more likely to exhibit potential leadership

There was one significant result on the validity scales for Impression Management (Im). High scores on bullying behaviours in both childhood and/or the workplace were significantly and inversely related to Impression Management, indicating that those who engaged in bullying as children and/or in the workplace were less likely to be concerned with creating a good impression.

In the Relationship scales, again there was a significant inverse relationship between Conflict Avoidance (Ca) and workplace behaviours. Respondents who exhibited bullying tendencies in the workplace did not tend to evade open disagreement or conflict with others.

There was also a significant positive relationship between childhood behaviours and/or workplace behaviours and the Dependency Scale (Dp), indicating a greater dependency on others for decision making were displayed by those who were prone to bullying as children and/or in the workplace. This scale represents feelings of powerlessness, fear of losing support from others and attention seeking, indicating that those who were prone to bullying as children were also more likely to portray these attributes as adults.

Work Environment

It was decided to explore the work environment of bullies as compared to non-bullies. However, it must be taken into account that six of the 10 bullies did not complete the 'Work Details' section of the Behavioural Workplace Questionnaire as they did not have formal jobs; these were all members of the rehabilitation client sample. Thus the results for this part of the study are based on a ratio of 4:24, bullies to non-bullies and are therefore unreliable.

The average number of years spent in current job for bullies (N=4) was $\underline{M} = 4.25$, $\underline{SD} = 2.87$ and for non-bullies (N = 24) was $\underline{M} = 6.87$, $\underline{SD} = 8.59$, and the average number of employees per department was bullies $\underline{M} = 10.00$, $\underline{SD} = 6.78$, and for non-bullies was $\underline{M} = 19.00$, $\underline{SD} = 17.51$ (see Appendix 11).

Appendix 11 provides a breakdown of the percentages for current job title, organisation type, organisation size and career profile for bullies and non-bullies).

The work environment was then further analysed to ascertain if there was a difference between bullies and non-bullies in their perception of their work environments. The percentage responses are shown in the following Table 5.7.

Table 5.7

Descriptions (Responses in Percentages) of Work Environments as Perceived by Bullies and Non-bullies

Descriptions of Work Environment		Percentage of Bullies (N=4)	Percentage of Non-bullies (N=24)
1. Strained and Stressful	Yes	75.0%	33.3%
	No	25.0%	66.7%
2. Characterised by regular changes	Yes	100.0%	54.2%
	No		45.8%
3. Pleasant	Yes	100.0%	100.0%
	No		
4. Characterised by effective feedback	Yes	75.0%	66.7%
	No	25.0%	33.3%
5. Supportive	Yes	75.0%	83.3%
	No	25.0%	16.7%
5. Characterised by authoritarian Management	Yes	100.0%	60.8%
	No		29.2%
7. Competitive	Yes	100.0%	50.0%
	No		50.0%
8. Friendly	Yes	100.0%	95.8%
	No		4.2%

The above table does not include the Rehabilitation Sample, as this group of bullies worked as casual labourers with no previous record of formal employment. Effectively, they classified themselves as being self-employed, and worked when it suited them on the black market. Informal interviews with this group revealed similar views held by the other group of bullies. The main difference was that the rehabilitation bullies reported their workplaces were only fairly pleasant and friendly with little support from

colleagues. In agreement, both groups perceived their working environment as very competitive and driven by authoritarian management. It is interesting to note that all the Rehabilitation Sample reported that they received effective feedback about their behaviours from their bosses' abusive responses, their own response being to 'hit back' and/or to 'walk-out'!

Descriptions in the above table compare the formally employed bullies with the non-bullies. As shown, about two-thirds of the bullies, compared to one-third of non-bullies, complained that their work environment was stressful. All bullies and just half of the non-bullies reported that their work was characterised by regular changes and was very competitive. Both bullies and non-bullies all agreed that their working environment was pleasant. There was also close agreement with all bullies and nearly all non-bullies who reported their workplaces were friendly and supportive. Disagreement was illustrated in relation to authoritarian management, when all bullies reported that their workplace was characterised by authoritarianism in comparison to one-third of non-bullies.

Discussion

This type of research encountered methodological problems mainly because of the differences in interviewing self-confessed bullies. It is generally believed that aggressive behaviour is not acceptable by social norms, with the result that individuals can under-estimate their own levels of aggression. It is perhaps for this reason that peer nominations are more valid than subjective reports of bullies' aggressive behaviour. However, if asked who is capable of becoming a bully, 'the answer must be that the capacity to bully is present in everyone' (Crawford, 2001, p. 22). Despite such a belief, the disappointing return of about 11% of the questionnaires in this study reflected the reluctance of both participating and admitting to being a bully.

The poor response rate obtained in the second part of the analysis of the victim profile reported in the previous chapter was mirrored here. A pilot study was run there in order to assess the practicality of using the additional personality tests of the IBS and CFSEI-2. General explanations given for lack of further participation in the survey were respondents felt that they had given enough of their time for the first part of the study, and also the two additional personality tests included in the second stage of the study were too long. In an attempt to rectify the time factor, the CFSEI-2 was not included in this study as it was not specifically designed for measuring bullies' aggressive behaviours.

Previous attempts have been made to define and measure individual differences in aggressiveness as a trait, however, these attempts have not been generally successful (Geen, 1990). It is suggested by Olweus (1973), that differences in aggression are

'more likely to be related to differences in the interpretative processes' (cited in Cox & Leather, 1994, p. 225).

Although the sample size in this study was small, data were successfully obtained by employing the IBS to measure the expression of aggressive behaviour in the workplace. In addition to the IBS, the ICES personality test was also employed, because it was reasonable to predict that it would correctly classify the bully group status in a similar way to that achieved in the classification of victim group status in the previous chapter. The BWQ was also used with these personality tests in an attempt to construct a retrospective type of bully profile. This study is treated as 'exploratory' in nature; however, findings were supported by previous research into the personality of bullies, such as that of Randall (1997; 2001), Crawford (1992; 2001), and McCarthy (2001).

Contrary to some research, such as that of Smith (2000), who reported that the majority of bullies were middle-aged, most bullies (80%) in this small sample were found to be under the age of forty. In agreement with other research, such as that of Zapf (1999), the sample in the present study represented an uneven balance of one female and nine male bullies.

The majority of bullies reported that they were also bullied in their workplace. This surprising finding runs parallel to Crawford's (2001) view of the 'bullied as a bully' (p. 27), and agrees with Novell's (1997) findings of those bullied, hitting back in aggressive acts that 'beget further aggression' (Crawford, 2001, p. 7). The results also tend to support the notion of a bully/victim as also outlined in McCarty's (2001) research. As noted by Randall (2000), the personality of the bully/victim is more

complex, characterised by 'higher levels of neuroticism and psychotocism' (p.76). It seems that the sample is made up of more bully/victims than pure bullies. Further exploration of the role of the bully/victim is examined in the next chapter.

The personal profile of bullies identifies six bullies from the Rehabilitation Client Sample, two bullies from the Higher Education (HE), and one bully each from the Prison educators and On Street Samples.

Although the literature on workplace bullies is scarce, the HE bullies identified in this study reflect similar behaviour to those reported by Bjorkqvist et al (1994) in their study of *Aggression Among University Employees*, as also Lewis' (1999) findings of *Workplace Bullying - in further and Higher Education*. A lack of empathy might be true of the some of the bullies who may, as Turner (1987) has suggested, have approached their respective victims holding a belief in a 'just world' (Lerner, 1980), and with attitudes perceived as appropriate to their group, in that being a bully gives a certain level of status (Connell & Farrington, 1996). As reported by the Rehabilitation Sample of bullies, Ireland's (1999) study also produced bullies who had a 'less sympathetic attitude toward victims and a higher approval of bullying behaviour' (p. 62).

Findings in this present study of bullies involved in prison settings (one teacher bully, and six bullies in the Rehabilitation Sample who 'served their time'), somewhat reflect Zimbardo's (1988) classic reconstructed prison settings of individuals fitting into the roles of aggressive guards (as in this case, the teacher, and some of the former prisoners

who described themselves as obeying orders from the 'prison leader'), and as noted by Milgram (1965), blindly obeying orders.

The crucial question is: do some jobs such as those in prisons, attract aggressive individuals, or do these individuals become aggressive to 'fit' their work situation? In Randall's (2001) view, some types of employment contribute to workplace bullying. For example, as noted by Archer (1999), work environments such as prisons, police, military and fire stations, are more prone to workplace bullying, because they are under the influence of a hierarchical and authoritarian structure.

At a quick inspection, the educational profile of bullies was low. The majority of bullies (60%) were educated to post-primary level, however, on closer inspection, this only applied to the Rehabilitation group and, as reported by Ireland (1999), many prisoners have limited educational achievements. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that the educational profile of a bully found here is skewed. The remaining 40% of the bullies represent two who finished secondary school, and the remaining two who completed third level education in terms of professional achievements.

The majority of bullies were married and living with their families, one bully was separated and living alone, and two bullies were single, one living with his partner, and the other alone. To the author's knowledge, there has been only individual clinical case studies of bullies (Brodsky, 1976), so therefore these personal data, apart from age and gender, cannot be compared with those of other studies.

In relation to how bullies perceived their working environment, the Rehabilitation Sample was not included, as only oral accounts were relayed of their activities. As shown in Appendix 11, the majority of bullies were employed in the educational sector, with just two in private industry, half of the bully sample worked in medium sized firms and the other half in average sized firms. In terms of a career profile, over two-thirds of the bullies had a previous history of employment in the education sector, and a third of the sample in industry. Reasons for leaving were that half of the bullies were promoted, and the remaining half sought different types of employment. In relation to the profession of the bullies, there was one lecturer, one traffic warden, six labourers and two managers.

Findings from this study support many of the characteristics proposed in Jordan and Sheehan's (2000) model of the antecedents of managerial bullying. Most of the bullies (also non-bullies) in this study, perceived their workplace as stressful; also, all of the bullies reported that their work was characterised by regular changes, and was very competitive. Unexpected results were that all bullies reported that their working environments were pleasant and friendly, with over two-thirds of the sample reporting that their environment was supportive with effective feedback. Possible explanations for such findings could lie in Randall's (2001) view that bullies can be egocentric and unaware of others' feelings and accordingly do not register negative feedback. As noted, similar views were expressed by the Rehabilitation Sample, which mirror an observation by Ireland (1999), that male prisoners lack an ability to empathise with their victims' plight.

An interesting result was that all bullies reported that their work environment was characterised by authoritarian and aggressive management. This finding agrees with the fact that all bullies also reported being bullied in their environment. It is perhaps, as noted by Crawford (2001), that they 'see themselves as victims of bullying even when it was (they who were) doing the bullying' (p. 27). This could also be a case of the bully/victim, who as noted by Randall (1997), enjoy making others suffer, whilst at the same time feeling anxious and insecure.

In relation to the personality profile of the bullies, it was found that bullies were more independent, and, on the minor ICES scales, more competitive and assertive than non-bullies. In descriptive terms, one can picture these bullies tending to be outgoing, impulsive, with mood swings, and with little self-analysis. Their independence means that they prefer to 'go it alone' without wanting the support of others. This last characteristic was supported by the finding that bullies did not need to be socially accepted and agrees with Randall's (2001) view of bullies as being egocentric.

As predicted, the hypotheses relating to aggression are accepted, the IBS subscales showing bullies having very high levels of general aggression, with skills of potential leadership, measured by the high scores of initiating assertiveness. There is also evidence to support the view that some of these bullies had a Type A personality – competitive, aggressive and with a sense of time urgency needed to qualify for the role of being a leader within an organisational setting (Friedman & Rosenman, 1974).

As interpretation of the bully's behaviour is a complex process involving many dimensions and characteristics (being a bully/victim, passive bully, serial bully, and

having a 'potential to bully'). An overall interpretation of the results from the BWQ portrays the self-confessed bullies as having a history of aggressive behaviour (violent incidences were also documented by the Rehabilitation Sample), with a significant relationship (as shown in Table 5.6) between childhood bullying and workplace bullying, which indicates a continuous pattern of aggressive behaviour extending into adulthood (Randall, 1997; 2001).

It is true that 'neither situational nor personal factors entirely suffice to explain how bullying develops' (Einarsen et al., 1994, cited in Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 7). As expressed in this thesis, the question is: Is it the result of the perpetrators' history of bullying, and/or the stressful nature of an organisation that results in managers employing bullying tactics? Perhaps it is that some managers identified in this study used bullying tactics because they did not have the appropriate abilities or emotional skills to meet with the demands of a constantly changing working environment (Jordan & Sheehan, 2000). It is proposed that some organisations respond to these changes by developing a culture where achievement of goals can be justified by managerial bullying. Further investigation into this phenomenon is explored in the next chapter on organisational bullying.

In conclusion, the following hypotheses were supported:

In relation to personality traits, bullies were described as being independent and extrovert which are traits associated with leadership skills. The hypothesis of being emotionally stable is in dispute, as data indicate that bullies in this study may not have had the ability to regulate their emotions, meaning that they lack the skills of perspective taking and empathetic concern for others. As noted by Ireland (1999), these

skills represent cognitive and emotional aspects of empathy. Perhaps an explanation can be illustrated in other research such as Cox and Leather (1994) who found that differences in cognitive function, may be 'related to the expression of aggressive behaviour' (p.224).

In relation to the ICES scale of independence, there was a significant difference in industriousness between bullies and non-bullies. There is much evidence from the IBS, in addition to previous research (Brodsky, 1976; Baron & Neuman, 1998), to support the hypothesis that bullies are more assertive than victims, as well as being more aggressive and hostile.

There was no evidence to support the hypothesis relating to anti-social bullies, as observed by Crawford (1992) and by Randall (1997) in the case of those with psychopathic elements in their personalities. The hypothesis relating to bullies being sadistic harassers, as identified by Brodsky (1976), was also rejected. It is important to note that these authors' research was based on clinical narratives and case studies, and it is possible that these traits could be found in a larger sample of bullies.

Although difficult to analyse, the hypothesis relating to bullies being egocentric, as claimed by Randall (2001), is accepted in the light that some bullies did not identify themselves as being bullies on the BWQ. However, unknown to them, they were self-classified as bullies because of their high scores of aggression on the IBS.

The dynamic process of bullying needs to be 'understood primarily as an interplay between people' (Einarsen et al., 1994, cited in Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 7). As this 'interplay' is a very complex and controversial process, special consideration is given to argue for the profiles of the two main players (victims and bullies) in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Organisational bullying

Introduction

This chapter further develops and explores the personality of the bully and the victim in the previous chapters with a consideration of bullying behaviour at an organisational level (Hoel & Cooper, 2001). It also aims to explore characteristics inherent in human organisations, as described by Einarsen (1996). Central to this chapter is an analysis of three case studies with a theoretical discussion of the role that organisations may play in supporting bullying employees. The proposition is examined as to whether organisations cultivate bullying tactics, or contribute to the 'shaping' of some employees to become bullies. There is also the possibility that organisations may cultivate and maintain an atmosphere, conducive to the perpetuation of such behaviour, thereby exploiting victims, which furthers the ends of organisational needs. This type of exploiting behaviour is mainly for the purposes of achieving profits by imposing, for example, the meeting of unrealistic deadlines. Thus, it involves the interplay of personality characteristics with organisational factors which contribute to workplace bullying, and the responses of these organisations.

Chapter One discussed how research into the phenomenon of workplace bullying was pioneered in Scandinavian and neighbouring countries, where researchers focused on factors contributory to bullying in the working environment (Leymann, 1996; Vartia, 1996). Whilst American (Brodsky, 1976) and British researchers (Crawford, 1992) were the first to identify the source of bullying in personality traits, Scandinavian countries pioneered research into the dynamic interaction between personal and situation-related factors (Zapf et al., 1996; Einarsen, 1999). More recently, a

developing area of research investigates employment organisations and other sources of extended societal influence, such as the home and the wider community (Lee, 1998; Sheehan, 1999).

Randall (1996) claimed that whatever form bullying takes, 'bullies are always aggressive individuals who intend to cause pain or the fear of pain' (cited in Randall & Parker, 2000, p. 90). In organisational settings, aggressive work behaviour is defined by Neuman and Baron (1998) as 'human aggression occurring in ...varied locations where people work. It is our view that many of the factors that have been found to influence human aggression generally may also play a role in the occurrence in workplace aggression' (p. 413). In an attempt to explain and define these in an organisational setting, the social interactionists' theories on aggression can be usefully employed to identify the resultant behaviour. Of particular importance is the emphasis on interpersonal influences in interactive conflict situations between individuals (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993; Leather & Lawrence, 1995).

Learning Theory proposes that personality traits, such as aggression, are established in early childhood, and may become relatively stable over time. Displays of unprovoked unfettered aggression may evolve into established patterns of behaviour, which may culminate in the perpetuation of insidious conduct, often leaving a trail of destruction in its wake. The capacity to reinforce, what is often regarded as learned activity, is enhanced in a climate of acceptability, where, for example, business culture may be a breeding ground where bullying can be further cultivated and fostered. This has been expounded by Bandura (1986), who regards this type of behaviour as primarily

stimulated by external sources or modelling, as illustrated in the aggressive culture of some organisations.

As noted by Crawford (2001), many individuals bring into the workplace their legacy, to which they subject their colleagues, with the result that the individual's personal problem becomes that of the organisation. In other words, unresolved conflicts, originated in childhood, are re-enacted in their working environment to the detriment of both the party targeted by that person and to the ethos and general harmony of the organisation concerned.

It is argued by Crawford (2001) that 'aggression should be regarded as part of our potential' (p. 21). He propounds that management should be accountable for the channelling and curbing of aggression within its organisation. He claims that we all have the capacity to bully, distinctions must be made in the nature, degree and extent of bullying and in its application. It can range from mild forms of aggressive behaviour to violence, resulting in physical, and/or psychological harm to others. It is the organisation's responsibility to deal with the consequences, if it provides conditions which facilitate bullying conduct.

Culture and work practices may provide a solid base for aggressive behaviour to surface and flourish by permitting those employees, so disposed, to freely give vent to their bullying tendencies towards available targets. This is supported in the behavioural framework of Randall's (2001) view of classical conditioning, in that it facilitates the linkage of developmental behaviours and personality with organisational factors. Randall's (2001) model of workplace bullying is set in the domain of learning theories.

His basic assumption is that aggressive behaviour is a sub-set of human aggression usually originating from the developmental processes and expressed as characteristics that are inherent in working organisations (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996).

Keashly (1998) pointed to the difficulty of observing the more subtle forms of aggressive behaviour at work, such as sarcasm, belittling, ridiculing and undermining. She mentions the work of Baron and Neuman (1996), who consider that aggressive workplace bullying tends to be expressed covertly rather than overtly. She further refers to the framework proposed by Buss (1961), who classifies aggressive behaviours into three dichotomies: verbal-physical, direct-indirect, and active-passive, which are then subdivided according to whether the aggression is direct or indirect.

Bjorkqvist et al. (1994) described bullies' behaviour in terms of an effect-danger ratio. This implies that aggressors generally choose aggressive behaviours that effectively harm their prey, whilst at same time exposing as little risk to themselves as possible. In other words, bullies use their social intelligence to minimise risks to themselves (Randall, 1997). The use of social intelligence is considered by Bjorkqvist, Osterman and Kauhiainen (2002) to include various types of conflict behaviour, they observe that empathy with the injured party can reduce aggressive and other anti-social behaviour, but they warn that intelligence may be used to channel aggressive behaviour into indirect expression.

The psychodynamic approach identified bullying by the expression and disposal of aggressive acts (as in interpersonal conflict), which are deemed to be normal everyday behaviour. Such processes are described by Crawford (2001) in the context of

psychodynamic factors, which are characteristic of inherent interactions in organisations. Within this environment, Thylefors (1987, cited in Rayner & Hoel, 1997) suggested that bullying is understood by the identification of scapegoats who fulfill certain personal and organisational needs.

The effect of victims being used as scapegoats is of concern to authors such as McCarthy (1996), who found that these victims tended to accept being bullied as a normal everyday event at work. Although the victims may resent this, they feel that they have no option. They perceive that they are powerless to change the bullying culture that exists in the organisation. As noted by Brodsky (1976), if aggressive behaviour is established as an 'institutional phenomenon which regard harassment as a legitimate means of securing compliance' (cited in Randall, 2001, p. 22), it is hardly surprising if bullies use their position of legitimate power, and/or their personal power to bully others (Greenberg, 2002).

Personal determinants of individuals play a central role in organisational settings. As noted in the previous chapter, bullies have the personality traits of being aggressive and hostile. Victims, on the other hand, are described as being unassertive, sensitive and introverted. Bullies are also characterised by being selfish, malicious, and vindictive; more covert characteristics include being dishonest, inadequate, cowardly and envious (Field, 1997). Some of these characteristics, particularly if the bully is envious of the victim (Vartia, 1996), may act as triggers to maliciously attack their targets.

In organisational settings, Neuman and Baron (1997) reported a significant amount of Type A behaviour, which displays forms of workplace aggression, for example, having

a hostile manner, being obstructive and being overtly aggressive. Miller, Lack and Asroff (1985) suggested that Type A individuals exhibit higher levels of aggression and tend to be in control of group situations. The probability is that Type A individuals lack the ability to monitor their own behaviour and have difficulty in adapting their actions to changing situations. Snyder (1997) re-analysed the results from their Self-Monitoring Scale and found that self-monitoring behaviour has a significant influence on one's social behaviour. Individuals who score high in self-monitoring tend to modify their words and behaviours to create a favourable impression on others. Conversely, those who do not, tend to be provocative and conflictual. Neuman and Baron (1997) found a significant relationship between an individual being obstructive and scoring low on the self-monitoring scale.

It is usually the case that antecedents of bullying tend to vary among organisations. However, most organisations share the same problem of struggling with the effects of significant change processes, as, for example, in the cost cutting moves of the Irish Western Health Board (*Irish Times*, 22/8/2002). To keep abreast of such changes and remain serviceable and competitive in different sectors of employment, organisations have little choice but to enforce organisational and technological change (Cooper, 1999). In response to such pressures, some organisations appear to have developed a culture whereby the achievement of organisational goals justifies the means, that is, 'downsizing' and 'delaying' have become accepted methods to enhance corporate earnings, which are reflected in share market responses to corporate decisions regarding restructuring. Volatile and insecure markets mean these processes are often implemented in an aggressive manner (McCarthy et al., 1995). Within such organisations there is ample opportunity for unfair treatment and harassment on the part

of managers, who are less likely to be challenged by employees (Lee, 1998). There is no doubt in Brodsky's (1976) view that organisations who 'select executives look for a certain kind of toughness' (p. 7). In such working environments, bullying tactics tend to reflect changes in organisational status, that is, managers who are promoted to executive levels tend to adapt their behaviour to fit in with the expectations of the organisation and their elevated status.

In observing such behaviour, several organisations report that high levels of bullying are evident from top to bottom of the organisational rankings (Hoel & Cooper, 2001), which implies that aggressive behaviour and bullying tactics may be used for survival purposes, where employees perceive they have no recourse to other means. Behaviours can change to adapt to new situations, as in this case, the situational factors, bullying at an organisational level. In these case the organisation can act as a trigger to activate an individual's inherent behaviour.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that the debate is inconclusive in that personality cannot be proven to be the primary reason for bullying, nor can it be disproved. The same applies to organisational factors. Thus, both personality and organisational factors could be equally involved in the causation of bullying. As referred to in Chapter Two, the view taken in this thesis is that personality is made up of stable traits. It is suggested that a hostile work environment, may act as a trigger for aggressive individuals to bully, by facilitating them to actively express their inherent aggression.

The case examples in this chapter are intended to serve as illustrations to demonstrate that some work environments can create the 'potential to bully' for aggressive individuals in highly competitive and stressful situations, and that some individuals are selected as scapegoats.

Case example A (of potential to bully)

'A combination of bullying, laziness and weak management allowed a foreign exchange dealer (a junior manager employed as a dealer) to defraud a bank' (*Irish Times*, 15/3/2002).

A subsidiary bank of an Irish Financial Institution in the USA claimed that the foreign exchange dealer (Mr A) bullied junior officials who queried his trades. Although there were numerous complaints about Mr A's transactions, he was supported by senior management. The final result was the suspension and investigation of Mr. A, with a loss to the Dublin-based bank of six hundred and ninety one million dollars. In effect, six officials made an 'exit' from the organisation, two were asked to leave, two took early retirements and a further two were 'stepped down'.

Organisational rankings of these employees included: Mr A's immediate boss, the bank's middle ranking manger, two vice-presidents who were responsible for monitoring Mr. A, and two auditors. In addition, two high ranking executives, one in US and one in Dublin have taken early retirement, and a former executive and chief executive have 'stepped down'. Lastly, both the chairman and chief executive of the parent bank offered to resign over the losses, but their resignations were not accepted.

Organisation as a contributory factor

The investigation as reported in the *Irish Times* placed the bulk of the blame at the bank's own door, in that the systems put in place to monitor Mr A were inadequate, not properly enforced, and easily side-stepped by him. Officials in the US and in Dublin did not pay attention to what he was doing and most of his superiors did not understand what he actually did. Several instances were listed of how management missed opportunities for detecting fraud, which began in 1997. For example, when the bank asked about the size of Mr A's trading, for some unexplained reason management did not question him on this matter. It could be argued that this case study illustrated a scenario where the bullying tactics of the junior manager may have been in the interest of the organisation and received tacit approval.

Several features in this case study are of particular interest. Some colleagues of Mr A were used as scapegoats, and many of his co-workers had reported and requested that the bullying should be investigated. However, senior members of the organisation portrayed an impression that they did not believe bullying existed. As Crawford (2001) previously expressed it, 'they wanted to distance themselves from any possibility of being damaged by any flak or fallout that may occur' (p. 25). Regardless of this factor, it seems that these incidences of bullying are obvious signals that the organisation requires a comprehensive review, with a particular emphasis on dealing with bullies.

Personality characteristics as a contributory factor

Mr A was portrayed as 'an unusually clever and devious man, who could be extremely aggressive and very abusive . . . (and a) family man and a regular church goer' (*Irish*

Times, 15/3/2002), which could suggest that Mr A presented a conventional front covering an aggressive personality. These implicit personality views, although unsupported by any test material, do support the view that Mr. A's personality was a contributory factor.

The chairman's personality is illustrated by his action at a fairly fractious share holders' annual meeting, when, acting on his orders, an angry share-holder was silenced by switching off his microphone, and was then 'removed from the room, by six strong men with earphones' (*Irish Times*, 15/3/2002). It could be argued that the chairman's aggressive behaviour was sparked by the situation where the assertive shareholder asked questions (to which the chairman clearly did not want to respond), which acted as a trigger for the chairman to express his inherent aggression.

Analysis of case study

The above case study illustrates how personality and situational factors in a stressful working environment can contribute to bullying within an organisational setting. It is questionable if senior management cultivated such an aggressive environment to promote bullying tactics. However, the types of incompetent manager identified by O'Moore (2000) could arguably fit into the description of middle and senior management here, who were aware of Mr A's bullying tactics and did nothing to stop him. The case illustration of bullying tactics also ties in with the 'managerial style of bullying' by junior and senior management, as described by Sheehan (2001), and also observed by Archer (1999), where weak management was reported as an explanation for allowing bullying to continue.

Findings from the above case study also concur with those of Bray (1992), where a manager's ramifications of hostility were allowed to grow in a setting when senior management failed to address the problem. In the A case it was reported that many employees complained about Mr A's bullying strategies, but were consistently ignored by senior management. It was only when an employee found hard evidence of the dealer's fraud that management were forced to take action. This fact supports Jordan and Sheehan's (2000) contention that bullying is a hidden phenomenon in the working environment, in that senior management may chose to ignore reports of bullying tactics by lower managers, in order to perpetuate a climate of compliance and secrecy, to further the organisations' own objectives.

This finding is contrary to those of Rayner (1997), who found that 95% of employees indicated that they were too frightened to report incidents of bullying. This high percentage of unreported cases is hardly surprising in an unstable and 'hire and fire' job market. (An example: Jack Welch's (2001) style of management is typically demonstrated by ordering his department managers to cut 10% of their workforce every year). It is hardly surprising that this created a highly competitive and stressful working environment that was open to 'organisational bullying'. In the present case study it was only when Mr A's fraud was made obvious to his superiors that he was dismissed. Until that time, his bullying personality was able to thrive in that particular environment. This case study illustrates that organisations can provide situations to cultivate bullying, and that Mr A's personal goals were achieved when opportunities were provided for the release of his aggression (e.g., bullying tactics) and dishonesty (e.g., defrauding the bank).

Case example B (of a bully/victim)

One of the very small percentage who did report incidents of bullying was an Irish manager employed in a highly competitive national banking organisation. She is the subject of the following case study.

This case study involves a former director, who was forced to resign after allegedly being ‘traumatised by bullying’ (*Irish Times*, 23/7/2002). She also indicated that other employees had been bullied and that observers were traumatised by the consequences of such behaviour. A Labour Court hearing followed, which centred on assessing Ms B’s mental state and her ability to cope. Ms B’s counsellor said that Ms B had visited him between 60 and 80 times, and during this time appeared “anxious but at the same time seemed very efficient” (*Irish Times*, 27/7/2002).

The managing director’s defence was that, in addition to Ms B’s aggressive and anxious state, she was at times very efficient but also abusive in the general manner of conducting her work duties. The MD said that he was informed of a shareholder who asked Ms B to try and sell some of the company discreetly, for which purpose she made some ‘informal’ enquiries (it is questionable whether this meeting was a ‘set-up’ to test the market and to have a case against Ms B). Although the MD claimed he never spoke ill of Ms B, he vehemently lobbied to block Ms B’s appointment to a higher managerial ranking. Whereupon Ms B ‘became irate . . . she was as “high as a kite” with rage’ (*Irish Times*, 27/7/2002) and took a case against the bank, arguing that the alleged blocking of her appointment amounted to a refutation of her employment contract, she

then being vilified and destroyed. She concluded this sufficient to constitute constructive dismissal. The atmosphere in which she had found herself, she contended, was such as to render it impossible for her to remain in her then position. She described herself as suffering the ill effects of this trauma by being depressed, with lower levels of self-confidence and withdrawal from society.

Analysis of case example

The above case of Ms B illustrates the complexities of the interplay of personality traits and organisational factors. It is possible that Ms B became a scapegoat to suit organisational needs in relation to testing the market for takeover. Personality traits of both bully and victim also can be drawn from the descriptions of her as anxious, aggressive and abusive. At an organisational level, Ms B's behaviour could be explained as employee resistance to managerial control, in that she appeared to have ignored company policy by agreeing to meet a shareholder privately, without informing her superiors. The consequences of this may have served to provoke retaliatory behaviour on the part of senior management, with Ms B's promotion being blocked and the resultant forced resignation.

It is also possible that, because of the consequence of utilitarian methods adopted by senior management to gain compliance, and the increasing stress they themselves were experiencing, they resorted to bullying tactics. It could be that as the alleged victim, Ms B played to the organisational needs (of testing the market), and thus provided an acceptable response for the managing director to block Ms B's promotion. It could be argued that Ms B at times displayed poor emotional regulation and less social

intelligence, which might suggest that she would use bullying tactics against others, in response to her own uncontrolled emotions.

However, this is somewhat complicated by the fact that Ms B's counsellor claimed that although she was emotional and anxious, she was also very efficient and aggressive. It could be that Ms B was so anxious that she was less effective in social skills and social intelligence, and used bullying to defend her reputation, a tactic also reported by Randall (2001). The managing director of the organisation, who lacked empathetic concern and perspective-taking, bullied Ms. B in response. By complaining, she was perceived to have acted disloyally. This case illustrates the potential to manifest the diverse characteristics of both a victim and a bully. Ms B was overtly aggressive and anxious, with psychological ill effects of being depressed, having lower levels of self-confidence and social withdrawal. Again, it could be argued that these traits were overtly expressed in the described situations.

Case example C (of a victim)

This case study is derived from a victim in the pilot study reported in Chapter Three and involves Ms C, who has a long standing employment record of 30 years as a loyal sales executive in a magazine organisation. In terms of personal characteristics, Ms C described herself as being well-balanced, stable, healthy, and happy, with an outgoing personality that reflected her social activities and life. Although Ms C described her work environment as competitive and at times pressurised, work demands were fair and set within realistic goals that were rewarded within a warm supportive setting.

However, in her 30th year of employment, her stable, social and productive workplace was taken over by new management. Within a few days, the work culture changed to extremely stressful demands, early team meetings at 07.30 and longer working hours under constant supervision of a 'bullying manager', where all employees' moves were closely monitored. Other work changes included unrealistic work demands with cost cutting measures, for example, UK and country work meetings that previously involved overnighing were curtailed to sometimes as much as 16-hour days. Not surprisingly, and despite difficulties in finding other employment, some of Ms C's colleagues preferred to take what they perceived to be the less stressful route and left the company (without any attractive severance package).

According to Ms C, the action of her ex-colleagues and friends seemed to be part of the new organisational plan to reduce the workforce. Ms C continued to recount numerous incidents of the organisation's abusive style of management, to the extent that her former immediate boss, who she also described as a social friend, seemed to change his behaviour towards her and other team members overnight by becoming extremely aggressive. In addition, her superior seemed to be very stressed and said that he was only carrying out orders from management (he is currently out of work owing to a stress-related illness).

The effects of these changes in the organisation by the coercive managerial styles, including less social involvement, made Ms C and her colleagues feel intimidated and humiliated. They felt that their rights were violated and that they were no longer part of the company, that had meant so much to them. Some colleagues and Ms C resented and

also resisted these changes, but to no avail, as management chose to ignore such notions.

The results of such changes for Ms C and some colleagues was the negative impact on their physical and psychological well-being, and the quality of their relationships at work and in their home environments. Ms C described her personality as having changed, she was no longer the fun-loving person she had been. She experienced depression with deep black periods, particularly on Sunday evenings, in anticipation of returning to work on Monday. Her sleep and eating habits were disturbed, coupled with a stomach disorder which affected her life. As a result, she took nearly six months' sick leave and is still recovering from hospital treatment for a bleeding ulcer and for depression. She is still under medical supervision and is now working part-time.

It is not possible to determine whether Ms C was depressed before the bullying incidents. From her own account she described herself as being an outgoing, happy person, before she was bullied and that she had changed as a result of being bullied. However, when questioned on earlier life experiences, she did say she was awkward, shy and timid, with the result that she was bullied at school. With the social support of her parents, she managed to overcome her shyness and cope with the situation, although the scars had somewhat healed, they were still there to remind her of her childhood experiences.

However, what seems clear is that the bullies' aggressive behaviour combined with the stressful conditions at work seem to have made her a more likely target. It could be

argued that the organisation acted as a trigger for inherent shyness and non-assertive behaviours to be re-enacted.

Analysis of case example

It is evident from the above case that the effects of bullying adversely affected Ms C in an unhealthy environment created by the organisation. This resulted in adverse physical and psychological effects (Einarsen et al., 1996), and lowered levels of motivation with 'greatly reduced loyalty' (Randall, 2001, p. 50) to her employer.

Ms C described bullying tactics by management that were devious and at times subtle. These hurt her, and, in some cases, were difficult for observers to identify, particularly when perpetrated insidiously (Adams, 1992). Such actions seemed to throw Ms C into a downward spiral, shattering her and some of her colleagues' own beliefs about their worth and abilities (Wright & Smye, 1996). It took laughter and fun out of their work and social lives, and diminished the 'feel good factors' (Randall, 1997, p. 4) in the workplace. This case exemplifies a predisposition to succumb to bullying in a climate that is designed to facilitate organisational goals (usually profits, irrespective as to how this is achieved). However, as Ms C described her childhood personality as being timid and shy, it could be that these traits were only too ready to be expressed in such a perceived threatening environment.

Discussion

Although the case studies mainly serve as an illustration, it is clear that both personality and organisational factors play a role in workplace bullying. What is unclear is the ratio of the roles, that is, whether personality plays a greater role than organisations, whether or it is the organisation that acts as a trigger for inherent behaviour to be expressed. This thesis expresses the view that the situation sets the framework for an individual's inherent disposition to be expressed. An example of this is when an individual is shy (as in Ms C's case) these stable characteristics will come to the surface when faced with aggressive and stressful situations. The same applies to individuals who are aggressive (as in Mr A's case).

Bullying at an organisational level can create a hostile and in some cases a dysfunctional work environment. These organisational effects can be 'cumulative,... corrosive and completely unacceptable' (Randall, 1997, p. 54). Such environments tend to result in reduced employee well-being, with negative and destructive effects, which include, as evidenced in the above cases, reduced commitment and enthusiasm, lack of employee motivation, higher absenteeism, high personnel turnover, lack of loyalty, creativity, vision, job satisfaction and morale (Randall, 1997; Leymann, 1996). The evidence shows that in such abusive workplaces, there is 'little time, or mental energy for inspiration' (Wright & Smye, 1996, p. 183).

In the case examples, individuals related how some of their colleagues also suffered the effects of bullying. Consequently, some of them took sick leave, with the knock-on effect of increasing the work load for other colleagues, resulting in instances of more absenteeism. As noted by Field (1996), these are 'hardly the ingredients for a

productive workplace' (p. 7). On a closer inspection of employees' extended sick leave, Leymann (1990) estimated such costs in a range of between \$30,000 and \$100,000 for each victim. Some of these costs include the organisation and the government's contribution to the employees' sick payments, as well as occupational health staff. It involves the inconvenience of employing temporary workers and a drop in work productivity. The chain of organisational effects is clearly linked to costs due to ill health with a considerable proportion being linked to the effects of workplace bullying (Cooper, 2002).

It is the responsibility of organisations in the UK to provide a safe working environment with a general duty of care for their employees, as outlined in the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974. In Ireland, the Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act (1989) is similar in its statutory requirements. New legislation is to be implemented in Ireland in early January 2003, when employers will be obliged under statute to report incidents of bullying. It is anticipated that this legislation will open a 'flood gate' of potential bullying cases.

The main priorities will be to create a safe environment free from bullying, and not to become an environment for breeding bullies (Lewis, 1999). Organisations should have the ability to recognise early warning signs by providing support systems for victims by implementing disciplinary action in the event of bullying occurring, and thus demonstrating commitment to eradicate aggressive behaviours from the organisation's repertoire. Procedures should be effected with an in-house policy that involves input from employees of all levels with clear understanding of the nature and consequences of such behaviour. Such a definition must include the internal culture of the organisation

and understanding of workplace bullying. This understanding can be obtained from discussion, where bullies can be identified by means of a focus group approach (Liefoghe & Olafsson, 1999).

Some researchers, such as Keashley (2001), suggest that organisations are responsible for how they manage their bullied employees and the bullies. Brodsky (1976) observed that bullying could exist in an environment where organisations directly or indirectly did not condone bullying behaviour. In such circumstances, a company caution may be implemented with knowledge or acquiescence to demonstrate that management actively discourage such behaviour, by having in place a process of sanctions to deal with the bullying.

It is crucial that organisations adopt a serious approach to workplace bullying. Leather, Cox, Beale and Fletcher (1998) suggests that organisations should implement an integrated approach to deal with bullying. Bullying behaviour should be 'tackled at the levels of the organisation, the work team and the individual, by the incorporation of risk-measures into policies, procedures, systems, practice and behaviour' (Beale, 2001, p. 91).

There is general agreement that organisations would use informal procedures. It is expected that in most cases counselling will be part of an intervention strategy with the aim of improving bullies' and victims' coping skills to deal with the situation (Einarsen & Hellesoy, 1991). These coping skills should include financial and social resources, as well as their skills in the labour market. In this light, victims are assessed as to whether

they should fight on, or 'exit' from the organisation, possibly the healthier long-term solution.

Such counselling services and employee assistance schemes, implemented to look after the general well-being of employees, have been put in place by psychologists such as Randall and Parker (2000). It is noted that these authors' involvement in operating these schemes provides a wealth of evidence indicating the need for them. An earlier worker in this field was Andrea Adams (1992), who suggested a constructive response to protect workers from bullying and from being the targets of such organisational behaviour.

It seems possible that the junior managers described in the previous cases were shaped by organisational demands, to achieve some objectives of their senior managers in terms of utilising colleagues and other resources. It is evident in all cases that the bullying ground is ripe in those organisations where personal or organisational confrontation is discouraged and where short-term organisational gains are placed at a higher value. As illustrated in the examples, organisations were highly competitive with high levels of workplace stress, as was also found in Jordan and Sheehan's (2000) research.

It is uncertain if gender differences in emotional reactions illustrated in these case studies reflect the findings of Bjorkqvist et al. (1994), where females were more likely to use social manipulation, whilst males tended to use rational-appealing aggression. Although there are differences in gender responses, both behaviours are variants of covert aggression, which is used in an attempt to disguise aggressive actions in order to

avoid retaliation. This occurred, in the cases of Mr A and Ms B and resulted in them resigning from their respective organisations.

It could be argued that all cases fit into Type A pattern behaviour, in that they were not effective in self-monitoring (as identified by Snyder, 1987) and found it difficult to adjust their tactics within a changing and escalating conflict situation. It should be clear from the above case studies and discussion, that the impact of both personality and the environment seem to be of importance as explanatory factors of workplace bullying. With increasing organisational demands, it could be argued that an environment may be created which encourages the potential to bully; especially when organisations pride themselves on strong management which can, as noted by Spiers (1995), be disguised as effective management.

It is clear from these case studies that bullies should be addressed proactively. Managers within organisational settings should welcome reports of bullying as opportunities for understanding the nature of such behaviour. It is recommended that managers need to develop a sense of awareness and be adaptable to change, if they are in turn to assist others in coping with changes in the workplace. Training in social skills may help managers deal with the emotional needs of others in an empathic manner, rather than through the use of coercive bullying behaviour (Jordan & Sheehan, 2000).

Although a bullying policy may be in place, it is hoped that management would first recognise and detect the source of bullying, and then deal with the genesis of the problem, such as identified in the case examples, and so implement the recommendation for organisations to 'improve the risk-control environment' (*Irish Times*, 24/3/2002).

Crawford (2001) stressed that employees should think before reaching the conclusion that they were bullied, in as much as some may think they are victims, contrary to the fact that they were doing the bullying! One can easily identify a big lout pushing his weight around; however, it is much more difficult to identify the more subtle forms of bullying, which can create a bigger problem for management. In terms of an anti-bullying policy, organisations should be aware of this possibility and ensure the right balance between the alleged bullies and their victims is activated. 'The issue of truth is paramount. But whom should you believe?' (Crawford, 2001, p. 24).

It is highly likely that organisations who ignore or condone bullying will increase the level of bullying, and also increase the potential for more physical violence to occur (Beale, 2001). This also applies to victims, in that the fear of being bullied may lead them to lose control and challenge their persecutors (Randall, 1997). If such escalating behaviours are not recognised or resolved by the organisation, they can build up to a point of retaliation and revenge, a fact acknowledged by a number of authors (Fox & Levin, 1994; Baron et al., 1999; Beale, 2001). If organisational bullying continues to be ignored, 'the target may not be the only person who suffers in the long term, if 'the worm turns' to take revenge on the perpetrator or the organisation' (Beale, 2001, p. 81). In relation to the Mr A case: the revenge of the 'perpetrator' resulted in six senior officials being fired and the personal reputation of the managing director and chief executive being left in doubt. The revenge of the 'organisation' resulted in the loss of millions of dollars, and the loss of credibility in the management of the bank.

Harrassment and bullying have been the subject of considerable debate in recent times, in particular, in relation to cases presided over by the Irish Employment Appeals

Tribunal (EAT). While the law in Ireland is in a developing stage, the English cases will serve to be of persuasive influences, in any future decisions in this jurisdiction. In the last five years a body of law has evolved, some of which has been enshrined in Statute, while yet more to be codified and enshrined in Statutory law.

Developing trends in other jurisdictions suggest that stress-related illness and consequential damage are grounds for compensation, in particular, if of a bullying related nature. These grounds have not been tested in Ireland to any substantial degree. However, the indications are in relation to the forthcoming legislation, that this route will be followed to ensure a more equitable and healthy working environment and inhibit the destructive pursuit of bullying.

It is clear that the Irish Government recognises the legal implications, economic and health effects that workplace bullying can contribute to. It is also important to recognise how bullying might affect employers and employees at an organisational level, and to address the possible underlying causes. In other words to recognise that bullying is an organisational issue to establish if it is organisational factors and or the personality of the individuals.

In conclusion, organisational factors were not studied in depth because the main focus of this thesis was on personality traits of victims and bullies. Nevertheless, it was essential to include a chapter related to organisational settings in order to explore how these factors may contribute to workplace bullying.

There is evidence to suggest that personality and organisational factors both play a role in the causation of bullying. Different personalities interact in the workplace, and, as seen in this chapter, may fall into the categories of bully, victim and arguably along the continuum of a bully-victim. Such categories may be aided by the organisational structure and aims. It is argued that managerial positions and success within an organisation may be achieved by means of bullying tactics.

The rationale of this chapter clearly illustrated how different personalities interact in organisations. The case studies cited in this chapter reinforce the views of Randall (2001) that an organisation can act as a trigger to release inherent traits. Thus suggesting the way in which personality factors can contribute to the bullying scenario.

Chapter Seven: Final Discussion

Introduction

This research was undertaken to try to identify the factors contributory to workplace bullying, the aspects of the organisational setting, and, in particular, the personalities of the persons involved. The whole picture might be likened to a Gestalt, in which these factors cannot be considered alone without falsifying that picture.

The focus in the sixth and final section of this thesis is to present a synopsis of the main findings of the previous chapters. This will cover the following areas:

The 'literature reviews' in section one, which highlighted relevant research contributed to a further understanding of bullying behaviour and the role of personality at work. Section two, the 'antecedents of bullying at work' reported on the findings of organisational and personality factors from a pilot study. This was followed by section three, the 'victim profile' which reported on the findings of a main and subsidiary study of victims' personality. Section four, the 'bully profile' reported on findings from different organisations of bullies' personality. Finally section five 'bullying at an organisational level', explored the role that individuals played in organisations, and the 'contribution of personality factors to bullying in the workplace'.

The aim of this chapter is to summarise the discussion points made in each of the preceding chapters, to draw attention to the shortcomings, and to consider theoretical frameworks for further research.

Reflections on the literature reviews

Chapter One described how workplace bullying used concepts similar to those found in the school bullying literature, and produces effects similar to those described as stress at work (Cooper, 1997), violence in the workplace (Leather et al., 1999), and aggression at work (Newman & Baron, 1995). Although related, the definitions and terminology among these concepts vary, which also applies in the case of bullying. For example, it can be defined as mobbing, abuse, harassment, or psychological terror (Rayner et al., 1999). Rayner (1997) suggested a need for definitional parameters to allow for the construct of bullying to expand in order to understand the frequency and extent of bullying.

What still needs to be answered is whether these parameters can be applied in different contexts and to all targets of bullying (Cowie et. al., 2002). Other researchers such as Hoel et al. (1999) seem to agree that the intent of the bully should be included in definitions, as also the imbalance of power between victims and bullies.

Chapter Two of the literature review attempted to identify the causes and effects of personality in workplace bullying. As noted by Furnham (1999), personality theories assume that personality is an independent variable and observe its relationship with a work-related behaviour, in this case, bullying. Some occupational/work theorists take the view of the independent variable as the work variable, and examine its relationship with what they consider to be the dependent variable, in this case, the personality of the individual. Leymann (1996) is the best known exponent of this view in his belief that bullying causes the individual's personality to change.

The position taken in this thesis is: (A) that the personality of victims predisposes them to being bullied; and (B) that the personality of bullies predisposes them to engage in bullying behaviour.

A search of the literature was unable to establish if a victim's personality profile was instrumental to their being bullied, or was a result of being bullied. A similar situation applied to bullies. Research of some complexity is needed and these kinds of facts can only be firmly established via longitudinal type enquiries.

The theoretical argument involves those who point to the relative immutability of traits and who hold that adult personality is stable after thirty years of age (Costa & McCrae, 1994). In contrast, some other researchers (Helson & Stewart, 1994) have data for malleability in adulthood. Within the limits set by genetics and life circumstances there is room for growth and adaptation. As, for example, an emotionally stable person may become neurotic as a consequence of worrying about a sick child.

Trait theorists, such as Cattell (1945), Eysenck (1969, cited in Eysenck & Eysenck, 1969), and Costa and McCrae (1980), hold the view that for a situation to have an effect on victims, they must already be predisposed to respond to that effect. In other words, victims, who, for example, are anxious and self-withdrawn as an apparent result of being bullied, must have already had those traits. As discussed in Chapter Two, these individuals tend to become more anxious in such settings (Fontana, 2000). Randall (2001) offers an explanation in suggesting that victims who are inherently anxious are more likely to show anxiety when placed in very competitive and stressful workplaces.

The literature (Hoel et al., 1999) expressed much concern with the effects of labelling individuals in early childhood in terms of a self-fulfilling prophecy. The concern held by Randall and Parker (2000) is that some adult victims 'cannot move on from being paralysed' (p. 90) by their bullying experience. At the other extreme, some adult bullies developed a self-fulfilling prophecy from becoming 'hooked on the reinforcement that bullying brings them' (Randall & Parker, 2000, p. 91).

Some researchers such as Einarsen et al. (1994) agreed that personality did play a role in workplace bullying; at a later date the main author Einarsen (2000) stated that researching personality in the workplace was still an issue, and that it was debatable whether, in the words of Hoel and Cooper (2001), 'personality characteristics actually should be considered as causes of the bullying process' (p. 7). Taking into account the above view expressed by the latter authors, the first study in Chapter Three examined all reported contributory factors of bullying as told by a sample of victims.

Introduction to studies

Before describing the three studies undertaken by the author, it is necessary to describe the methods used. The first method used self-reported responses with personality inventories, where some of the 'bullying' variables were measured by questionnaire ratings. The same method also applied to the use of personality tests (16PF5, ICES, CFSEI-2, and the IBS). The second method used measurements of behaviour, as, for example, the expression of aggressive behaviour (measured from the IBS). Although there was a social desirability scale in the personality tests, one should be aware that

both the behavioural and self-reports measures can suffer from systematic errors, for example, in attempting to produce a favourable impression, or form an anxious reluctance to admit to some characteristics.

It should be noted that the managers of numerous organisations contacted to help in the studies did not allow access to conduct interviews with their employees. General explanations were that management were unhappy with the idea of employees taking part in the surveys for fear that they may begin to challenge aspects of their working environment. This would seem a very relevant objection, particularly if the managers are the bullies, and will 'obviously try and hide their dirty secret' (Wright & Smye, 1996, p. 5). The researcher was successful in gaining access to two organisations, and, although confidentiality codes were strictly adhered to, many employees within these organisations were reluctant to take part in the respective surveys.

Although Scandinavian researchers first started to investigate workplace bullying in the late 1980s, they were not allowed to conduct surveys in organisations, as the issue was still taboo. In addition, there were ethical concerns about researching adult personality in the working environment (Einarsen, 2000). A similar attitude was extended to focusing on personality as a causal factor in school bullying (Olweus, 1991). Although it is important to be aware that adult bullying can be more complex and less apparent than school bullying, it seems a logical step to extend this type of research into the workplace. Clearly there are restrictive time factors and difficulties in obtaining such data, and it was only possible for the present researcher to conduct retrospective analyses to establish such findings.

There was also the sensitive issue of collecting such data, which was addressed by the researcher, by not assigning the role of a victim or bully; also confidentiality was assured and communications were open between the respondents and interviewer after the studies were completed. Allowing for the fact that many studies into workplace bullying (Einarsen et al., 1994; Zapf et al., 1996; Rayner, 1997) provide insights into bullying behaviours, to gain a complete picture necessitates studies that can provide profiles both of bullies and victims.

Although further research is also obviously needed into organisational factors, there is a more serious lack of research into personality as a possible contributory factor; it is for this reason that the focus here is firstly on the personality traits of the victim, to be followed by a similar focus on the bully, and then on how the bully and victim interact together in the workplace.

This thesis agrees with the notion that personality traits are stable and are triggered by situations, such as those in the bullying arena, where the organisation is the trigger that ignites inherent behaviours. However, individuals must have a predisposition to act in their designated roles of victim or bully (and in some cases the bully/victim), implying a predisposition coupled with trait stability, that is expressed, for example, as an aggressive, or timid individual in the work environment.

Chapter three

The first study conducted by the author was designed to expand on the present understanding of workplace bullying and identify the contributory effects. For this work, the researcher took advantage of a sample of those attending the Anti-Bullying Centre at Trinity College who wanted to 'tell their story' of being bullied. Chapter Three reported the results of this pilot study conducted with these self-selected victims. An interview schedule (Seigne, 1996) was used to ascertain if these victims were correctly classified as victims, in terms of the frequency and types of bullying behaviour they were exposed to, and then a personal history was taken. Personality factors were measured by Cattells' 16PF5 to ascertain if their personality was a contributory factor to being bullied at work.

Findings from this pilot study agree with those of Keashly (2000), who found that organisational factors played a part in the interpretation of and selection of persons who were abused in the workplace, in that most of the victims claimed that organisational factors also played a significant role in being bullied at work. Nearly all victims reported that their working environment was stressful and that interpersonal conflict was present.

There was agreement on the adverse effects of being victimised, which were psychologically characterised by feeling depressed, helpless, and at the 'mercy of any would be aggressor' (Randall & Parker, 2000, p. 8). Victims also characterised themselves as having a low self-esteem, which in some cases contributed to their being socially withdrawn. They also reported having physical effects associated with

depression (such as disturbed sleep and crying), headaches, stomach disorders, and some cases expressed in behaviour; through eating disorders, and/or an increased intake of alcohol. In agreement with Niedl's findings (1996), it was evident during the interview that most victims showed symptoms of negative well-being. It could be that some of these self-selected victims were more vulnerable and had a history of health concerns that contributed to the physical and psychological symptoms of their being bullied.

Results from Cattells' 16PF5 administered in the final stage of the interviews found that these victims were anxious, apprehensive, introverted, sensitive and emotionally unstable. Similar personality traits of victims were also found by Zapf (1999), who considered them a partial cause for being bullied at work. Another cause may be, as reported by the victims, that they had difficulty in integrating with some of their colleagues, and classified themselves as being a 'different' type of person. Being different from the rest of the group adds to the risk of being made a scapegoat (Thylefors, 1987, cited in Rayner & Hoel, 1997), in order ultimately to fulfill 'certain organisational and personal needs' (Randall, 2001, p. 7).

It was notable that all victims made reference to the personality deficiencies of the bullies, describing them in terms similar to those used by O'Moore (2000), as being insecure, having their egos threatened, being aggressive, and having a need for control. Although they considered that it was the bullies' difficult personality that led to the bullying, they did, however, perceive that it could be because they were in some way different from others that contributed to their being victimised. An explanation could be drawn from attribution theory (Kelly, 1972), that, in not blaming themselves, and to

protect themselves, they project the blame on to the environment and ‘increasingly attribute blame to their opponent’ (Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 8).

Victims also suspected that bullies were unhappy in their homes, and brought their unhappiness ‘to work and (to) take it out on others’ (O’Moore, 2001, p. 8). This somewhat reflects research conducted by Warr (1992), who examined the ‘spill-over’ effect of work and other social settings, where people who have problems in the social environment bring them to work and vice-versa. Most of the victims in the pilot study reported that their home and social environments were adversely affected as a result of being bullied. Further research is needed into how reliable victims are in reporting their perceptions of being bullied and how it may be affected by their working and social environments.

While the relationship between school and workplace bullying was more fully considered in the following section of the thesis dealing with a victim profile, it was noted that over half the sample were also bullied at school, and just under a third also confessed to being both victim and bully. Gilmartin (1997) reported that bullied children tended to avoid making close relations with others in later life, and it may be significant that over half of the victims were single, with a mean age of forty years (16 of 21 females, and one male out of nine was single).

Although many organisations may be sympathetic to family, social and environmental sources of stress, it is reasonable for them to expect that the effect of these stressors should not ‘spill over’ into the work environment. Nevertheless, according to some of the respondents in this study, some of the employers seemed to be concerned for the

mental and physical well-being of their employees, and provided victims with support to help regain their personal and work confidence. One related area of concern, reported by a counsellor in the Anti-Bullying Centre, is that some therapists are emotionally drained from counselling victims. This counsellor gave a subjective account of how counsellors or carers can become the victims, and 'in (our) ability to empathise with suffering . . . we don't know how to look after ourselves . . . (and as a result suffer from the) phenomenon of compassion fatigue' (*Irish Times*, 12/04/2002). Findings from this study are in agreement with those of Randall (1997), in that the effects of workplace bullying are crippling and pervasive, with nearly half of the sample leaving their jobs because of their experiences of being bullied.

To summarise, this pilot study showed that bullying could be usefully measured from a sample of self-reporting victims. It seems that the results could be a basis for a fuller consideration of the interplay between organisational factors and personality, and in particular, for a more intensive examination of the personality makeup of those involved in bullying situations.

There were, of course, several deficiencies in the pilot study. These included the fact that the sample was self-selected and small, there was no control group, and the measures taken needed to be refined. For this reason a second study was designed which used larger control and experimental groups within their work settings, and used more appropriate measuring tools.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four reports research conducted with victims within the working environment, and includes case analyses of both experimental and control groups. In this investigation, a more detailed version of the interview schedule was used, together with three different personality tests to replace Cattells' 16PF5, namely the ICES, IBS, and CFSEI-2, with the aim of investigating the possible existence of a personality profile of victims. Differences between victims and non-victims were evident on the personality tests. A typical profile emerged of victims, in agreement with other research (Zapf, 2001), who also found victims to be dependent, introverted, emotionally unstable, and conscientious. As reported, most victims were bullied by predatory bullies, because they were easy targets (and arguably served as scapegoats). There seemed to be only a few victims who fitted into Einarsen's (1999) description of being bullied because of work-related conflict, although working environments were often described as being stressful.

In the light of research into school bullying (Olweus, 1978), it seems reasonable to suppose that the personality traits established in school victims resemble those of victims of work bullying in so far as the personality traits of victims are relatively stable. However, the role played by being bullied at school in relation to being bullied at work is a complex one. Although several suggestions were offered in Part Two of chapter Four as possible explanations of why there is not a higher correlation between the two occasions, it is clear that more research is needed to this issue.

There was no problem in accepting that those who were not bullied at school would also not be bullied at work; they form a control group of non-victims. Those who were

bullied both at school and at work would appear to be exemplars of the persistent trait theory. They have personalities which led them to be singled out for the attentions of a bully. However, one group were not bullied at school, but were victims in the workplace; in their case a tentative explanation was put forward that the support they received from home, school, etc., was sufficient to enable them to get through school, but was no longer available when they went to work. The fourth group were bullied at school but not at work, and they approximate to the 'true victim' group. In their case it is possible that the nature of the bullying they received at school differed from anything they might have experienced at work, and they classified the latter differently; in the former case it was possibly more physical and obvious.

There were obviously shortcomings in the above research, mainly because it only tells us about the personality traits of the victim, and not of the bully. That is, one has only one-side of the bullying equation; other parts, such as the bully and organisational factors need to be examined to complete the overall picture of bullying. For this reason, the next chapter reports an attempt to establish a bully profile, and to discover how it fits into the overall picture and explanation of bullying.

Chapter Five

The difficulty in finding bullies has presumably been responsible for the dearth of research. The author found this to be the case, and, as reported in Chapter Five, was able to investigate only a small sample. It is also clear, in agreement with Ross (1996), that the issue of defining bullying behaviour is far from resolved. As was the case with

victims, where attempts have been made to define operationally when they could be considered to have been bullied, similar definitions are needed to describe bullies.

These could refer to the frequency with which one bullied to deserve the term 'bully', and whether bullies have other behavioural problems. There is a need to delineate the field of bullying from the related fields of aggression and violence, whilst at the same time acknowledging that links exist.

Taking the sample as a whole, the levels of involvement in aggressive behaviour were all significantly correlated with the IBS general aggressiveness scale. This finding supports the main hypothesis that bullies will be more aggressive than non-bullies. This aggression is usually expressed in the social and working environment, and means that in some organisations aggressive behaviour can be the driving vehicle that allows bullies to be successful, success being measured by their achievement of organisational goals. Hence these types of bullies are tolerated as long as they achieve the goals of the organisation.

The different professions and work settings of the bullies reported in this study may support the contention of Cox and Leather (1994) that social factors strongly influence aggressive behaviour, as evident, for example, in the six ex-prisoner sample of bullies. This showed that when they 'unofficially' worked in conflict situations their response was to retaliate, which concurs with Zillman's (1979) research. On occasions, this sample of respondents were physically aggressive in volatile settings. Whether any

adult could be a bully in a sufficiently stressful situation is open to doubt. Behaviour in an organisation is perhaps best viewed as an interaction between personality traits and the culture of the organisation (Furnham, 1999).

The majority of bullies reported that they also were bullied in their workplace, which agrees with Crawford's (2001) view that the bullied may act as a bully. There is also the argument for a bully/victim which was discussed in this chapter and the next chapter on organisational bullying.

As reported in the BWQ, two of the bullying managers claimed that organisational and individual antecedents rendered them susceptible to using bullying tactics. Bullies in this study identified with leadership traits on the IBS. They also scored highly on independence and extraversion on the ICES, which relates to research such as that of Quillan (1996), who found that these traits correlated highly with the qualities of leaders. Organisations who pride themselves on strong, tough management can easily become part of a bullying culture (Spiers, 1995), and in many cases the bully may be usefully disguised as an effective manager. It is reasonable to suggest that bullies in this way can be considered as making a contribution to the workplace.

It was also recognised that bullying at an organisational level needed to be explored as a distinct area to observe why and how different personalities and organisational factors contributed to workplace bullying. Chapter Six examined the role of the victim, bully/victim and bully at work.

Chapter Six

Chapter Six explored organisational bullying within a framework of case studies to illustrate the role that different personalities may play in organisations. It also explored the notion that personality is stable and that organisations act as a trigger, where, for example, an aggressive person in a very hostile environment will be triggered to express their inherent aggression. This approach is supported by three case examples, which illustrated the complex interplay of personal and organisational factors. It is stressed that these case examples serve only as illustrative examples, and no far-reaching conclusions can be derived from them.

There is evidence (Lewis, 1999) to support the notion of organisations supporting an environment to 'breed bullies', in that those organisations, which are continuously undergoing changes and being re-structured, provide ample opportunities and freedom for bullying. This scenario is supported by Beale's (2001) observation of an interplay between downward (senior managers bullying junior managers and other subordinate employees), horizontal (between colleagues), and upward bullying (lower levels of staff bullying senior management). Downward bullying is much more common than the other two varieties, and findings from the present case studies are in agreement with that conclusion (Rayner, 1997).

There is also the possibility that in two of the case studies the individuals were used by the organisations as scapegoats, in that both were used to test the market. A similar process was identified by Feldman (1990), especially when an organisation was being re-structured. The managerial strategies adopted in both examples exemplify Poole,

Gioia and Gray's (1989) account of such changes as being 'characterised as reinforcement and manipulation' (p.49). Other researchers agree that such strategies exist, and Sheehan (1998) found a clear relationship between bullying and work changes. However, Randall (2001) noted that although some work departments were 'potential organizational triggers . . . no bullying was reported' (p. 97). An explanation for these findings is offered by Rayner (1997), who found that most employees were too frightened to report cases of bullying.

Of the three case studies, Ms C seemed to be extremely vulnerable, as evidenced by both the adverse physical and psychological symptoms of her illness. It is usually the case, as illustrated by this example, that many organisational cultures have a positive attitude toward competitiveness. However, when the new management and hierarchical structures were introduced in this case, it seemed to open the doors for bullying. It is suggested that further studies need to consider such influences.

In both the A and B case examples, organisational bullying was at first ignored and allowed to continue. It illustrates Beale's (2001) observation that the target is not the only individual who suffers in the long term, as in these cases the worm may turn and take revenge on the perpetrator and/or the organisation. In the case of Mr A, 'revenge' was not a conscious intention. However, the case clearly illustrated a comeback on the perpetrators, in that six senior officials were fired, and the reputations of the MD and chairman were damaged. A comeback on the organisation resulted, in that millions of dollars were lost as a result of Mr A's speculative trading.

The personalities of the two bullies in these cases were described as highly aggressive, abusive and efficient. Ms B, who also displayed characteristics of being both anxious and aggressive, seems to fit into Randall's (1997) clinical assessment of a bully/victim.

In terms of a bullying policy, although it may be in place, organisations need to be aware and to get the right balance between the activities of an alleged bully and the ending of the torment for victims. Investigation of both the bully and victim requires an assessment of two factors, namely, overt and covert bullying. It is obviously more difficult to identify covert bullying (Brodsky, 1976).

As evident in the case studies, bullying policies should be effected for all personnel in the workplace. Although the managers' practices were described as authoritarian, it seems reasonable to say that if management cannot exercise legitimate authority, for fear that it will be accused of bullying, then one will be developing cultures that are fear-ridden and watchful environments. Such workplaces, as illustrated in the examples, can be potentially hostile and explosive, to the extent that their organisation may be monitored like a police state. For example, in some organisations, where, in addition to the usual clocking-in systems, CCTV cameras monitoring employees' every movements, and computerised swiping cards checking access through doors – all of which control can and does contribute to organisational bullying.

Conclusion

Concluding comments

Although Chapter Six was devoted to bullying at an organisational level, it is important to acknowledge other social settings where bullying exists, and to be aware of the 'spillover' effect of work to home and vice versa (Warr, 1996). Bullying is reported in community settings (Randall & Donohue, 1993), neighbourhoods (Byrne, 1994), religious communities, where bullying by clergy is on the rise (Lewis, 1999), pastoral care, family and social settings (Beed & Beed, 1998, cited in McCarthy et al., 1998), at home (Murray, 1997), with patients in hospital, with the elderly and intergenerational (Bulbeck, 2001, cited in McCarthy et al., 2001). Thus, bullying at work is just one location for bullying behaviour to occur, and it should not be considered as unique to that situation.

In times of economic and rapid social change, there is also bullying at governmental level (Jordan & Sheehan, 2001), which is especially noticeable in Ireland this year, when new measures were introduced, for example, in charging for refuse bins and making cuts in public hospitals. There are also bullying debt collectors, police and traffic wardens, and bullying occurs on the roads ('road rage'). The list goes on: 'The beggar can be seen as a bully, and so can the multinational organisations. Rules, regulations and laws can be used to bully – what is a perfectly acceptable sausage in UK can be banned in Brussels' (Crawford, 2001, p. 29).

Results from the main studies for the most part suggest that behaviour in their respective roles of victims and bullies remains the same in other situations, such as

home and social environments. It is, of course possible that the frequency and intensity of these interactions affect behaviour. In other words, bullying may be more likely in situations where the same people are thrown together for long periods of time (particularly, as described in stressful situations at work). While accepting organisational factors as a partial explanation of bullying, there is evidence to support the title of this thesis: 'Personality as a contributory factor to workplace bullying'.

As workplace bullying is a valid and important issue for research, it is hoped that organisations will allow access for investigations into the personality characteristics and work cultures that contribute to the problem. As noted, various methodological problems were encountered, mainly in gaining access to organisations to obtain samples.

The present study identified a victim and bully profile for future research in the area. Although substantial 'personality' data is explored in this thesis, it is stressed that this area of research is still in its infancy. Nevertheless, there is empirical evidence which points to the polarities and oscillating behaviours of the victim and bully that contribute to the continuing bullying cycle in the workplace.

In terms of identifying and investigating workplace bullying, some background research is needed in relation to the cultural values of individual workplaces. For example, Christie and Geis (1970) stated that competitiveness increased the use of antisocial strategies, and if competitiveness is regarded as a social value, it is one which would be expected to influence the degree of aggressive behaviour. It may be that some

organisations value competitiveness, which may tacitly encourage bullying and provide a breeding environment for bullies (Lewis, 1999).

Without doubt, the workplace environment could be prone to social desirability effects, and the type of organisations and the appropriate construction of questionnaires in future studies would need to take account of such a possibility. The present study attempted an investigation of the respondents' social and home environments; ideally, future research should link bullying to a wide range of different environments.

Bullying has exploded as an issue in the past decade in terms of academic research and media coverage (e.g., *Irish Times*, 2001, Appendix 12). It is suggested that the very act of researching and exposing an issue, particularly by the media, can change and redefine its nature. It is also ironic that journalists themselves have been bullied, being 'belittled, sidelined and humiliated by their bosses' (*Journalist*, June/July, 2002, p 2). The general interest of the media in violence has in some cases been related to bullying. As noted by Leather et al. (1990), work related violence is on the increase. This also applies to other social settings with increased violence in the communities (*RTE*, August, 2002).

As research into incidences of workplace bullying continues to expand, one may get a clearer picture of what personality traits make victims an easy target for the manipulative skills of bullies. It is of central importance to expand the history of what childhood behaviours contribute to individuals' perceptions and experiences of bullying, and, in particular, to understand those organisational cultures which allow bullies to develop and continue their cycle of violence and intimidation.

The hypothesised link between childhood and adult bullying behaviour was evident in the case of some victims and of all the bullies. More detailed study is needed using a wide range of measures to explore the link between adult and child bullying. Longitudinal studies are needed, not only to trace behaviour from childhood to adulthood, but also into the long term effects on personal and working relationships in adulthood.

An obvious area for research in the working environment is to consider what it is about individuals and organisations that lead to different perceptions and attitudes to various levels of bullying. A somewhat similar approach has been applied to aggression in general (Fry, 1988), where some societies are more 'peaceful' than others, a label which can be applied to differences found in working and social environments. In the words of Wright and Smye (1996), it is how workers 'feel about each other and how they work together within the organisation that makes the difference between an abusive culture and a sustaining one' (p. 191). The promotion of pro-social behaviour among and between the various groups involved in any workplace is an obvious, if difficult, objective to achieve, but it would lead to a decrease in bullying.

In the small group of bullies investigated, bullies were not found to be socially inadequate. However, questions still need to be answered. Bullies appear to be egocentric in their disregard for other's well-being and their egocentricity is accompanied by a lack of guilt and shame (Randall, 1997). There is a need to understand their emotional development, and how bullying was a reinforced behaviour in their childhood.

Other topics for future research include: studies into the interaction between leadership style and its relationship to organisational bullying in the workplace; and interventions to reduce or even prevent bullying. In this latter area, the signs are promising. In Ireland the Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act, 1989 Sec 6 (1) states that: 'It shall be the duty of every employer to ensure so far as it is reasonably practicable, the safety, health and welfare at work of all his employees'. A new act to be enforced in Ireland in January 2003, state that all work places must have a bullying policy, and it puts a legal obligation on employers to act on reported bullying cases. It seems likely that this Act will open flood gates of cases. Management within organisational settings should honour its obligations, and welcome reports of bullying as opportunities for understanding the nature of such behaviours.

In the event, as evident in many cases of victims that were bullied, employees should where possible, be able to use an informal complaints procedure. It is recommended that mediation could be useful in reaching some agreement at this time to prevent interpersonal conflicts between the parties from further escalating into severe cases of bullying (Hoel et al., 1999). If these procedures prove unsatisfactory, the next step involves formal procedures, which can result in further conflict escalation, which in turn tends to damage future relationships between the parties and work colleagues.

In Ireland and the United Kingdom bullying-at-work help lines have been established. The Anti-Bullying Centre at Trinity College Dublin (which provides advice, counselling and workplace bullying seminars), and O'Donnell's 'Campaign against Bullying in Ireland' have been extremely active, as evidenced by the increasing number of bullying cases, which have been vindicated in court (e.g., *Irish Times*, July, 2002).

Concluding analysis

Before concluding this thesis, it is necessary to consider some sources of error and alternative explanations of the findings.

It has been argued that relatively stable personality characteristics may be partially responsible for being bullied, and, indeed, for those who bully. In the case of those bullied, this argument was mainly based on the results of personality tests given to those who claimed to fall into this category. In the Pilot Study, most of the victims were self-selected and in general they tended to attribute being bullied to a bully's 'difficult' personality. As noted by Neuberger (1999), it is easier to attribute unpleasant feelings to a person than to invisible circumstances, and, one might add, it is easier to attribute them to others than to acknowledge them in oneself. Whether psychologically troubled or not, it would be difficult to admit that one's own deficiencies resulted in one being bullied. By projecting the deficiencies on to others it is possible to rationalise what has happened.

Such attribution errors can also apply to the investigator, who ascribes one of the possible reasons why victims have been selected for the bully's attention to the victim's personality. An alternative explanation would be that these people have psychological problems, which lead to their high scores on various trait measures and to their volunteering to take part in the enquiry. This might be because they want counselling, or to air grievances, or to draw attention to themselves, and the like, their coming forward being only tangentially related to bullying.

In attempting to rationalise the concluding analysis, it would be helpful to refer to Eysenck et al. (1973) personality definition used in this thesis. They stressed that personality is stable, organised, and that it is 'formed as a result of interaction between innate biological measures and the environment . . .' (Fontana, 2000, p. x). This is exemplified further by Eysenck (1985), who stressed the interactionist dimension of personality, meaning that personal variables (eg genetics and biological dispositions) and situation variables always interact to cause behaviour.

It could be that the social interactionist perspective (Felson, 1992) is a more rational conclusion to the results of the data, where both personal and situational factors influence one's behaviour (Mischel, 1979). This view runs parallel to reciprocal determinism, a view held by social cognitive theorists such as Bandura (1986), where personal, behaviour and situation all interact to cause behaviour. Taking an explanation from the social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986), it could be argued that victims and bullies' cognitive believe about themselves could influence how they behaved at work.

This addresses another area in the concluding analyses of the data, that is – which is the cause and effect? The view held by Einarsen (2002) and Zapf (1999) is that there are few hard facts regarding what factors cause bullying. The jury vote is that there is a serious lack of studies which can conclude on the cause-effect analyses of workplace bullying (Einarsen, 2000; Zapf, 1999 Zapf et al., 1996). Data in this thesis attempted to address some of these cause and effect questions.

Although personality was found to be a contributing cause, it is argued that it is not a sole cause. The author is in agreement with Hoel and Cooper (2001) that it is likely that

several causes contribute to the development and ill effects of bullying. Although this is difficult area to measure, one cause may sometimes play a dominating role – which in these cases may have been personality.

No single measure of bullying in the work environment can be perfect, there will always be some methodological flaws in attempting to assess possible explanations of workplace bullying. To measure bullying of victims and bullies by self-report could be biased by social desirability and defensive attributions and such phenomena (Ashforth, 1994). For example, the social phenomenon of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957, cited in Aronson, Wilson & Akert, 2002), which could influence victims and bullies to confront the discrepancy between who they think they are and how they have behaved (Aronson, 1998).

The author attempted to improve the validity of her findings from the pilot study, by going into two large organisations and obtaining a range of demographic differences matched across victim and non-victim groups. Criticisms can be made of the technique used to identify victims in that they were selected either in terms of their responses to the questionnaire, or because they nominated a colleague who had been bullied, who was then invited to take part in the study. Reliance on interview or nomination to assign people to victim/non-victim groups does not overcome the attribution error. One way to overcome it, would be to obtain evidence from observation over a period of time as to who was bullied, using strict definitional criteria. It is clear that such a behavioural approach would be very difficult to carry out unless the observer were part of the workforce.

Any kind of self-report can be placed on a dimension running between subjective and objective assessment of bullying behaviours. The validity of the report depends on the individual's cognitive and emotional processing of the events. As mentioned, defensive attributions are not the only source of error, cognitive dissonance could influence victims and bullies when confronted with the discrepancy between who they think they are and how they have behaved. One cannot rule out social desirability factor as an influence, not only in questionnaires, where an attempt is often made to control for it, but also in responding to questions in an interview. Future work with questionnaires and with interviews needs to guard against these errors as far as possible; being constantly aware of them is perhaps a first step.

Too little emphasis has been placed in the thesis in attempting to differentiate between negative behaviours that are tolerated and those that are not – between situations that can be handled and those that cannot. Thus, the appraisal by victims of a particular incident is crucial to whether they consider that they have been bullied. But it is also important to investigate how bullies themselves perceive and evaluate their own behaviour and interactions with others. For example, situations where someone provokes, is abusive and/or angers another person may be perceived quite differently by two individuals, as may have been the case for some of the victims and bullies in the present studies. Further research could have been devoted to this problem, also how participants coped with their perceived problems. In particular, the availability of social support systems.

Apart from these difficulties, there were obvious problems in selection and sampling, which need to be overcome in future work. The sample of bullies is particularly open to

criticism, and the present findings are merely pointers to future more comprehensive enquiry. One way to improve the sample of bullies might be to concentrate enquiry on particular groups where bullying seems most obvious, such as the prison officers, army and police. The more subtle forms of bullying might, however, then be lost sight of.

The approach taken in the present study does not allow for robust conclusions with regard to causality. But it is important in indicating some of the possible factors involved in a multi-causal framework, and among these a case has been made for the involvement of personality as one contributory element. To pursue this element further, longitudinal studies would be critical to investigate more fully a link between childhood and adult bullying.

Concluding synopsis

To conclude, the main focus of this thesis was to explore how personality could contribute to workplace bullying. In order to explore these factors, the first chapter of the literature review explored the phenomenon of bullying which lead into the next chapter that examined the complex dimensions of personality. The relevant bullying literature set a firm base to begin with the pilot study reported in Chapter Three, which found that both personality and organisational factors contribute to workplace bullying.

The aim of the next two chapters was to establish the notion of a victim and bully profile. Findings from these chapters suggest that personality variables are important as contributory factors in workplace bullying. The tests used here were productive in illustrating the many aspects of personality relevant to the workplace, and new tests

may throw more light on relevant traits. As previously emphasised, in order to obtain a more thorough understanding of victims and bullies, it is essential that research should be extended and intensified.

The attempt to trace developmental trends should obviously be followed up, as the association between school and workplace bullying still needs further research. Other factors to be considered are the ways in which home and social support may alleviate the impact of bullying, perhaps only in the case of certain personalities.

Having established a victim and bully profile in Chapter Four and Five respectively, the final piece of the Gestalt was to examine how these personalities interacted in the workplace. Case studies of the personalities in Chapter Six were used to examine the relationship between organisation and personality: It appeared that personality was a contributory factor to organisational bullying; and that organisations can act as a trigger to release an individual's inherent aggression, or an individual's inherent anxiety.

It is only when a clear understanding of bullies and their victims is achieved, that one can hope, with the assistance of appropriate intervention strategies, to tackle the problem of bullying, and thus reduce the number of lives that are blighted by it.

Despite the small samples, particularly of bullies, findings in these studies are in psychodynamic terms, at the top of the iceberg, with many deeper layers of consciousness waiting to be brought out. Nevertheless, this thesis sets a framework to be built on in further research into the 'contribution of personality factors to bullying in the workplace'.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE QUESTIONNAIRE

A. PERSONAL AND WORK ENVIRONMENT

1. Please underline appropriate gender
 - i male
 - ii female

2. Please indicate which age range applies to you
 - i 18-24
 - ii 25-30
 - iii 31-40
 - iv 41-50
 - v 51-60
 - vi 61+

3. Are you living with your family?
 - i yes
 - ii no

4. What sector of employment do you work in?
 - i industrial
 - ii educational
 - iii health
 - iv services
 - v other

5. What size of employment do you work in?
 - i small (1-50 workers)
 - ii medium (50-150 workers)
 - iii large (150+)

6. What is your employee title?

7. What is your grade status?

B. BEING BULLIED IN THE WORKPLACE

When a person is bullied in the workplace, it can be either physical, verbal and /or psychological. Examples of being bullied can include – being verbally / physically attacked, threatened, locked in or out of work, receiving unpleasant memos, being criticised /ridiculed / ignored and so on.

It is not bullying when two employees of the same peer position within the organisation have the occasional disagreement.

1. Have you ever been bullied in the workplace?
 - i yes
 - ii no

2. During the last six months how often have you been bullied in the workplace?
 - i it has happened once or twice
 - ii sometimes
 - iii about once a month
 - iv about once a week
 - v several times a week
 - vi several times a day

3. How have you been bullied?
 - i work criticised
 - ii set impossible work targets
 - iii job vacancies brought to your attention
 - iv work level being reduced
 - v verbally abused in front of others
 - vi verbally or/and physically attacked for personal /religious /political ethnic beliefs
 - vii personal rumours being circulated
 - viii isolated in the workplace
 - ix bullied in another way, please write comments in space below.

Appendices

4. Have you been bullied by one/or several people?
 - i mainly by one person
 - ii by several people

5. Is the person/s who bullied you male or female?
 - i male
 - ii female

6. Is the bully or bullies in a more powerful position than you?
 - i yes
 - ii no

7. Is anyone aware of your being bullied?
 - i no
 - ii I don't know
 - iii I think so
 - iv yes

8. Who do you think is aware?
 - i manager
 - ii supervisor
 - iii colleague
 - iv union
 - v other

9. Do other colleagues come to your assistance when you are bullied?
 - i yes
 - ii on occasions
 - iii no

10. Have any of your colleagues been bullied – if yes – how many?

11. What do you usually do when you see a colleague being bullied?
 - i mind my own business
 - ii nothing – worried about my own job
 - iii try to help in some way
 - iv if yes to iii, in what way?

5.a Do you suffer from any of the following psychological symptoms?

- i anxiety
- ii irritability
- iii feeling isolated
- iv depressed
- v sense of helplessness
- vi negative /angry thoughts
- vii paranoid / thinking someone is out to get you
- viii mood swings
- ix lower level of confidence/self esteem
- x other

5.b Do you relate any of these above symptoms to having been bullied?

6. Have you taken any action?

- i nothing
- ii consulted with other colleagues
- iii complained to personnel manager
- iv consulted union official
- v transferred to another department
- vi resigned
- vii confront bully
- viii doctor/external agencies, e.g. counsellor
- ix other

7. Have you been on a rehabilitation programme?

- i yes
- ii no
- iii other

D. ABOUT BULLYING OTHER COLLEAGUES

1. Have you ever taken part in bullying other colleagues at work?
 - i I have never bullied any colleagues at work
 - ii perhaps once or twice
 - iii sometimes
 - iv about once a month
 - v about once a week
 - vi several times a week
 - vii several times a day

2. Have any of your colleagues talked with you about your bullying behaviour?
 - i no
 - ii sometimes
 - iii yes

3. Have any senior personnel talked to you about your bullying behaviour?
 - i no
 - ii sometimes
 - iii yes

4. About how many colleagues /employees have you bullied in the workplace?
 - i 1
 - ii 2
 - iii several people

5. Do you think you could join in bullying a person whom you do not like?
 - i yes
 - ii perhaps
 - iii no

6. Do you have a tendency to bully at home?
 - i yes
 - ii on occasions
 - iii no

7. What do you think of colleagues who bully others?

E. HOME ENVIRONMENT

1. Were you bullied at home?

i yes

ii no

If yes – how frequently?

2. At what age were you bullied?

3. Who bullied you?

4. Did you do anything about it?

5. Why were you bullied?

6. Are you presently being bullied at home /immediate environment?

i yes

ii no

If yes for what reason?

By whom?

7. Did you bully anyone at home?

i yes

ii no

If yes – who did you bully?

How often?

8. What kind of bullying tactics did you use?

F. SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

1. Were you bullied at school?
 - i yes
 - ii frequently
 - iii sometime
 - iv never

2. At what age were you bullied
 - i 2 - 7 yrs
 - ii 8 - 10 yrs
 - iii 11 - 13 yrs
 - iv 14 - 16 yrs
 - v 17 - 18 yrs

3. Did you do anything about it?
 - i yes/no
 - ii tell your friends
 - iii tell your teacher
 - iv tell your family
 - v other

4. Why were you bullied?
 - i for physical reasons e.g. wearing glasses
 - ii behavioural reasons e.g. not being good at sport
 - iii psychological traits e.g. low/high achiever in class/
being shy
 - iv other?

5. Did you take days off sick (as a result of being bullied?)
If yes –how many within the class term?
 - i 1 - 2
 - ii 3 - 5
 - iii 6 - 10
 - iv 11+

6. Have you any idea why you were you bullied?

3. BULLYING BEHAVIOUR IN THE WORKPLACE

(Following description read to employees).

When a person is bullied in the workplace, he/she is repeatedly exposed to aggressive acts, which can be either physical, verbal and or psychological. "It is where cruelty, viciousness, the need to humiliate and the need to make somebody feel small dominates a working relationship" (Crawford, 1996; 1998).

History of being bullied in the workplace.

- 3.i If bullied in present position, how long since respondent was bullied?
- 3.ii During the last six months how often has respondent been bullied?
- 3.iii How has respondent been bullied? experienced verbal aggression /humiliation /belittling remarks /rumours circulated /work criticised /physical aggression /unrealistic work targets /work level increased /isolation exclusion /alerted to job vacancies /other
- 3.iv What were the events before being bullied? was it bully's difficult personality /envy of bully /victim being different /victim more qualified /promotion of bully /change in victim's job role /new boss /other
- 3.v Was respondent bullied by one/or several people?
- 3.vi Was the person/s who bullied victim male or female? Male/female/both
- 3.vii Age range 18-24 25-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61+
- 3.viii Position of bully snr manag middle manag administration professional
supervisory staff
- 3.ix Level of power in relation to respondent
- 3.x Did respondent confide in anyone when bullied?

4. EFFECTS OF BEING BULLIED

4.i Within the last six months, how often/long has respondent taken sick leave as a result of being bullied? If yes – how reported/sick certificate?

4.ii Has the respondents' family/friend relationships been affected? If yes how?

4.iii Does respondent suffer from any of the following psychological symptoms?
anxiety /fear irritability /stress /depression /helplessness /angry thoughts /paranoia /mood swings /lower self esteem/confidence /social withdrawal /feeling isolated /frustration /poorer concentration /self-blame /other

4.iv Does respondent suffer from any of the following physical symptoms?
disturbed sleep pattern/nightmares /crying /lethargy /stomach disorder /headache /rashes /high blood pressure /irritable bowel syndrome /aches and pains /increased drinking/smoking /eating disorder /panic attack /shaking /sweating /other

4.v When did respondent first suffer the above symptoms?

4.vi Has respondent taken any action? communicate indirectly with bully /confront bully /contact personnel /contact union /consult family /contact doctor /consult friends /contact counsellor /consult colleagues /legal advice /resign /early retirement /other

4.vii What does the respondent think would combat bullying?
Anti-bullying policy /legislation /other

4.viii If bullying stopped – how/when?

5. OTHER COLLEAGUES BEING BULLIED

5.i Have any of the respondents' colleagues been bullied?

5.ii If so, how many?

5.iii What does respondent usually do when colleagues are bullied?

5.iv Reasons why others are bullied

5.v Has respondent ever taken part in bullying other colleagues at work?

5.vi If yes, how many?

6. PRESENT HOME AND COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENT

6.i Is respondent bullied at home?

6.ii If yes, how often?

6.iii By whom?

6.iv Description of negative acts

6.v Description of negative effects of being bullied

health

family relationships

other

6.vi Is respondent bullied in their social and community setting?

6.vii If yes, how often?

6.viii By whom?

6.ix Describe negative acts

6.x Describe effects of being bullied

7. CHILDHOOD HISTORY

- 7.i Synopsis: Significant events of respondents' life
- 7.ii Medical History
- 7.iii Family relations
- 7.iv Social and community interactions
- 7.v Was respondent bullied at school? If yes by one or +?
- 7.vi How often? daily several times a week weekly several times a term
- 7.vii When? All through school primary only secondary only
- 7.viii Did respondent confide in anyone?
- 7.ix Perceived reason for being bullied
- 7.x Effects of being bullied
physical / psychological
social / other
- 7.xi Were long-term effects sufficiently traumatic to affect respondents' personality?
- 7.xii If yes, describe

Appendix 3

Percentage of Respondents for Gender, Age, Department and Job Title for Victims and Non-victims for Public Company (N=60)

		Percentage of Victims (N=30)	Percentage of Non-victims (N=30)
Gender	Male	25.0%	25.0%
	Female	25.0%	25.0%
Age Category	18-25	6.7%	5.0%
	26-30	8.3%	6.7%
	31-40	13.3%	18.3%
	41-50	20.0%	20.0%
	51-60	1.7%	
Department	City Manager	1.7%	1.7%
	Personnel	5.0%	5.0%
	Engineering	8.3%	8.3%
	Housing	5.0%	5.0%
	Environment	5.0%	5.0%
	Planning	5.0%	5.0%
	Development	1.7%	1.7%
	Law	6.7%	6.7%
	Finance	11.7%	11.7%
Job Title	A/c clerk	1.7%	1.7%
	admin	8.3%	8.3%
	architect	1.7%	1.7%
	auditor	1.7%	1.7%
	claims	1.7%	1.7%
	clerical	11.7%	11.7%
	engineer	1.7%	1.7%
	librarian	1.7%	1.7%
	Para-legal	3.3%	3.3%
	planner	1.7%	1.7%
	porter	1.7%	1.7%
	Rates	1.7%	1.7%
	receptionist	3.3%	3.3%
	social worker	1.7%	1.7%
	Tech admin	3.3%	3.3%
	technician	1.7%	1.7%
	wages	1.7%	1.7%

Appendix 4

Percentage of Respondents for Gender, Age, Department and Job Title for Victims and Non-victims for Private Company (N=60)

		Percentage of Victims (N=30)	Percentage of Non-victims (N=30)
Gender	Male	26.7%	30.0%
	Female	23.3%	20.0%
Age Category	18-25	5.0%	
	26-30	10.0%	11.7%
	31-40	13.3%	16.7%
	41-50	16.7%	11.7%
	51-60	5.0%	10.0%
Department	Personnel	6.7%	6.7%
	Corporate	5.0%	5.0%
	Sales	25.0%	25.0%
	Logistics	13.3%	13.3%
Job Title	Accounts	6.7%	6.7%
	Computer prog.	3.3%	3.3%
	Corp. Plan		1.7%
	Dist. Clerk	3.3%	3.3%
	Export clerk	3.3%	
	Export man		1.7%
	Finance clerk		1.7%
	Manual	1.7%	1.7%
	Marketing exec	3.3%	3.3%
	Medical manag		1.7%
	Package dispatc	1.7%	1.7%
	Personnel	1.7%	3.3%
	Process admin	1.7%	1.7%
	Production exec	1.7%	1.7%
	Receptionist	3.3%	3.3%
	Sales admin	3.3%	5.0%
	Secretary	3.3%	3.3%
	Security	1.7%	1.7%
	Tech assist	1.7%	
	Tech mang		1.7%
Tel sales	1.7%	1.7%	
Transport	1.7%	1.7%	
medical clerk	1.7%		
planning	1.7%		

Appendix 5Percentage of Respondents for Gender, Age, Department and Job Title for Victims andNon-victims for Subsidiary Sample (N=11)

		Percentage of Victims (N=9)	Percentage of Non-victims (N=2)
Gender	Male	36.4%%	9.1%
	Female	45.5%%	9.1%
Age Category	18-25	9.1%	
	26-30		
	31-40	27.3%	18.2%
	41-50	18.2%	
	51-60	27.3%	
Department	Personnel	27.3%	
	Corporate	18.2%	
	Sales	27.3%	
	Logistics	9.1%	18.2%
Job Title	Accounts	18.2%	18.2%
	Finance clerk	9.1%	
	Personnel	9.1%	
	Sales adm	9.1%	
	Security	9.1%	
	Tech mang	9.1%	
	Tel sales	18.2%%	

Appendix 6

BEHAVIOURAL WORKPLACE QUESTIONNAIRE (BWQ)

Section 1: Personal Details

For each question below, please circle the appropriate response.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Gender	Male	Female					
2. Age range	Below 18	18-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+
3. Education	Primary	Post P. Junior	Post P. Senior	Third level	Other		
4. Marital Status	Married	Divorced	Separated	Partner	Single		
5. Living with	Parent(s) Sibling(s)	Spouse child(ren)	Friend(s)	Partner Child(ren)	Alone		

Please read the following definition of aggressive behaviour in the workplace and underline relevant response.

When a person is bullied in the workplace, he/she is repeatedly exposed to aggressive acts, which can either be physical, verbal and or psychological. "It is where cruelty, viciousness, the need to humiliate and the need to make somebody feel small dominates a working relationship" (Crawford, 1996; 1998).

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|------------|-----------|--------|------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. Have you experienced the behaviour as defined above whilst in your current position? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often | Frequently |
| 2. In your current position, how often have you carried out such behaviour? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often | Frequently |
| 3. How often did you experience the behaviour as defined above? | Never | Once/Twice | Monthly | Weekly | Daily |
| 4. For how long did the behaviour go on? | Less than 1 month At least 3 months At least 6 months | | | | |

Section 2: Childhood behaviours
--

For each question below, please circle the appropriate response to the question. Respond by using the scale 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.

	1 Strongly disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I used to engage in behaviour other people disapproved of.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I never used to give my family a 'hard time' at home.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I used to get my own way at home by being threatening.	1	2	3	4	5
4. When I argued at home, I never gave in until I got what I wanted.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I used to pick fights at school.	1	2	3	4	5
6. It was difficult for me to get my own way at school.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I used to upset children by the things I said to them.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I never scared children.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I used to be given things by children who were afraid of me.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I never used to bully others in my class.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Teachers did challenge me about my bullying behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5

Section 3: Work Details

(A) Please provide a response to the questions below

1. Number of employees in your department _____

2 Length of years in current employment _____

3. Your job title _____

4 Career Profile : Previous employment(s) _____

i. Length _____

ii. Job title _____

iii. Reason for change _____

(B) For the question below, please circle the appropriate response.

1. **Type of organisation:** Public/Private Industrial Educational Health Serv

2. **Size or company** Small Medium Average Very Large
 0-15 employees 16-50 employees 51-150 Es 151+ Es

(C) For the responses below, circle the YES or NO response in answer to each question regarding the working environment as you see it:

Is the working environment generally:

- | | | |
|---|------------|-----------|
| 1. Strained and stressful? | Yes | No |
| 2. Characterised by regular changes? | Yes | No |
| 3. Pleasant? | Yes | No |
| 4. Characterised by effective feedback? | Yes | No |
| 5. Supportive? | Yes | No |
| 6. Characterised by effective authoritarian management? | Yes | No |
| 7. Competitive? | Yes | No |
| 8. Friendly? | Yes | No |

Any other information about the working environment you would like to give, please do so below

Section 4: Workplace Behaviours

For the following 13 questions, please respond by circling the most appropriate response to the questions. Respond by using the scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. When colleagues disagree with me I get annoyed	1	2	3	4	5
2. I sympathise with colleagues who are abused in the workplace	1	2	3	4	5
3. At work I feel you push or you are shoved.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Some colleagues get bullied because they ask for it.	1	2	3	4	5
5 You do not have to be a bit of a bully to get on in the world.	1	2	3	4	5
6. A small amount of bullying can be a good thing because it toughens people up	1	2	3	4	5
7. People seldom bully without a reason	1	2	3	4	5
8. There will always be a bully at work, its human nature.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Colleagues who do something stupid deserve to be punished.	1	2	3	4	5

Continued section 4 Workplace Behaviours.

Respond by using the scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

10. Sometimes I feel it is necessary to force others to work to achieve targets.	1	2	3	4	5
11. It is not surprising that "whimps" are unpopular.	1	2	3	4	5
12. People should not complain every-time somebody picks on them.	1	2	3	4	5
13. It is a rough world, sometimes it is necessary to use people to get things done.	1	2	3	4	5

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Appendix 7

Dear Sir/Madam,

Thank you for taking part in this confidential survey. To insure anonymity, please do not write your name on the questionnaires.

There are a total of three questionnaires to be completed, namely. The BWQ, ICES and IBS. We hope you will find this exercise enjoyable and make the time to participate in this survey of 'Behavioural Interactions in the Workplace'. Your involvement in this survey will contribute greatly towards research in this area, also £1.00 will be donated to the Cancer Society for all returned questionnaires.

If you decide to participate in this survey, may we give you our final assurance that all information will be treated in confidence. Please return the complete questionnaires in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope.

Yours faithfully,

Elizabeth Seigne

Dr. Peter Randall

Dr. Iain Coyne

University of Hull, Dept of Psychology, Hull HU6 7RX United Kingdom

P.S if you have any queries, please phone Elizabeth Seigne at 01 676 8939

Appendix 8

Percentage of Respondents for Gender, Age, Education Level, Marital Status, Living Arrangements, Organisation Type and Organisation Size for each Sub-Sample

		Percentage of Higher Educat- ion (N=17)	Percentage of Prison Educators (N=4)	Percentage of Rehabilitat- ion Clients (N=6)	Percentage of On Street (N=7)
Gender	Male	52.9%	50.0%	100.0%	57.1%
	Female	47.1%	50.0%		42.9%
Age Category	18-25	29.4%		33.3%	28.6%
	26-30	5.9%	25.0%	33.3%	14.3%
	31-40	23.5%	50.0%	33.3%	
	41-50	29.4%	25.0%		28.6%
	51-60	11.8%			28.6%
Education level	PP Junior	5.9%		83.3%	14.3%
	PP Senior	5.9%	25.0%	16.7%	
	Third Level	76.5%	75.0%		28.6%
	Other	11.8%			57.1%
Marital Status	Married	41.2%	50.0%	66.7%	28.6%
	Divorced	5.9%	25.0%		
	Separated	5.9%	25.0%		
	Partner				14.3%
	Single	47.1%		33.3%	57.1%
Living Arrangements	Parents	11.8%			14.3%
	Spouse	35.3%	50.0%	66.7%	28.6%
	Friend	29.4%			28.6%
	Partner	5.9%		16.7%	14.3%
	Alone	11.8%		16.7%	14.3%
	Children	5.9%	50.0%		

Appendix 9

Percentage of Respondents for Organisation type, Organisation Size, and Job Title for each Sub-Sample

		Percentage of Higher Education (N=17)	Percentage of Prison Educators (N=4)	Percent- age of Rehabilitat- ion Clients (N=0)*	Percentage of On Street (N=7)
Organisation Type	Public			NA	42.9%
	Private			NA	14.3%
	Industrial			NA	
	Educational	100.0%	100.0%	NA	14.3%
	Health Services			NA	28.6%
Company Size	Small			NA	14.3%
	Medium		100.0%	NA	14.3%
	Average	100.0%		NA	
	Very Large			NA	71.4%
Job Title	Admin assistant	11.8%		NA	28.6%
	Assistant	5.9%		NA	
	Director				
	Dept. head	5.9%		NA	
	Housekeeper	5.9%		NA	
	IT assist	5.9%		NA	
	Lecturer	17.6%		NA	
	Manager	23.5%	25.0%	NA	14.3%
	Receptionist	5.9%		NA	
	Teacher	17.6%	50.0%	NA	
	Youth worker		25.0%	NA	
	Garda			NA	28.6%
	Accountant			NA	15.4%
	Traffic warden			NA	14.3%

*None of the respondents from the client group were formally employed.

Appendix 10**Percentage of Respondents for Gender, Age, Education Level, Marital Status, and Living Arrangements for Bullies and Non-bullies**

		Percentage of Bullies (N=10)	Percentage of Non-Bullies (N=24)
Sample Category	College	11.8%	88.2%
	Prison Educators	25.0%	75.0%
	Rehabilitation Students	100.0 %	
	On Street	14.3%	85.7%
Gender	Male	90.0%	50.0%
	Female	10.0%	50.0%
Age Category	18-25	20.0%	29.2%
	26-30	20.0%	12.5%
	31-40	40.0%	16.7%
	41-50	20.0%	25.0%
	51-60		16.7%
Education level	PP Junior	60.0%	4.2%
	PP Senior	20.0%	4.2%
	Third Level	10.0%	58.3%
	Other	10.0%	33.3%
Marital Status	Married	70.0%	33.3%
	Divorced	10.0%	4.2%
	Separated		8.3%
	Partner		4.2%
	Single	20.0%	50.0%
Living Arrangements	Parents		12.5%
	Spouse	70.0%	29.2%
	Friend		29.2%
	Partner	10.0%	8.3%
	Alone	20.0%	8.3%
	Children		12.5%

Appendix 11

Percentage of Respondents for Organisation Type, Organisation Size, Job Title and Career Profile for Bullies and Non-bullies (N=28)

		Percentage of Bullies	Percentage of Non-Bullies	
		(N=4)*	(N=24)**	
Organisation Type	Public		12.5%	
	Private	25.0%		
	Industrial			
	Educational	75.0%	79.2%	
	Health Services		8.3%	
Company Size	Small		4.2%	
	Medium	50.0%	12.5%	
	Average	50.0%	62.5%	
	Very Large		20.8%	
Job Title	Admin assistant		16.7%	
	Assistant Director		4.2%	
	Dept. head		4.2%	
	Housekeeper		4.2%	
	IT assist		4.2%	
	Lecturer	10.0%	8.3%	
	Manager	20.0%	16.7%	
	Receptionist		4.2%	
	Teacher		16.7%	
	Youth worker		4.2%	
	Garda		8.3%	
	Accountant		4.2%	
	Traffic warden	10.0%		
	CAREER PROFILE	No prev. employment		29.2%**
Bank			4.2%	
Previous Employment		Cleaner		4.2%
		Education	50.0%	37.8%
		Factory		4.2%
		FAS	25.0%	4.2%
		Healthboard		4.2%
		Hotel		4.2%
		Private co.		4.2%
		Marketing		4.2%
	Youth worker		4.2%	
	Haulage	25.0%		
Reason for Leaving	Moved	25.0%	4.2%	
	Promotion	50.0%	16.7%	
	Regular Hours	25.0%		
	End of Contract		8.3%	
	Change		12.7%	
	Challenge		8.3%	
	Personal		4.2%	
	Salary		16.7%	

* 6 bullies all from the rehabilitation student group, did not have jobs.

** In terms of career profile 7 non-bullies had no previous job, leaving 17 non-bullies completing the career profile.

The mean length in years of previous jobs for bullies was 14.5 years and for non-bullies was 7 years.

Appendix 12

BULLYING POLICY

Company X is committed to providing a safe working environment that allows all employees to carry out their work free from bullying and harassment. Bullying affects the dignity of people at work, undermines them as human beings and is totally unacceptable to the organisation. Complaints of bullying and harassment will be treated very seriously by this organisation and can be grounds for disciplinary action, including dismissal for serious offences.

This policy applies to harassment not only of fellow employees but also by a client, customer or other business contact to which an employee might reasonably expect to come into contact with during the course of their employment.

It applies to employees both in the workplace and at work associated events such as meetings and conferences.

Definition of Harassment/Bullying

Bullying can be defined as repeated aggression, verbal, psychological or physical, conducted by an individual or group against others. Isolated incidents of aggressive behaviour while not to be tolerated, should not be described as bullying. Only inappropriate aggressive behaviour, which is systematic and ongoing, is regarded as bullying. Bullying and harassment can take many forms for example;

Physical abuse or threats of abuse,

Social exclusion or isolation,

Personal insults and name-calling,

Persistent negative attacks on personal or professional performance without good reason or legitimate authority,

Abusing a position of power by unnecessarily undermining a colleague's work.

Harassment consists of unwelcome conduct, whether verbal, physical or visual, that is based upon a person's protected status, such as sex, colour, race, ancestry, national origin, age, disability, membership of the Travelling Community or other legally protected group status. Harassment may also be sexual in nature, such as verbal requests for sexual favours or suggestive remarks, physical gesturing of a sexual nature

or indecent exposure. It may also be characterised through the visual display of pornographic material in the workplace. All employees are responsible for helping to assure that we keep Company X a workplace that is free from all forms of bullying and harassment. The organisation will investigate all complaints of harassment as quickly and as thoroughly as possible.

COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE

There is both an informal and formal procedure to deal with the issue of bullying and harassment at work.

Informal Procedure

Employee(s) who feel that they are the subject of harassment or bullying should raise the issue informally with the person who is creating the problem, pointing out that their conduct is unwelcome, offensive or interfering with work and requesting them to stop the offensive behaviour.

If having spoken to the person concerned the bullying or harassment continues, or where a more serious incident has arisen the employee should use the formal procedure.

It is recognised that direct approach may not always be practical, such as when the people involved are at different levels in the organisation. In such instances the employee should use the formal procedure.

Formal Procedure

Where formal complaints have been made, then the employee should contact their immediate manager as soon as possible. If this is inappropriate, then the employee should contact the person responsible for personnel issues.

The person making the complaint will be required to put their allegations in writing. In the interests of natural justice the alleged harasser will be made aware of the nature of the complaint, his/her right to representation and will be given every opportunity to rebut the allegations made.

On receipt of a complaint, the Organisation will nominate one of its representatives to carry out a thorough investigation of the matter. This may involve interviewing a

number people, including the person involved, the alleged harasser and any witnesses available. Strict confidentiality and proper discretion will be maintained, as far as possible, in any necessary consultation to safeguard both parties concerned. Management will maintain a written record of all relevant discussion, which takes place during the course of the investigation.

ACTION AFTER INVESTIGATION

If following the investigation, the complaint is found to be valid then prompt action will be taken to stop the bullying or harassment.

This action may involve:

Issuing a verbal warning in cases of minor infringements.

Follow with a written warning if the bullying continues.

If the bullying persists or if the harassment is of a more serious nature the employee has to be made aware that more severe disciplinary penalties will be applied. A final written warning may be warranted or suspension without pay or even dismissal.

In cases of serious complaints it may be necessary to suspend the alleged harasser with pay to facilitate a full investigation and possibly, the complainant also in certain circumstances.

Records of any warnings for harassment will remain in the employee's file and will be used if any further allegations or offences of the same or similar nature occur in the future.

If it is found that the perpetrator's behaviour had been misinterpreted and he/she was genuinely unaware of the effect of his/her actions; further procedures may not be necessary as the investigation would have highlighted this fact and the incidents may come to an end. Retaliation of any kind against an employee for complaining or taking part in an investigation concerning harassment or bullying at work is a serious disciplinary offence.

VIOLENCE

Company X is committed to creating a safe and welcoming atmosphere for both the people who work here and the clients that we provide services for. Violent and threatening behaviour, whether by an employee or a client will not be tolerated. However, we acknowledge that due to the nature of services that we provide, employees can sometimes be exposed to potentially violent situations. Our aim is to keep the risk situations to a minimum and to ensure that every reasonable precaution is taken to ensure the safety of our employees and to support them in situations where they encounter aggression during the course of their work. In a potentially violent situation the first priority is to ensure the personal safety of all involved.

The following are guidelines that employees should follow in the event of violent or threatening incident.

Try to diffuse the situation if at all possible.

Where personal safety becomes a risk employees should immediately remove themselves from the potential danger.

In the event that a personal approach to diffuse the situation has been unsuccessful the Gardai should be called.

Any incident that causes concern to an employee should be reported to the Director.

The incident should be documented on the violent incident report form and discussed at the next team meeting.

Following this discussion a decision will be taken as to what follow up is required.

It is the policy of company X to press charges against any individual who perpetrates an assault against a member of staff.

Company X recognises that violent incidents produce high levels of stress for those involved. However, the occurrence of threatening or intimidating incidents where no actual physical violence occurs can also be very stressful and create a great deal of anxiety for those involved. In these situations, we are committed to providing those concerned with the appropriate levels of informal and formal support. Our aim is to create a safe and open work culture where employees can feel free to communicate their anxieties to others and receive the support that they need.