

WORKPLACE BULLYING IN THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR: AN
APPLICATION OF ROUTINE ACTIVITY THEORY

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to investigate the nature and prevalence of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. Also, it attempts to expand the theoretical repertoire by applying RAT in examining the situational antecedents of workplace bullying in this sector. A cross-sectional, in-depth survey using method triangulation was applied. The findings are based on 178 completed questionnaires (response rate=71%) and 22 interviews, from members of 29 voluntary organisations in Leicestershire. A total of 15% of the respondents reported being bullied over the last one year and 28% in the last 5 years. Where comparable, the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector was found to be higher than among the NHS trusts, fire service, higher education, manufacturing and civil service sectors, while it is almost parallel to the police service and the post/telecommunications—the sectors which are considered to have high prevalence rates. Detrimental effects in terms of physical/psychological health, work performance, sick leave and personal life were evident. The independent sample t-test shows that the victims of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations reported the least experience of overt behaviour and personal harassment, and the most experience of work-related harassment. Logistic regression reveals only a partial support for a routine activities approach to workplace bullying. Consequently, an alternative situational framework, consisting of RAT and Social Interactionist Perspective, was proposed. Overall, the study identifies some pertinent situational factors, which need to be addressed in order to curb bullying in this sector: management commitment towards a zero-tolerance bullying policy; management training in areas such as conflict resolution, implementing organisational changes, and maintenance of the commitment of a conscientious workforce; meticulous selection of voluntary management committee is recommended; high prevalence of role conflict, role ambiguity and lack of work control need resolving; strained relationship with funding bodies need improvement; and assertiveness training for the workforce is essential.

DEDICATION

To my children who are yet to be born into this world. To my nephew Aidan, and nieces, Ayla and Anna (and many more to come). May this be a source of motivation for you, to go beyond fame and fortune and experience the wonders of knowledge.

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INTRODUCTION

Workplace violence is a serious and widespread phenomenon that often causes considerable physical and emotional strain upon individuals, and negatively impacts on organisations' efficiency, morale, and finances. The British Crime Survey estimates that the number of incidents of violence at work in 2001/02 was 757,000 and since then, the total number of incidents has increased to 849,000 in 2002/03 (Upson, 2004, pp. 5-8).¹

It is not surprising that there has been extensive media attention and considerable social and scientific interest directed to the problem of aggression in work settings (Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 392). The majority of research on workplace aggression, however, has usually focused on affective aggression that is more active and direct, as opposed to instrumental aggression which is passive and indirect (Geen, 1990).² Consistent with this view, Chappell (2000, p. 397) notes that both media reports and many published studies on workplace aggression have focused almost exclusively on violent and extreme forms of aggressive behaviour, particularly workplace homicide as opposed to other harmful but less dramatic acts (see also Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 393). Nonetheless, these most extreme forms of workplace violence do not involve instances where angry employees suddenly assault colleagues or supervisors. "Rather

¹ This report is an update of previous results published in "Violence at work: Findings from the British Crime Survey" (Budd, 1999) and "Violence at work: New findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey" (Budd, 2001).

² Geen (1990) emphasised/reported studies on affective aggression rather than instrumental aggression in his book, stating that "instrumental aggression has not been studied in nearly the same depth as has affective aggression" (p. 6).

they occur when individuals are attacked by persons from outside their workplace who entered it for criminal purposes (Flannery, 1996, p. 162; LeBlanc & Barling, 2004, pp. 9-10; Neuman & Baron, 1998, pp. 392-393; Rayner & Hoel 1997, p. 187)”.³

Additionally, evidence indicates that the large majority of homicide is a result of armed robberies (Neuman & Baron, 1998, pp. 392-393).

Having said that, the existing literature and personal experience suggests that the problem of workplace aggression goes beyond the category of homicide or one-off physical assaults/violence (overt aggression), and extends to persistent/enduring mental and emotional abuse (covert aggression), mostly perpetrated by organisational insiders (Baron, Neuman, & Geddes, 1999, pp. 282, 291; LeBlanc & Barling, 2004, pp. 9-10). This phenomenon is often known as workplace bullying, mobbing or harassment (see also Hoel, Sparks, & Cooper, 2001, p. 6).

The present thesis examines workplace bullying for several reasons: First, it is prevalent. Studies in Europe, the U.S. and Australia indicate that emotional abuse or bullying, rather than physical violence represents the most common threat to workers (Hoel et al., 2001, p. 6; Di Martino, Hoel, & Cooper, 2003). This is supported by the fact that most people report experiencing “actions that create a hostile work environment but which do not result in physical harm” (see for example, Baron & Neuman, 1998, pp. 446-448; Baron & Neuman 1996, p. 161; Keashly, 1998, pp. 86-87; Northwestern National life Insurance, 1993, p. 3-4). Results from the Third European survey on working conditions (2000, Chapter 8, p. 28) show that 9% of the

³ Reports from the British Crime Survey (see for example Upson, 2004) are based on assaults and threats that were perpetrated by members of the public.

workers in Europe, or almost one in ten workers, were subjected to bullying over a 12-month period in 2000. Moreover, in the British workplace, a recent large-scale study based on 70 different organisations indicates that bullying is a “major social problem” (Hoel, Cooper, & Faragher, 2001a, p. 457; Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 40). The research reveals that almost half of Britain’s employees (47%) have witnessed workplace bullying, that one in 10 employees (10.5%) reported being bullied at work in the past 6 months, and that one in four (24.4%) has been bullied in the last five years. Second, subtle forms of aggression are sufficient in order to generate stress, severe health problems and have the potential to expand into actual violence, especially when repeated overtime (Chappell, 2000, p. 397; Einarsen & Raknes, 1997, p. 258; Keashly, 1998, pp. 106-108; Perrone, 1999, p. 13). In other words, mildly aggressive acts can have a great impact when experienced in quantity, as in the case of workplace bullying. This is supported by the fact that the problem of stress due to bullying at work in the UK is reported to be on the increase, up from 14% in 1996 to 21% in 1998, and 30% in the year 2000, and remains as a significant problem at 28% in the year 2002 and 27% in 2004 (Trade Union Congress [TUC], 1998; 2000; 2004). Third, workplace bullying does not only result in stress and ill health for the victims, but additionally, failure to deal with bullying is reported to result in lost time, efficiency and production for employers (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, pp. 31-34; Hoel et al., 2001, p. 36; TUC, 1998, ‘Factors Contributing to Stress’ section). Hence, workplace bullying is a widely spread phenomenon that poses serious consequences to both the individual and organisations, and ignoring these less dramatic forms of aggression and its negative effects is detrimental to both employees and employers.

Having established the seriousness and prevalence of workplace bullying, it should be noted that not all occupations have received the same degree of scholarly attention. Most in-depth studies have been carried out on health care professions (Einarsen, Matthiesen, & Skogstad, 1998; Farrell, 1999; Keashly, 2001) and in academic settings (Lewis, 1999). In-depth research examining the extent to which bullying exists in the voluntary sector is limited. This is a significant oversight for various reasons: First, the voluntary sector has an important economic and social role in many countries. According to the Institute of Economic Affairs, in Britain alone there are more than 500,000 NGOs (Adair, 1999, 'The Role of NGOs in Contemporary Society' section, para. 7). In one major comparative study among 24 countries including the UK, the findings indicate that more people work in the voluntary sector than in the utilities industry, the textile manufacturing industry, the paper and printing industry or the chemical manufacturing industry, and almost as many work in the non-profit sector as in the transport/communication sectors. The study also noted that an average of 28% of the population in these countries contribute their time to voluntary organisations, thereby providing important social services (Salamon, Anheier, List, Toepler, Sokolowski, & Associates, 1999, pp. 8-11). Second, the findings from the public and private sectors cannot be over-generalised to the voluntary sector mainly because it is felt that the voluntary sector has its own distinguishing characteristics conducive towards workplace bullying that need to be studied in-depth, thus further emphasising the need for this research. Third, the neglect is all more surprising because, while voluntary organisations are widely associated with an egalitarian ethos and the promotion of a caring environment, initial/preliminary findings, including reports from the UK National Workplace Bullying Advice Line (Field, 2001) and surveys by the TUC (2000; 2004), the MSF (Ball, 1996, p. 12) and by Hoel and Cooper (2000b,

p. 13) reveal that workplace bullying exists in voluntary organisations. Unfortunately, these reports are insufficient as they are general surveys that compare the working conditions/safety issues/key concerns (TUC and MSF) or bullying problems (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b) in various organisations without an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of bullying in the voluntary sector. Ancillary to this, it should be noted that the information available regarding the negative impact of workplace bullying towards the voluntary sector is often too general (TUC, 2000; 2004) and based on media articles (see Cornwell, 1995, p. 16; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7). The present thesis aims to fill this existing gap in the literature by conducting a more in-depth and methodical research (using questionnaires and interviews) on the actual prevalence, nature and effects of bullying in this sector. Since the voluntary sector is characterised by some structural qualities that distinguish it from the public and private sectors, special attention is given to investigating those causes of bullying which are attributed to the nature of the voluntary sector. It is hoped that these findings will encourage the adoption of appropriate safeguards to decrease occurrences of workplace bullying in this sector.

An additional feature of the present thesis is the theory applied in explaining the causes of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. A large number of studies on workplace bullying have been carried out in the field of psychology addressing individual (Coyne, Seigne, & Randall, 2000; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Randall, 1997), situational (Leymann, 1996, Vartia, 1996) and multidimensional level theories (Zapf, 1999; Zapf, Knorz, & Kulla, 1996). This thesis is concerned with the situational perspective. The discipline of psychology puts forth various situational/organisational antecedents of workplace bullying, such as poor leadership,

work control and role conflict, but apart from Salin's model (2003), it is one of the discipline's scholarly lacunae that there is a lack of a specific theoretical account discussing various situational antecedents in combination. This thesis suggests that an additional development in the field of criminology, namely opportunity theories which emphasise the situational determinants of violence and aggression, can be seen as contributing towards the development of the situational perspective of workplace bullying in the field of psychology. A particular interest will be in examining the Routine Activity Theory (RAT) (Cohen & Felson, 1979), which is the most widely applied opportunity theory. It proposes that the routine activities of everyday life of the society and people partly determine the opportunity for crime. More specifically, its premise is that crime occurs when three factors converge simultaneously in time and space: A motivated offender is present; a suitable target is available; and there is an absence of a suitable guardian.

This study applies Routine Activity Theory (RAT) in explaining workplace bullying in voluntary organisations. It is predicted that the staff and volunteers in voluntary organisations may engage, too, in routine activities that provide opportunities for workplace bullying to take place. It is further argued that some of the distinguishing characteristics of the voluntary sector may provide the opportunity for the convergence of a motivated offender, suitable target and lack of guardianship. This research focuses on four specific characteristics of the voluntary sector—the non-profit distributing element, the voluntary participation element, the ethos of egalitarianism/participation, and the quality of leadership—and investigates how these distinguishing factors play a role in the routine activity of the staff and volunteers, thereby contributing to the occurrence of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector.

The main purpose of this research is thus two-fold: (1) To explore the nature and extent of workplace bullying/harassment in the voluntary sector, and (2) to apply RAT in explaining the phenomenon. In order to achieve the first purpose, this research aims to:

- Explore the prevalence of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector both by objective and subjective means;
- Explore the perception and awareness of bullying among the voluntary sector workforce by subjective means, especially interviews;
- Explore the negative behaviours most frequently encountered in voluntary organisations;
- Compare the prevalence of overt and covert forms of aggression experienced by the victims of bullying in voluntary organisations; and
- Reveal the effects of workplace bullying towards the victims in terms of psychological/physical wellbeing, job performance, number of sick leaves taken, and personal relationships.

The second purpose of the research particularly involves applying the ‘target suitability’ and ‘lack of capable guardianship’ component of RAT in explaining the bullying phenomenon in the voluntary sector. Applying them would imply identifying those features in voluntary organisations that are analogue to the factors present in other RAT models. Attention is also given to examining the distinct characteristics of the voluntary sector that may contribute towards workplace bullying. In order to achieve the second purpose, this research aims to:

- Explore the “target suitability” component of RAT in terms of the ‘exposure’ or vulnerability of targets to bullying, and the material or symbolic ‘attractiveness’ of the victim. The element of one’s vulnerability is examined by exploring the relationship between ‘exposure’ to a negative work environment, particularly workload and the experience of bullying. ‘Target attractiveness’ is examined by exploring three areas: the relationship between employment status (volunteer or employee) and workplace bullying; secondly, the relationship between the nature of a victim’s response (confronting the perpetrator) and the experience of bullying; and third, demographic characteristics of the victims of bullying in the voluntary organisations;
- Explore the “lack of capable guardianship” component in terms of ‘leadership’ and ‘organisational policy’. With regards to leadership, perpetrator status and the constructive leadership climate are seen as potentially bringing about bullying. Where organisational policy is concerned, the availability or unavailability of organisational policy is expected to be related with the bullying incidents.

Overall, this study makes a number of contributions: First, it expands the limited literature on workplace bullying in the voluntary sector by conducting an in-depth study and proposing an appropriate prevention strategy to control it. Second, it expands the theoretical repertoire of the situational perspective available for understanding/researching workplace bullying by introducing a routine activities approach from criminology. Finally, it expands RAT’s usage by statistically examining its applicability in explaining a wider variety of aggressive behaviour (apart from the usual direct-contact predatory crime), such as workplace bullying.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives and to ensure the smooth flow of the study, this thesis is divided into seven main chapters that are structured as following: Chapter one begins with the literature review and relevant definitions. It defines workplace bullying and other concepts related to it such as workplace, aggression, violence, mobbing and harassment, and explains the distinguishing characteristics of workplace bullying. Next, it describes the nature of the voluntary organisation, and explains the importance of researching workplace bullying in this sector. This chapter is mainly structured to provide the research questions to achieve the first purpose of the study, that is, to explore the nature and extent of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. Chapter two explains the theoretical framework that the study is based on, RAT, and proposes a routine activities model of workplace bullying that takes into account the distinctive features of the voluntary sector. It is mainly structured to provide the research questions to achieve the second purpose of the study, namely, to apply RAT in explaining the workplace bullying. Chapter three is concerned with the methodological aspects of the study such as sampling, instruments and procedures utilised for data collection, ethical issues, and data analysis techniques. Chapter four reports the quantitative findings, while chapter five focuses on the qualitative findings. Chapter six discusses these results in detail, and explores the practical, theoretical and methodological implications. The latter, refers to the limitations and ways of improving future study. Finally, chapter seven concludes the thesis by highlighting the major contributions of the study. It should be noted that this thesis adopts the American Psychological Association (2001) style of writing.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW AND DEFINITIONS

This chapter starts by defining the concept ‘workplace’ in relation to voluntary organisations. Then it reviews the usual definitions associated with workplace bullying; specifically aggression, violence, mobbing and harassment, followed by a detailed definition of workplace bullying which is applied in this research. From there, the chapter illustrates the special nature of workplace bullying (in terms of forms, duration, frequency, power imbalance and intention to harm), and the need to study this new field in the voluntary sector. The importance of researching workplace bullying in voluntary organisations is further established by emphasising its potential detrimental effects upon the individual and the organisation. Next, this chapter illustrates the nature and the importance of voluntary organisations in society. In doing so, it discusses the initial reports on the prevalence of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. It shows that these initial reports are insufficient and scarce, thus emphasising the critical need for further in-depth studies. Additionally, it suggests that the voluntary sector possesses some distinguishing features which contribute to the occurrence of workplace bullying. Finally, it should be noted that the following sections are intertwined with research questions aimed at achieving the first purpose of this research, which are, to investigate the prevalence of bullying, the nature and types of negative behaviours associated with bullying in this sector, the negative effects and the perception of the respondents regarding workplace bullying.

Workplace

The contemporary meaning of the term 'workplace' has expanded due to the development in communication and transportation technology, and it is no longer linked to a fixed geographical location (Bowie, 2000, p. 16). The traditional workplace setting has been supplemented by the knowledge that there are people whose vocation entails mobile work, such as taxi or bus drivers, and that certain self-employed or even company employed work from their residences (Bowie, 2000, p. 16; Bulatao & VandenBos, 1996, pp. 2-3). Nonetheless, it should be noted that most people engaged in an occupation would still identify some particular site as the base for their work where they will have to report (Bowie, 2000, p. 16). The definition of workplace for the purpose of this thesis takes into account the nature of voluntary organisations. Firstly, most voluntary organisations have a fixed premises or workplace where the staff/volunteers work from or report to. So, based on Bowie's (2000) argument, it is assumed that staffs and volunteers usually have a particular site that they consider as their workplace. Secondly, the job descriptions of staff/volunteers often range quite widely, and include activities at the bases, such as taking helpline calls or meeting clients, but also external activities such as visiting clients at their offices or houses and collecting donations from the public. So, the definition of workplace for the purpose of this research is broadened to include 'work-related' sites, which covers incidents relating to work but which may actually not take place in the workplace itself (see also Standing & Nicolini, 1997, p. 6).

Aggression, Violence and Bullying

The terms aggression, violence and bullying are often viewed as interchangeable in many studies (Chappell & Di Martino, 1998, p. 21). According to Griffin and Gross (2004, p. 381), some authors (see for example Randall, 1991)⁴ classified all intentionally aggressive behaviours towards others as bullying. In contrast, others have been reluctant to embrace the term bullying and preferred the more familiar term of aggression even when referring to studies that focused on bullying (see, for example, Vermande, van den Oord, Goudena, & Rispen, 2000). This thesis emphasises that it is imperative to have a clearer definition of bullying because the application of vague definitions may be problematic under certain circumstances. For instance, in explaining school bullying, the use of broad definitions “may lead to the over-classification of children as bullies or victims” (Griffin & Gross, 2004, p. 381) and since broad definitions of bullying are over-inclusive, attention is often being paid to what it is not (Rigby, 2002, p. 30). A similar inference could be made in the context of workplace bullying.

This research views bullying as neither completely interchangeable nor entirely distinct with/from aggression and violence. These phenomena are related in that bullying and violence overlap to some degree and are subcategories of aggression (see also Ireland & Archer, 2004, pp. 29-30; Olweus, 1999, p. 12). The following section defines and explores the differences and similarities of ‘aggression’ and ‘violence’ before explaining the concept of ‘bullying’. This is essential as aggression and violence are often seen as relating to bullying to a certain extent, but as the discussion

⁴ According to Randall (1991), “Bullying is aggressive behaviour arising out of a deliberate intent to cause physical or psychological distress to others”.

below indicates, aggression is too broad a term while violence is too specific to be interchangeable with bullying. A discussion of the technical terms used and their relationship also facilitates the understanding of the nature of bullying as researched in this thesis within the context of the voluntary sector.

Workplace Aggression

The following discussion starts by explaining aggression as there is more agreement among researchers on its theoretical definition compared with the term violence (see also O’Leary-Kelly, Griffin, & Glew, 1996, p. 227; Roberts, Mock, & Johnstone, 1981, pp. 9-12; Standing & Nicolini, 1997, p. 5).

Baron and Richardson (1994, p. 7) propose the following definition: “aggression is any form of behaviour directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment” (see also Anderson & Bushman, 2002, pp. 28-29). This definition suggests that aggression be viewed as a form of behaviour and not as an emotion, motive or attitude. In addition, although the element of hurting someone is important, physical damage to the recipient is not essential (Baron & Richardson, 1994, pp. 9-10; Berkowitz, 1993, p. 11; Buss, 1961, p. 5). As long as the victim experienced some type of aversive outcomes, aggression has occurred. Similarly, Neuman and Baron (1998), suggest that “workplace aggression is a general term including all forms of behaviour by which individuals attempt to harm others at work or their organisations” (p. 393). It includes even a single act which is not part of an on-going pattern of harmful behaviour (Neuman, 2000, ‘Some Basic Definitions’ section, para. 6), and it may involve conflicts between equal parties (Roland & Idsoe, 2001, pp. 446-447).

The point is that the concept of aggression or workplace aggression is related to bullying—in that bullying is a form of aggression—just as aggression is also the basic component of other harmful behaviours like violence, emotional abuse, petty tyranny, incivility, organisational retaliatory behaviour, antisocial behaviour, sabotage and vandalism. Hence this thesis does not use the term aggression interchangeably with bullying as it is a general term. The focus of this thesis is particularly on bullying which is merely one form of aggression. The form(s) of aggression often related to bullying behaviour are discussed later.

Workplace Violence

As for workplace violence, there is, however, no universal agreement regarding the definition (Budd, 1999, p. 1; Bulatao & VandenBos, 1996, p. 1; Bowie, 2002; Perrone, 1999, p. 11) and most of the dissent concerns the scope of activities to be encompassed by the term. Although much of the academic and media attention regarding workplace aggression has traditionally focused on physical aggression/physical violence, evidence has been emerging in more recent years that most people actually experience non-physical workplace aggression more than physical aggression (Baron & Neuman 1996, p. 161; Baron & Neuman, 1998, pp. 446-448; Keashly, 1998, pp. 86-87). As a result, many contemporary definitions of violence have included a broader range of acts, from physical assaults to threats, intimidation, verbal abuse, and emotional/psychological abuse (Budd, 1999, p. 2; Chappell & Di Martino, 1998, p. 14).⁵

⁵ The International Labour Office (ILO) considers bullying, sexual harassment and physical violence as occupational violence (Chappell & Di Martino, 1998, p. 14) and in the UK, the National Health and Safety Executive (HSE) describes work-related violence as “any incidents in which an individual suffers mental abuse, physical abuse or threats in circumstances relating to their work” (Budd, 1999, p. 2).

Further arguments in support for these contemporary definitions are as follows: First, it is argued that non-physical/psychological aggression should be included in the definition because the consequences for the victim can be as serious as physical assault itself (Budd, 1999, p. 2). Second, there is the argument that violence is often manifested on an escalating continuum which at the lowest end involves teasing and belittling, and at the other extreme end involves more overt behaviours such as intimidation and physical abuse (Mayhew & Chappell, 2001, p. 2).

This trend towards broader definitions of violence explains why ‘aggression’ and ‘violence’ are often used interchangeably (see also Chappell & Di Martino, 1998, p. 21), and it also explains why contemporary definitions of violence may present bullying as interchangeable with violence and aggression. However, there are several reasons why the broader definition of violence is not necessarily useful to the phenomena discussed in this thesis, and consequently the terms violence and aggression are not used interchangeably with bullying. Despite the general agreement (as indicated in the previous section) that all violence is aggression, instances of aggression need not be violent.⁶ For many researchers the term violence directs attention solely to a small category of harm-doing behaviour that involve direct physical assaults (Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 393). This view corresponds to Anderson and Bushman’s (2002, p. 29) suggestion that violence should be defined as situations of aggression that involve the most serious negative outcomes (see also Berkowitz, 1993, p. 11). Following this line of argument, O’Leary-Kelly et al. (1996, pp. 227-228) stated that aggression is the potentially destructive action (process) of an

⁶ Among the public, it would seem that despite the academic discussion of broader definitions of violence, ‘workplace violence’ is associated to physical aggression.

individual attempting to physically injure a co-worker while violence is the resulting injury to the co-worker (outcome).

In line with the argument proposed by Neuman and Baron (1998, p. 399) and others, this thesis views workplace violence as typically associated with overt aggression.

According to Baron and Neuman (1998, p. 449); Neuman and Baron (1997); and Buss (1961), overt forms of aggression reveal the identity and intentions of the aggressor, and are often physical, direct and active.⁷ Therefore, workplace violence includes a wide range of overt aggression such as homicide, attack with weapons, direct physical assault, threats of physical assaults, damage to personal property and shouting (see also Jenkins, 1996, 'Purpose and Scope' section, para. 3; Neuman & Baron, 1998, pp. 399-400). However, not all forms of violence obviously are bullying and vice versa. While a one-off incident of violence is considered as workplace violence, workplace bullying is typically characterised by repetitive and enduring negative acts (further discussed later). In addition, behaviour that falls within the concept of workplace violence usually has criminal aspects to it (assaults, threats to harm, damage to personal property, verbal obscenities, sexual harassment), while workplace bullying also covers a wider range of behaviours often subtle in nature (persistent criticism, undervaluing effort, spreading rumours) which are less likely to have criminal elements (Barron, 2000, p. 63). Some researchers like Barron (2000) who view workplace violence and bullying as distinct phenomena base their arguments on the premises that workplace bullying involves repetitive/persistent subtle behaviour while workplace violence are overt and have criminal element (p. 64). Although the present

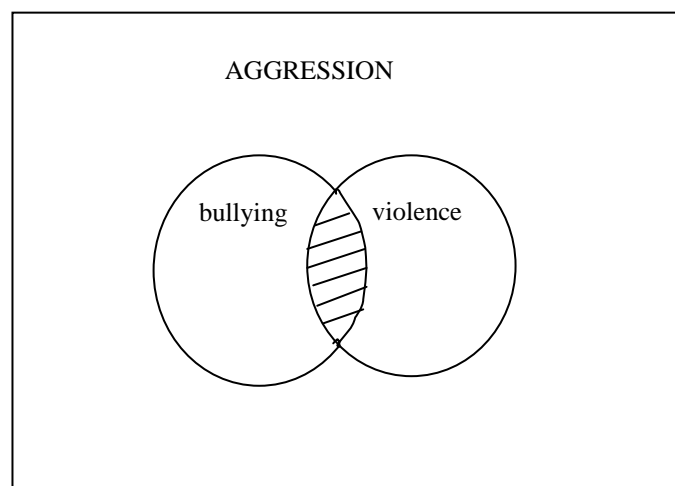
⁷ "Physical aggression inflicts harm through actions such as attacks with weapons, physical restraint, or unwanted touching or pushing. Direct means of aggression takes place in face-to-face situations where the source of the aggression delivers harm directly to the target. Active forms of aggression inflict harm through the performance of some behaviour (Neuman & Baron, 1997, pp. 39-40)."

thesis supports the view that workplace violence refers to overt/physical behaviour, this does not mean that bullying does not include physical violence that are persistent. Thus apart from including subtle repetitive aggression, workplace bullying, as applied in this thesis, also covers persistent behaviours considered dangerous or violent, and which may lead to legal pursuits.

The foregoing discussion defined the term aggression and violence and established the extent of the link between aggression and violence as suggested by different authors. In addition, the term bullying was briefly introduced and its connection with aggression and violence was established for the usage in this thesis. Overall, workplace violence and bullying are viewed as neither distinct nor inclusive, but as overlapping to some degree and as subcategories of aggression (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Relationship between aggression, violence and bullying

Olweus (1999, p. 13)



Workplace Bullying

The following section elaborates the concept of workplace bullying with special reference to the voluntary sector. This entails examining firstly, the definition of bullying and other interchangeable terms such as mobbing and harassment; secondly, the forms of aggression often related to workplace bullying and which are of interest in this research; and thirdly, other typical characteristics outlining workplace bullying with special focus on duration, frequency, power imbalance and intention to harm. Finally, the following sections are intertwined with specific research questions aimed in achieving the first purpose of this research.

Definition

Various concepts have been used for bullying in the European literature such as mobbing, harassment, bullying, victimisation and psychological terror (cited in Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2003, p. 3; Einarsen, 2000, pp. 381-382).⁸ The proceeding section mainly explores the origin of the terms bullying and harassment since they are widely used in the British context. The word bullying actually originates from mobbing, a term which was itself first used in ethology to describe animal behaviour where attacks from a group of smaller animals threaten a single larger animal (Swedish translation of Lorenz, 1968 as cited in Olweus, 1999, p. 8; also cited in Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 4). In the 1970's the term mobbing was borrowed to describe destructive behaviour of small groups of children directed against a single child at school (Olweus, 1999, p. 8). In the early 1980's Leymann (1996) introduced the application of the term to describe a similar behaviour in the workplace. The term

⁸ On the other hand, in the North American literature it is referred as workplace aggression, workplace incivility, emotional abuse, petty tyranny, workplace trauma and workplace harassment (Einarsen, 2000, pp. 381-382; Keashly & Jagatic, 2003, p. 31).

‘mobbing’ continues to be used in Germany and the Scandinavian countries, while the term bullying is more common in Britain and by extension, the English speaking countries (Einarsen, 2000, pp. 380-381; Zapf & Einarsen, 2001, p. 369). There are conflicting arguments about whether mobbing and bullying are interchangeable terms. According to Rayner and Hoel (1997, p. 182), the term mobbing is widely used in the Scandinavian countries since they experience a higher level of group bullying towards an individual both in schools and workplaces whereas in the UK, it is more usual for the bully to be an individual. In contrast, Olweus (1999, pp. 9-10) argued that school bullying in the Scandinavian countries is often perpetrated by a single individual as well. Similarly, Einarsen and Skogstad (1996, p. 187) reported that the term mobbing was found to be increasingly applied in situations where a single individual harasses another person in the workplace. As the literature further develops, these two terms, workplace mobbing and bullying, were used interchangeably and the only major difference between these terms is in terms of boundaries. Therefore, in current usage, mobbing in the Scandinavian countries is similar to the use of bullying in Britain, and there are no efforts that this author is aware of to try to adopt one or the other term as the standard signifier (Olweus, 1999, p. 10). Having said that, for the purpose of this thesis, the term bullying is preferred for several reasons. The original meaning of the word ‘mob’ is somewhat different for an English-speaking audience (see also Olweus, 1999, p. 10). “The word ‘mob’ has been used for quite some time in social psychology and to some extent by the general public in the English-speaking countries to denote a large group of individuals (formed by accident, loosely organised and existing only for a short time) joined in some kind of common activity or striving” (Olweus, 1999, p. 8). For this reason, out of convention with the practice of

researchers in the UK (such as Hoel & Cooper, 2000b; Rayner, 1997) and since the research is conducted in the British context, ‘bullying’ is preferred in this thesis.

Before elaborating on workplace bullying it is worth noting for the sake of comprehensiveness another related term, ‘workplace harassment’. The term harassment is widely used in the U.S. and Canada (Einarsen, 2000, p. 380), and in particular it has been used to refer to sexual harassment in North American studies (such as Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997, p. 578).⁹ Apart from that, it is most often applied in cases where the victims’ personal characteristics—sex, race and religion—place them in the minority population (McMahon, 2000, p. 384) and suffer for this in the workplace. Hence, it includes officially recognised, defined, documented, legislated and institutionalised forms of workplace aggression (see also Mullen, 1997, p. 26).¹⁰ However, for various reasons, in this research harassment is not merely viewed as related to some personal characteristics of the victim or officially recognised workplace aggression such as sexual and racial harassment which are considered as employment discrimination. It is argued that the term ‘discriminate’ actually has two meanings (Irvine, 2000, pp. 356-357, p. 356): first, to make distinctions on the basis of class or category without regard to individual merit and second, to simply treat the group unfairly or to treat its members without the moral respect they deserve. Taking the latter definition into consideration, this research uses the term harassment as a wider concept and therefore does not necessarily limit its usage to refer to racial or sexual harassment. This view was already maintained as early as 1970’s by Brodsky (1976), who was a pioneer in

⁹ According to Irvine (2000, p. 357), America’s concern with sexual harassment at the workplace can be mainly attributed to the rise of the Women’s Movement.

¹⁰ But other than racial and sexual harassment used for discriminatory reasons, there has been very little discussion of workplace harassment in the courts and legislature (Spry, 1998, p. 233).

workplace harassment. He saw sexual harassment as only one out of five types of work harassment, which include name calling, scapegoating, physical abuse and work pressures. Thus, harassment may also cover a wider range of subtle behaviour or non-sexual harassment that is not legally documented as crime, but may nonetheless be detrimental (Irvine, 2000; Spry, 1998, p. 232). Furthermore, it is argued that in European studies the concept has a wider connotation and includes repeated aggressive behaviours which are more comparable to bullying (Kaukiainen, Salmivalli, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, Lahtinen, Kostamo, & Lagerspetz, 2001, p. 361; Leymann, 1990).¹¹ So as a reaction to this development in Europe, and since this research is conducted in the European context, respondents' experiences of workplace harassment will be taken into consideration along with complaints of workplace bullying.¹²

Having discussed the origins of bullying and the appropriate usage of the term in the current thesis, the following discussion proceeds to explore its characteristics. As indicated earlier, bullying is a subcategory of aggression that overlaps with the concept of violence and has its own characteristics (Ireland & Archer, 2004, pp. 29-30; Olweus, 1999, p. 12). The key characteristics of bullying as agreed upon by most researchers¹³ are: "it is a systematic aggression or violence targeted towards one or more individuals by one individual or by a group, consists of repeated and enduring

¹¹ Leymann (1990) has referred to mobbing as a severe form of harassing people in organisations. See also Bjorkqvist, Osterman, and Hjelt-Back (1994b, p. 174), who suggested that sexual harassment was a common topic focused upon in North America while other forms of workplace harassment have been a focal interest in Europe, particularly so in Scandinavia.

¹² However it should be noted that the term harassment is also applied to a single incident (such as in sexual harassment) while bullying is often characterised by repetitive incidents (Lee, 2000, pp. 606-607; Rayner, 1997, p. 205). There are suggestions that "workplace bullying discourse should join the workplace harassment discourse in recognising single incidents" (Lee, 2000, pp. 606-607). Despite this suggestion the current research focuses on the often cited repetitive nature of workplace bullying.

¹³ According to Smith and Brain (2000), "Although these characteristics are not universally accepted, they are now widely used" (p. 2).

acts and the target is or ends up in an inferior position from which it is difficult to defend oneself” (Einarsen, 2000, p. 381; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, p. 187).

However several scholars still differ in how they interpret these key elements.

According to Ireland and Archer (2004, p. 30), these variations occur depending on the environment and population under study. Studies on bullying have been conducted in various environments including schools, prisons, armed forces, hospitals and universities. These studies will be referred to in the following sections when examining the nature of workplace bullying in the voluntary organisations. The following sections elaborate on the characteristics of bullying in four stages: forms, duration, frequency, power imbalance and intention to harm.

Forms

So far it has been illustrated that the term aggression has a wide range of coverage. In the context of workplace it includes all forms of behaviour where individuals attempt to harm others at work or their organisations (Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 393). This research views workplace bullying as a particular form of interpersonal aggression and thus a narrower concept than anti-social or deviant workplace behaviour which may involve acts directed towards the organisation (Salin 2003, p. 1215).

Additionally research on workplace bullying typically investigates interpersonal aggression or violence transpiring between members of the organisation rather than from outsiders (Barron, 2000, p. 63; Neuman & Baron, 2003, p. 185; Salin, 2003, p. 1215). According to the Californian Division of Occupational Health and Safety (1995) or Cal/OSHA, there are generally three sources of workplace aggression (see also Barron, 2000, pp. 65-66; Bowie, 2000, pp. 12-13; Bowie, 2002): aggression from

the general public (intrusive violence) which involves external perpetrators who usually do not have legitimate relationships to the workplace and which is often random or opportunistic such as robbery; consumer aggression perpetrated by customers, clients or patients (or their relatives and friends) against staff of a service or business; and finally relationship aggression (or intra-organisational aggression) which involves aggressive behaviour by current or former employees against other staff through harassment and bullying. Although aggression perpetrated by members of public or clients do not usually have elements in common with workplace bullying, there may be occasions where employees or volunteers in the voluntary organisations experience incidents which can be categorised as bullying from outsiders (Barron, 2000, p. 66), especially because the voluntary sector workforce has to constantly deal with customers and outsiders to provide services. An example of bullying from organisational outsiders is the persistent threatening with an unfounded complaint to a superior. Nonetheless, this thesis focuses on workplace bullying involving organisational members/insiders and it is felt that an additional study would be required if one wants to investigate aggression from outsiders. Several reasons can account for this: first, the majority of the research investigating workplace aggression has focused on aggression perpetrated by outsiders/the public, so that co-worker initiated aggression is relatively under-researched (see also Kaukiainen et al., 2001, pp. 360-361). Second, public-initiated and co-worker initiated aggression were differently associated with personal and organisational outcomes (LeBlanc & Kelloway, 2002, pp. 444, 449-452). Third, Barron (2000, p. 64) indicated that the risk factors and prevention strategies for public-initiated and co-worker initiated aggression may also vary (see also Budd, 2001, p. 23).

It has also been established in the earlier discussions that workplace bullying or persistent interpersonal aggression experienced by co-workers may include both workplace violence (overt aggression) and more subtle, psychological, and covert interpersonal aggression.¹⁴ However, unlike school bullying which is typically characterised by direct forms of aggression, workplace bullying is characterised by more indirect forms of aggression (see also Smith, Singer, Hoel, & Cooper, 2003, p. 176). Furthermore previous research shows that in work settings, passive forms of aggression were rated as more frequent than active forms (Baron & Neuman, 1996, p. 161). In line with these findings, Baron et al. (1999, pp. 282-291) demonstrated that the most frequent manifestations of insider-initiated aggression are not acts of overt aggression or violence, but rather less dramatic psychological aggression which is mostly covert in nature. Based on these observations, it is hypothesised that victims of workplace bullying in the voluntary organisations experience more covert aggression than overt aggression. This study also investigates the types of covert aggression that are mostly experienced by victims of bullying in the voluntary sector.

Additionally, despite the sensational media reports, overt aggression or violence in the workplace is often perpetrated by outsiders rather than insiders (see also Flannery, 1996; LeBlanc & Barling, 2004, pp. 9-10; Neuman & Baron, 1998, pp. 392-393; Rayner & Hoel, 1997, p. 187). Consistent with this evidence the current research predicts that violence or overt aggression experienced by the victims of workplace

¹⁴ According to Bjorkqvist, Osterman, and Lagerspetz (1994a, p. 30); Baron and Neuman (1998); Neuman and Baron (1997); and Buss (1961), covert forms of aggression disguise the identity and intentions of the perpetrator, and are often verbal, indirect and passive. Verbal aggression is primarily verbal and symbolic in nature such as dirty looks, belittling others' opinions and talking behind the target's back (Baron & Neuman, 1998, p. 453). Indirect aggression is delivered to the target through an intermediary, by attacking something the target values or via the negative reactions of others (spreading malicious rumours about the target) while passive aggression involves withholding of some actions (Neuman & Baron, 1997, pp. 39-40).

bullying in the voluntary organisations is rather limited and is most often perpetrated by outsider rather than co-workers.

Duration

Another important characteristic of bullying is the element of duration. In order for behaviour to be considered as bullying, past research suggests that it must occur over a certain duration of time. According to Hoel, Rayner, and Cooper (1999, pp. 196, 200), many authors seem to have reached a consensus that a strict six-month criterion should be retained for duration. This is especially true when the health consequences of bullying are considered, where a shorter time frame such as six months seems more suitable. According to Groebtinghoff and Becker (1996), even after a relatively short period of time (about 3-6 months) post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) can be diagnosed as a result of bullying (p. 284). Vartia (2001, p. 67) found that victims of bullying suffered mental stress although they had been treated negatively for less than 6 months.

Despite a general support for a six-month duration, based on several deliberations this thesis uses a one-year duration as a criterion. First, a six-month duration as a criterion is usually utilised in the assessment of various psychiatric disorders (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 8). Since the main purpose of this research is not to assess the psychiatric disorder of victims of workplace bullying, a six-month duration is not necessarily applicable. Second, although Keashly (2001, Limitation section, para. 2)¹⁵ indicated that the amount of time between the incident and the assessment of the incident should be limited in order to minimise distortions due to the self-report nature of research

¹⁵ Keashly (2001) used a shorter time frame in their study where the time period between the incident and its assessment ranged from five to 30 days.

(particularly in questionnaires), some studies have reported otherwise. According to Rivers (2001, pp. 129,136), lesbians, gay men and bisexual men and women who were bullied at school were able to recall key events in their lives and place them within a general chronology which did not vary greatly across the 12–14 months. Thus, a time period shorter than six months such as one or two months duration may be successfully applied to one-off incidents of aggression but it is too rigid to be applied in this thesis. A longer duration such as one year is more appropriate since bullying is often a persistent experience in which victims' memories of the incident may remain stable longer. Third, studies have revealed that the average exposure to bullying behaviours often lasts much longer than six months. Thirty nine percent of the British victims had been bullied for more than two years (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 20); Norwegian targets an average of 18 months (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, p. 195); Irish workers 3.4 years (O'Moore et al., 2000 as cited in Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 8) while North American targets report an average duration of 23 months (Namie, 2003, 'About Survey Respondents, Individuals Targeted' section). Finally and most importantly, as the questionnaires were administered in September, a one-year duration is preferred in order to avoid seasonal variations (many respondents have taken summer holidays).¹⁶

Repetition/Frequency

Along with the element of duration, definitions of bullying emphasise repeated negative acts and disregard one-time incidents (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 7; Leymann, 1990; Olweus, 1991; 1997; 1999). However, there appears to be some variation among researchers regarding what should constitute the frequency criteria. For

¹⁶ The initial pilot study conducted at the voluntary organisations indicated that the majority of the staff and volunteers seem to be more comfortable with a one year time period.

example, Olweus (1999, p. 11) suggests that even a single serious episode can be regarded as bullying under special circumstances. This section first elucidates the circumstances where single incidents may be regarded as bullying, and then it elaborates on the nature of frequency standards often applied by researchers for repeated negative acts before explaining the position adopted for this thesis.

Although generally studies on bullying emphasise repeated negative acts, some studies such as those on bullying among prisoners adopt the view that even a single serious episode can be regarded as bullying under special circumstances (Ireland, 2000, p. 202; see also Olweus, 1999, p. 11). According to Ireland (2000), since bullying in prisons has some special features, it requires extending the definition of bullying. The nature of prison itself makes repetition improbable because of the rapid movement of inmates to new locations (to and from prisons or to different sectors within the prison). Here a single serious incident may be considered as bullying under circumstances where the particular kind of incident is a common occurrence (Ireland, 2000, p. 202). For example, 'taxing' is a behaviour where goods are taken from new inmates under the pretence of a tax. Although this incident may occur only once to a particular inmate, Ireland (2000, p. 202) classified it as a serious incident of theft that is applied to all new inmates, thereby making it a repeated common occurrence. However, it is presumed that voluntary organisations are different from prisons in that there is no rapid movement of staff/volunteers in the voluntary sector, and so repeated common occurrence of a single serious incident is highly unlikely. Furthermore, serious incidents are more noticeable and the repercussions are highly damaging or

risky for perpetrators in voluntary sectors compared to prisons.¹⁷ Thus bullying in the voluntary sector is more likely characterised by repetitions of subtle incidents as opposed to single serious incidents.

Further interpretations regarding the nature of frequency standards for repeated negative acts have been proposed by various researchers. Leymann (1996, p. 168) defined bullying as the exposure to one out of 45 negative acts on a weekly basis for the past six months, while Einarsen and Skogstad (1996, p. 195) identified a behaviour as bullying if it occurs 'now and then' or 'weekly'. This research does not use the criterion 'now and then' as it is too vague (see also Hoel et al., 1999, p. 196), while the 'weekly' criterion has the advantage of specificity and has found widespread use in bullying research.

Although the objective criterion that specifies frequency (weekly) is an important characteristic of the bullying phenomenon, it has certain drawbacks. The following section highlights these drawbacks and suggests that objective criteria should be accompanied by subjective criteria in order to achieve a more balanced outcome. The first concern is that, although objective criteria which specify frequency and duration are important characteristics of the bullying phenomenon, it is agreed that "if workers do not perceive themselves as bullied (subjective evidence), it would be erroneous for researchers to make such a classification despite the objective evidence" (Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy, & Alberts, 2004, p. 7). Indeed some researchers suggest that any subjective report of bullying "should be considered valid" (Hoel et al., 2001a, p. 444)

¹⁷ The existence of the voluntary sector is largely based on the egalitarian ethos (Leat, 1993, p. 38). The discourse frequently refers to a caring and an egalitarian environment for the clients and workforce. Hence, it is felt that a single, serious negative incident will be more readily reprimanded in such an environment compared to the prison environment.

simply because a person would not be seen as being bullied if they had not labelled themselves as such (Hoel et al., 1999, p. 197). Second, Hoel et al. (1999) suggested that Leymann's "definition of strict frequency and duration is particularly useful for legal purposes—as has been the case in Scandinavia—since the law requires more tangible parameters than researchers use. The reaction of the victims and their perceived state is more suitable for research and health purposes because researchers are usually more interested in behaviours which are not so extreme so as to require litigation, but are still damaging" (pp. 198, 200).¹⁸ Third, it is possible to bully someone without exhibiting negative behaviour on a weekly basis especially when a group of people are being bullied or when there are enduring negative consequences such as might occur if a victim is made to work in a basement without windows or telephone, or if a single harmful rumour is circulated (Adams & Crawford, 1992; Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 7). Self-identification/subjective labelling is important then because abuse that is not captured by the objective criteria can often feel like bullying.

Based on the above discussion, there are basically two approaches in measuring incidence rates and severity of bullying, which are objective and subjective measures respectively (Hoel et al., 1999, pp. 213-214). Despite their apparent weaknesses there is value in both approaches and it is agreed with the established researchers' opinion (Salin, 2001, p. 437) that both should be measured in the present thesis in order to explore the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector.

¹⁸ Nonetheless it should be noted that even in the legal perspective, in order for racial or sexual harassment to have occurred, the victim is required to have felt harassed (Painter 1991 as cited in Hoel et al., 1999, p. 197). Of course this is not the sole condition in the legal perspective because the victims have to demonstrate the negative effects on them as well (Hoel et al., 1999, p. 197).

Before proceeding further, there is another dimension to the subjective-objective debate that deserves to be addressed. It is argued that the above measures (the use of objective criterion that specifies frequency [weekly] or the use of subjective criterion which requires the respondents to self-identify if their negative experience is an act of bullying or vice versa) may still be inadequate in researching bullying as they are considered as relying heavily on perceptual or 'subjective' data based on self-report of the victim (Hoel et al., 1999, p. 214). According to Frese and Zapf (1988), 'objective' data should not be influenced by the cognitive and emotional process of one particular individual (victim) but rather it should be an average person's cognitive and emotional process (p. 379). This has been referred to as 'interrater reliability', whereby there is an agreement of the victim's report with some external observers (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 11). As such, the use of observer data derived from peer observation or nomination technique¹⁹ has been practised in the field of school bullying and has been successful in assessing the validity of self-report data (Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Hjelt-Back, 1994b). However, peer nomination technique has received severe criticisms in relations to its applicability to workplace bullying studies. First, the economic dependence on the job would prevent people from being honest and thus reluctant to identify colleagues (especially superiors) by name (Bjorkqvist et al. 1994b, p. 182). This problem is compounded by the fact that since most of the participating voluntary organisations in this research are small, ensuring anonymity may be difficult. Second, it is argued that often in cases of bullying, it is difficult for the observer to stay neutral. This is because as the bullying process gradually evolves, the victims are often stigmatised and humiliated, which in turn affects their mental and psychological

¹⁹ Peer nomination requires all individuals in a work group to be interviewed to enable them to assess the degree to which every other individual in the group was either harassing or being harassed by others (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994b, p. 182).

health quite dramatically (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996, pp. 254-255). Hence, the victim may be treated as the problem in the organization (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996, pp. 256-257; Leymann, 1996, p. 179; Zapf, 1999, p. 81) and the third parties may perceive the bullying behaviour as no more than a fair treatment of a neurotic and difficult person (Leymann, 1990). Third, bullying behaviours are not necessarily observable to others since such behaviours are often subtle and discrete in nature (Einarsen, 1999). Hence, due to the disadvantages of using objective data/observer data in the work context as identified above, and consistent with suggestions from Lutgen-Sandvik et al. (2004, p. 7), Hoel et al. (2001a, p. 444) and Hoel et al. (1999, p. 197), the importance of subjective report should not be underestimated but rather should be a decisive factor when classifying victims as being bullied. Based on these facts, the present thesis will not use observer data to verify victim's report of bullying and focuses more towards self-report, both from questionnaire survey and interviews to investigate the general experiences of victims and witnesses of bullying. The use of method triangulation as a means of complementing both the quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (interview) findings, is expected to indirectly strengthen the validity of the study (Guion, 2002; Golafshani, 2003). The Methodology chapter includes an elaborate discussion on the measurement.

Power Imbalance

Finally, bullying entails a situation where "...the target is or ends up in an inferior position from which it is difficult to defend oneself" (Einarsen, 2000, p. 381; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, p. 187). This shows that bullying involves a power imbalance between the victim and perpetrator, and that conflicts between parties of perceived equal strength are excluded (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, p. 187; Keashly, 1998, p. 96;

Salin, 2003, p. 1216). However, the source of power imbalance is not only formal power difference in the organisation where the perpetrator is the superior and the victim is the subordinate, instead, power imbalance can arise when the perpetrator is more knowledgeable and experienced than the target (Hoel and Cooper, 2000b, p. 6) or when the target is dependent upon the perpetrator in terms of social, physical, economic or psychological nature (Bassman, 1992, p. 2; see also Cleveland & Kerst, 1993; Ashforth, 1994). The present study, then, does not only include cases where superiors bully subordinates, but also takes into account cases where subordinates bully superiors and incidents of bullying between co-workers who are at a similar organisational level.

Intent

The element of intent has been viewed with contradictory opinions (Hoel et al., 1999, p. 197-198). Despite considering intent to cause harm on the part of the perpetrator as a key feature of bullying (such as Bjorkqvist et al., 1994b, p. 173), many studies on bullying only implicitly assume it and avoid to measure this element arguing that it is difficult to verify the presence of intent from the perspective of the perpetrator (Hoel et al., 1999, p. 198). A further issue to consider in connection to intent is the issue of motivation. There are two types of aggression as far as motivation is concerned: reactive and instrumental aggression (Neuman & Baron, 1997; Buss, 1961). In the former, the goal or motivation is to harm the person and as such the perpetrator's intention to harm is more obvious. In the later, harming the person is a means of obtaining something of value such as promotions, resources or heightened self-image (Keashly & Jagatic, 2003, p. 47). Thus, bullying behaviour may be considered instrumental to achieving an objective and there may be no immediate intent to cause

harm on the part of the perpetrator (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 12). Following this line of argument, it is likely that instrumental aggression despite fulfilling the characteristics of bullying (duration, repetition, power imbalance and negative effects) may not verify as bullying simply because the element of intent on the part of the perpetrator is ambiguous or cannot be proven. As a result, many studies on workplace bullying have adapted to the literature on racial and sexual harassment that excluded the element of intent. According to Pryor and Fitzgerald (2003, p. 79), “From a legal standpoint, intentions for sexually harassing behaviour are superfluous”. According to them what is more important is that the behaviour occurred and unwelcome on the part of the victim (p. 80).

Having deliberated on the points mentioned above, the current thesis does not completely take the element of intent for granted but rather puts more weight on the perception of the victims than the perpetrator with regards to the intent. Support for this is derived from Einarsen et al. (2003, p. 13) who suggest that perception of intent is crucial whether an individual decides to label their experience as bullying or not. Similarly, an earlier study by Keashly (2001, ‘The Dynamics of Context, Appraisal and Stress’ section, para. 3) showed that incidents where the perpetrator was perceived as intending harm were evaluated as more threatening, hostile and stressful than those where no intentions was perceived. Therefore, based on the idea that bullying incidents are often threatening, hostile and stressful (refer to the discussion on ‘The Effects of Workplace Bullying’), the current thesis implies that respondents who report being bullied have perceived that the perpetrator had intended harm compared to respondents who do not report being bullied.

Overall, the above discussion has introduced the concept of workplace bullying as applied in the context of the present study, and consistent with this it has proposed some important questions aimed at exploring the characteristics of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector, including its prevalence via objective and subjective means and the forms of aggression encountered in the voluntary sector in general and by the victims of bullying in particular. In doing so, this research will investigate the awareness of bullying among the voluntary sectors' workforce and how they perceive this phenomenon (if their perception of workplace bullying is consistent with the common definition in the literature²⁰).

The Effects of Workplace Bullying

The discussion on the nature of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations is not complete without discussing its impact upon this sector. As it was indicated in the Introduction earlier, studies on the impact of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations are scarce and imprecise. For instance, a survey conducted by the TUC (2000, 'Stress at Work' section) among 8861 trade union health and safety representatives showed that workplace bullying as a cause of stress is a particular problem in the voluntary sector (45%) compared to the banking/finance (43%), local government (41%) and central government (41%) (see quite similar findings in TUC, 2004, 'Stress and Overwork' section). Additionally, the Third Sector (Cornwell, 1995, p. 16) and the Guardian (Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7) have published articles that include some anecdotes from victims of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector and the negative effects towards them. Despite these reports, further systematic

²⁰ "It is a systematic aggression or violence targeted towards one or more individuals by one individual or by a group, consists of repeated and enduring acts and the target is or ends up in an inferior position from which it is difficult to defend oneself" (Einarsen, 2000, p. 381; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, p. 187).

information was lacking. The following section addresses the importance of researching workplace bullying by illustrating its serious effects on the individual and the tremendous cost to the organisation, based on previous studies. Accordingly, appropriate research questions were formulated in order to investigate the impact of workplace bullying towards voluntary organisations and their workforce.

Initial studies and media reports focused on more serious workplace violence perpetrated by outsiders than on workplace bullying (Chappell, 2000, p. 397; Flannery, 1996; LeBlanc & Barling, 2004, pp. 9-10; Neuman & Baron, 1998, pp. 392-393). Workplace bullying was not perceived to be as threatening as one-off serious incidents of workplace assault, physical violence or homicide. However, more recent studies in Europe, the U.S. and Australia reveal that the opposite may be true: that emotional abuse or bullying represents the most common threat to workers rather than physical violence (Hoel et al., 2001, p. 6). Although single acts of aggression, violence or harassment often occur at work, they seem to be associated with severe health problems in the target when they occur on a regular basis as is the case with workplace bullying (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997, p. 258). Additionally, subtle forms of aggression are not only sufficient in order to generate stress or health problems, but also have the potential to expand into actual violence, especially when repeated overtime (Chappell, 2000, p. 397; Keashly, 1998, pp. 101-102; Perrone, 1999, p. 13). The following discussion elaborates the negative effects of workplace bullying upon the victim's physical and psychological health, performance, absenteeism rate and personal relationships, and how these effects in turn impact upon the organisations.

The fact that workplace bullying negatively affects individuals is widely acknowledged and supported by research. Victims of workplace bullying generally report lowered physical and psychological well-being including low self-esteem, sleep problems, loss of strength, various aches, concentration difficulties, chronic fatigue, anxiety, anger and depression (Einarsen, 1998, p. 6; Hoel & Cooper, 2000a, pp. 106-108; Zapf, et al., 1996, p. 229). In some cases these problems may lead to more serious and sustained consequences for health and well being. For example, some victims of workplace bullying have been reported to exhibit symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which is similar to symptoms exhibited after other traumatic experiences, such as disasters and assaults (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994b, p. 183; Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996; Namie, 2003, 'Impact on Targets' Health' section). Apart from affecting primary or immediate victims, workplace bullying is reported to affect secondary victims as well such as family and friends (Barling, 1996, p. 42; Einarsen & Mikkelsen, 2003). Moreover, exposure to workplace bullying has been found to be associated with lowered job satisfaction, lowered commitment and loyalty toward the work and organisation, and poorer work performance (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, pp. 31-34), which in turn leads to reduced productivity for the organisations. Based on the above findings, this thesis anticipates a similar situation in the voluntary sector where exposure to bullying affects victims' physical and psychological health, personal relationships, work performance and absenteeism rate. Apart from verifying the initial claims (see Cornwell, 1995, p. 16; TUC, 2000, 'Stress at Work' section; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7) and providing more adequate information regarding the effects of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector, these findings will be critical in establishing the importance of researching workplace bullying in the voluntary sector and in motivating the voluntary sector to initiate an appropriate prevention programme

to address the issue. This is especially important because there is a subsequent economic cost towards voluntary organisations, associated with workplace bullying due to related health problems and loss of productivity. Victims of workplace bullying take on average seven days more of sick leave each year than those who are not bullied. As a consequence, a total of 18 million working days are lost annually in the UK and the cost is estimated to be £1.5 billion (Hoel et al., 2001, p. 47). The same research further revealed that victims of workplace bullying had a 7 % drop in productivity compared to non-victims. Hoel, Einarsen, and Cooper (2003, p. 156), provided a case study analysis on a smaller scale showing a minimum estimated cost to employers of £28,109 per case. Clearly, for voluntary organisations, where financial struggle is generally a constant, this kind of financial burden could seriously impact an organisation's viability.

Apart from the deep concern regarding the negative impact towards the voluntary organisation and its workforce, the succeeding discussion contends that there are other important reasons why this sector deserves attention in workplace bullying research.

The Voluntary Sector

In the past 20 years, research on workplace bullying has been widely carried out in various settings and environments, ranging from the healthcare setting (Di Martino, 2002; Keashly, 2001), the academic setting (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994b; Lewis, 1999; Price Spratlen, 1995), the retail industry (Ellis, 1997), and food service industries such as restaurant kitchens (Johns & Menzel, 1999). However, these studies are mostly concerned with the public and private sectors, which usually comprise paid employees. This thesis recognises that the voluntary sector has received minimal

attention compared to the public and private sectors (see also Parry, Kelliher, Mills, & Tyson, 2005, p. 588) and hence aims to fill this existing gap and provide greater understanding of workplace bullying within voluntary organisations.

More importantly, the voluntary sector is a major economic force in many countries including the UK (see also Salamon et al., 1999, pp. 8-11; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2001, pp. 3-4). In the UK, voluntary organisations contribute £2.6 billion to the capital's GDP (NCVO Research Quarterly, 2000). Moreover, the voluntary sector benefits significantly from over 3 million volunteers, contributing £12 billion²¹ worth of unpaid work (Hems & van Doorn, 1998, p. 21; see also the NCVO Research Quarterly, 2000). Although the majority of the voluntary organisations rely on volunteers, paid staff are also an important part of the voluntary sector's workforce. Recent estimates suggest that half a million people or approximately 2% of the UK workforce is in paid employment in the voluntary sector (Hems & van Doorn, 1998, p. 17; Wilding, Clark, Griffith, Jochum, & Wainwright, 2006, p. 8; see also NCVO Research Quarterly, 2000). A further indicator of the voluntary sector's importance is that it has the highest proportion of highly qualified staff (25% are educated to degree level or above), compared to the public's 23% or the private sector's with 10% (Hems & van Doorn, 1998, p. 19). Given its importance, it is troubling then that initial findings, including reports from the UK National Workplace Bullying Advice Line (Field, 2001) and surveys by the TUC (2000; 2004), the MSF (Ball, 1996, p. 12) and by Hoel and Cooper (2000b), reveal that workplace bullying may be prevalent in voluntary organisations. At first consideration, it is surprising to find that bullying occurs in voluntary organisations, an environment where staff, both paid and

²¹ Over £7 billion related to direct service, £4 billion to fund-raising and £700 million to administrative support.

volunteers, work towards achieving an egalitarian ethos and towards the public weal. Yet, according to the UK National Workplace Bullying Advice Line, the voluntary sector has shown the highest rate of increase in calls since 1998 (Field, 2001). General surveys previously conducted by the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union (MSF) indicate that the voluntary sector is one of the most vulnerable environments for workplace bullying, since 63% of their representatives reported dealing with complaints of bullying in the past 12 months (Ball, 1996, p. 12). Furthermore, the Trade Union Congress (2000) revealed that the voluntary sector is the worst sector for the production of health and safety policies (76%). Other reports produced by the TUC (2000; 2004), Third Sector (Cornwell, 1995, p. 16) and Guardian (Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7)²² have mentioned about the potential negative effects of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. Despite these reports, there are some inadequacies that need to be addressed. Although, reports from the TUC and MSF provide important information regarding safety issues and key concerns and experiences of the workforce in various organisations (including the voluntary sector), it is felt that these reports were insufficient, as they are quite general, often indirect (from the safety representatives), and lack in-depth analysis upon the voluntary sector in particular. As such, they only provide basic information, which however, may fortunately be used to stimulate wider research (as the present one) on workplace bullying in voluntary organisations. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier when discussing the ‘Effects of workplace bullying’, the information available regarding the negative impact of workplace bullying towards the voluntary sector is often too general (TUC, 2000; 2004) and based on media articles (see Cornwell, 1995, p. 16; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7). As for the report from the UK National Workplace Bullying Advice Line, the calls that they receive usually consist of a variety of cases including

²² Refer to the discussion on the ‘Effects of workplace bullying’.

staff bullying clients and bullying within the organisation among staff. However, the ethos for which the voluntary sector is largely known, its caring attitude, does not only apply to its clients, but also to its workforce. This thesis is particularly interested in the latter. Unfortunately further studies were not conducted to assess this phenomenon except for one study that merely revealed the occurrence of sexual harassment in a particular type of voluntary organisation (see Fielden, 1996). Workplace bullying entails more than sexual harassment, and there is an important need to get a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in voluntary organisations.

Finally, the importance of researching the voluntary sector is further critical due to its distinct and unique nature. The voluntary sector is often known as ‘the third sector’, precisely because it has some distinct features from the government or the private sector. So researching the government and private sector and over-generalising the findings to the voluntary sector (because there is a lack of research on the voluntary sector) may not be a suitable means to provide accurate information regarding the occurrence of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations. In addition, it is also suggested that the unique traits that characterise the voluntary sector are changing or under pressure to do so (Palmer, 2003, ‘The Changing Political Economy of the Third Sector’ section). Shifts in the welfare policies of the government, particularly the advent of the ‘mixed economy of care’ in the early 1980s, have led to contracting out of welfare services to voluntary organisations (Cunningham, 2001, p.226). The government has encouraged local authorities to move from being ‘monopoly providers’ of social services towards a mixed economy of care where they are not only the providers of services but they also commission and purchase services from private

and voluntary sources (Cunningham, 2001, p.227). According to Charlesworth, Clarke, and Cochrane (1996, p. 68), this approach may provide greater choice for those in need for support. However, it is suggested that this shift has resulted in a number of changes to the distinct features of the voluntary sector (Cunningham, 2001; Palmer, 2003). Consequently, this thesis anticipates that the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector can be attributed to certain distinct characteristics of this sector accompanied by the changes they are facing. The following section first defines the term ‘voluntary organisation’, then proposes some distinctive features of voluntary organisations which may contribute towards workplace bullying. Based on these characteristics, specific research questions are formulated in the next chapter within a routine activities perspective in order to examine the occurrence or prevention of bullying in voluntary organisations.

The voluntary sector is also known as the ‘non-profit’ sector, or as the ‘civil society’, or the ‘third’ or ‘independent’ sector (Salamon et al., 1999, p. 3). Although most people would define voluntary sector as comprising only the registered charities, in reality registered charities comprise only a portion of the broad voluntary sector that consist of organisations charitable in law, and bodies without charitable status (Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office, 2002, ‘A Question of Definition’ section, para. 3.3; Tarling, 2000, p. 255). In this thesis, voluntary organisations were identified based on the widely applied structural-operational definition. This identifies five structural elements most commonly associated with the voluntary sectors in countries throughout the world (Salamon et al., 1999, pp. 1-2; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2001, pp. 2-3; Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office, 2002, ‘A Question of Definition’ section, para. 3.7). First, ‘the organisation should be formal’, which means only structured

organisations with constitutions or formal sets of rules, perhaps registered with a public authority or voluntary intermediary bodies, are included. Thus, ad hoc and temporary gatherings of people are excluded from this research. Second, 'the organisation should be independent of the government'. This does not mean that they cannot receive significant government support or that government officials cannot sit on their boards. Rather, they should be structurally separate from the instrumentalities of government. Third, they should be 'self-governing' as they should have their own internal decision-making structures to a significant extent and not be controlled by profit making agencies. Fourth, the organisation 'should not be profit distributing', and should be mainly non-business- which means that they may accumulate surplus in a given year, but the profits must be directed back into the basic mission of the agency, not distributed to the organisations' owners, members, founders or governing board. Therefore, co-operatives, financial and mutual groups (like building societies, friendly societies and motoring organisations) are excluded since they may not meet the 'non profit distributing' criterion. Fifth, there should be a meaningful degree of 'voluntary participation'. This means that membership in them is not legally required²³ and that they attract some level of voluntary contribution of time or money. It should be noted that informal volunteering performed for family or relatives is not included in this research as it differs from public good volunteering within an organisational framework which is the focus of this thesis.

The above structural characteristics are utilised as a basis for selecting voluntary organisations in this thesis. Further information on the process of the selection of voluntary organisations is elaborated in the Methodology chapter.

²³ On the contrary, volunteering for the statutory body or the government often includes official compulsion (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2001, p. 5).

It is argued that some of these structural characteristics may contribute to the occurrence of workplace bullying in this sector. This research focuses on two specific characteristics, namely: the 'non-profit distributing/non-business' and the 'voluntary' elements.

First, the voluntary sector has limited ability to raise capital and hence has to rely on a variety of financial sources due to its 'lack of profit distribution' feature (Leat, 1993, p. 19). Although the range of financial sources is greater²⁴ (even more than the private and public sectors) and the voluntary sector is able to rely heavily on the voluntary financial donations (Jas, Wilding, Wainwright, Passey, & Hems, 2002 as cited in Palmer, 2003),²⁵ there have been crucial changes to the financing of the voluntary organisations over the last decade (Palmer, 2003, 'Finance and the Third Sector' section, para. 2). As a consequence of the introduction of a 'mixed economy of care', funding to the voluntary sector has become less based on grants for the general purposes of voluntary activity, and more towards the creation of a 'contract culture' that is the reliance on fees for specific service provision (Cunningham, 2001, p. 228). Hence funding in terms of contracts from the government has increased by 1.1% while donations from the general public have decreased by 1.3% between 1995-2001 (Jas, Wilding, Wainwright, Passey, & Hems, 2002 as cited in Palmer, 2003, 'Finance and the Third Sector' section, para. 2). There are various difficulties associated with such a funding process which relies heavily upon the government:

²⁴ In 2001 the voluntary sector received 35% of its income from the general public, 29% from central and local government, 23% was internally generated, 9% from intra-sectoral transactions and 5% from private sector sources (Jas, Wilding, Wainwright, Passey, & Hems, 2002 as cited in Palmer, 2003, 'Finance and the Third Sector' section, para. 1).

²⁵ In 2001 20% of the income came from public donations, 8% from grants from charitable trusts and 2% was donated by business (Jas, Wilding, Wainwright, Passey, & Hems, 2002 as cited in Palmer, 2003, 'Finance and the Third Sector' section, para. 1).

voluntary organisations are constantly competing for funding since the funding sources are limited and the accountability process towards the funders/funding agencies is becoming more complicated (Ball, 1996, p. 12; Cornwell, 1995, p. 16; Leat, 1993, pp. 19-21). Hence the time pressure and a high workload associated with this process is expected to contribute towards bullying in this environment.

Second, voluntary participation is an important source of labour in the voluntary sector both at a more general level and at the higher level of hierarchy (voluntary management committee) (Ruckle, 1993, pp. 113-114). Since the characteristics and management of the volunteers differ from the employees, they are predicted to be exposed to bullying at a different degree than the employees. Paid employees in the voluntary organisations have problems relating to job security due to a high level of dependence upon funding from sources over which the organisation has little direct control (Leat, 1993, p. 33; Cunningham, 2001, p. 233). Thus, employees are predicted to be more susceptible towards bullying compared to volunteers since they face increased job insecurity. Having said that, at a higher hierarchical level, the voluntary management committee (MC) is predicted to contribute towards the occurrence of bullying in this sector. It is contended that the MCs may have a limited understanding of the management of voluntary organisation as they are usually selected from outside the sector to represent various constituencies and stakeholders of the organisation such as government funders, donors, and consumers (Courtney, 1994, p. 35; Leat, 1993, pp. 26-27; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7). So despite playing an important role in the management of the voluntary organisations, it is anticipated that these characteristics may actually transform the MCs into sources of bullying.

Third, apart from examining the contribution of the above two structural characteristics towards the occurrence of bullying in voluntary organisations, this thesis also examines the contribution of another frequently promoted feature of this sector: the ethos of egalitarianism and participation. The voluntary sector service is based upon equal opportunities and democracy, which is reflected in both its operation and its decision making policies (Leat, 1993, p. 38; Cunningham, 2001, p. 227). In fact compared to for-profit organisations which “do not pretend to be about reducing social disadvantage”, the voluntary organisations may “face additional pressures to be more equal than others because of their public benefit mission and their emphasis on overcoming social disadvantage” (see Leat, 1993, p. 38). Furthermore, the funding bodies are likely to put additional pressure so that voluntary organisations introduce formal HR policies in exchange for funding (Cunningham, 2001, p. 233; Parry et al., 2005, p. 592). There are at least two outcomes associated with this development. The greater emphasis on HR policies means that the voluntary organisations are likely to have policies in place, which will be able to act as a preventive measure towards workplace bullying. On the other hand, as for the participation ethos, Cunningham (2001, p. 229) stated that greater controls by funding bodies have limited the opportunity for staff to be as autonomous as they traditionally would have been. The thesis investigates whether this lack of participation is associated with the occurrence of workplace bullying.

Finally, in addition to specifically investigating the contribution of the voluntary management committee, this study also investigates the role played by the leadership as a whole in the occurrence of workplace bullying in this sector. It is suggested that the voluntary sector faces particular management challenges distinct from those faced

by the public and private sector (Hailey & James, 2004, p. 344). The voluntary sector managers are constantly expected to cater to the vulnerable/disadvantaged members of the community due to the sector's social change mission, yet have to manage with uncertain and limited funding while constantly accountable towards multiple constituencies (Hailey & James, 2004, p. 344; Parry et al., 2005, p. 590). On top of that, voluntary organisations are recruiting staff (managerial and other level) from the private industry. According to Cunningham (2001, p. 229), there is no guarantee that these staff will have the same commitment to serve the voluntary organisations compared to those who choose employment due to social service ethos. Furthermore, despite all the pressure their pay is considered to be far less (23% lower) than the pay of the managers in the public sector (Parry et al., 2005, p. 595). The overwhelming pressure and an incompatible reinforcement may then contribute towards a bad management style. It is predicated that the management or superiors in the voluntary sector may be an important source of bullying.

In summary this chapter has discussed the key definitions of the subject matter of this thesis, workplace bullying in voluntary organisations, and argued for the importance of researching this topic. Additionally it provides the skeleton and research questions for accomplishing the first purpose of this study which aims to investigate the prevalence of bullying, the nature and types of negative behaviours involved in the sector, the negative effects, and the perception of the respondents of what constitutes bullying (whether it includes repetitive and enduring behaviour, a power element, intent to harm and negative effects). Finally, it paves the way for investigating the second purpose of this study that is the situational antecedents of bullying. It is suggested that certain situational factors that are related to the distinguishing

characteristics of the voluntary sector and the changes that they are going through may contribute towards the occurrence of workplace bullying. The framework utilised for investigating the situational antecedents, RAT, will be elaborated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Initial research into the causes of workplace bullying has mainly addressed two distinct and separate issues: studies have either focused solely on the role of the personality of those involved, both perpetrators and targets (Coyne et al., 2000; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Randall, 1997) or on the role of work environment/situational factors (Leymann, 1996, Vartia, 1996). However, a number of researchers have acknowledged that such one-sided explanations are insufficient (Mullen, 1997, pp. 22, 31; Zapf, 1999, pp. 81-83). They suggest instead that multiple causes of bullying should be taken into consideration, as evidence seems to indicate that the causes are more complex than single and simplistic explanations. The individual and the organisation may exert mutual influence on each other, both in the sense that an individual may acquire aggressive tendencies in a certain environment and that the work environment and the work culture itself may be influenced by a certain aggressive individual (O'Leary-Kelly et al., 1996, p. 234). Additionally, Coyne et al. (2000, p. 348) suggest that individuals in a competitive work environment who themselves are trait competitive would be expected to cope well, while those who are trait non-competitive may not conform to the norms of the organisations and therefore may become a vulnerable target for bullying. So the focus on individual centred explanations has gradually shifted towards the inclusion of organisational and contextual factors such as leadership style and work environment (Chappell & Di Martino, 1998, p. 145). While multidimensional approaches have gained much attention in studying the causes of workplace bullying, this thesis is concerned with

the situational perspective in particular since the application of this perspective offers several insights that are examined below.

Although a number of empirical studies have been conducted to examine the correlation between bullying and work environment or situational factors, there is a dearth of specific theoretical accounts encompassing different types of situational antecedents in combination with respect to their role in the bullying process—the one exception being a model based on the management perspective by Salin (2003). The current thesis argues that an additional development in the field of criminology, namely, opportunity theories that emphasise the situational determinants of violence and aggression, can contribute towards the development of the situational perspective of workplace bullying. Importantly, it is contended here that Routine Activity Theory (RAT) specifically identifies the situational variables in the voluntary organisations that would be present at the same time and place for workplace bullying to occur. That is, besides the presence of the variables of motivated offender and suitable target, RAT identifies the necessity of an absence of capable guardianship for workplace bullying to occur. By testing the applicability of RAT, this thesis provides the opportunity to further expand the utility of RAT and to further understand the bullying phenomenon in voluntary organisations while taking into account the distinguishing characteristics of this sector.

The purpose of this chapter is to justify the theoretical approach, RAT, taken in this study and to propose a routine activities model explaining workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. It does so by examining in greater detail the existing theoretical approaches to workplace aggression, such as the individual and situational

perspectives (as mentioned above) and by evaluating their strengths and weaknesses. This is followed by a discussion of the main theoretical contentions of RAT, where their relevance to the situational perspective and workplace bullying particularly in voluntary organisations are analysed. Finally a routine activities model of workplace bullying that takes into consideration the distinguishing nature of the voluntary sector is proposed.

Personal Determinants/Individual Level Theories

Individual level theories, as the term suggests, mainly seek to identify and explain the internal cause(s) of aggression within the perpetrators and victims of crimes. This section reviews theories of aggression that emphasise the causal role of personality factors in workplace bullying, the development and trajectory of this approach, and the apparent weakness which have led to the emphasis of other perspectives.

The emphasis on personality traits in explaining workplace bullying originated from research findings into school bullying (Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 6). As in school bullying, research in workplace bullying indicates that the traits of victims of harassment at work include low self-esteem and high social anxiety in social settings (Einarsen, Raknes, Matthiesen, & Hellesøy, 1994 as cited in Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001, p. 469; Einarsen, 2000, p. 388). Victims are also more introverted, conscientious, neurotic and submissive (Coyne et al., 2000, p. 344).

The social learning theory of aggression (Bandura, 1973) supports the view that personality traits seen in adults reflect childhood development through processes of modelling and positive reinforcement (see also Hoel & Cooper, 2001, pp. 6-7;

Randall, 1997, pp. 22-34). Bullying is seen as a learned set of behaviour stimulated through modelling followed by the successful application of aggression which makes the behaviour more likely to be repeated. Hence, bullies will pick their victims who are easily brought to submission (possess submissive personality) in order to ensure a successful result and positive reinforcement of their behaviour (Bandura, 1973, p. 184; Randall, 1997, pp. 24-25). In addition, social learning theory states that personality traits like 'aggression' and 'submissiveness' can be relatively stable over time (Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 7; Randall, 1997). This means that when 'bully' or 'victim' behaviour is established in childhood, it may continue to manifest throughout life. For example, a bully who has successfully applied aggression (positively reinforced) is more likely to repeat it in the future and thus become a bully.

Another prominent approach centred on the decisive role of innate drives is the psychoanalytic approach articulated by Sigmund Freud (1950 as cited in Tedeschi & Felson, 1994, p. 38). Freud posits that expression and the disposal of aggression (for example, interpersonal conflict) are normal features of everyday life. In line with this view, Brodsky (1976) and Thylefors (1987 as cited in Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 10) argue that harassment may be an inherent characteristic of human interaction within the workplace. So, bullying is regarded as a scapegoating process found in most organisations in which the displacement of aggression on the scapegoat may relieve tension in the work group (especially when the real source of frustration is ambiguous or unapproachable).

Assessment of Personal Determinants Approach

Personal determinants-based approaches offer several insights into the phenomenon of bullying. First, the research seems to identify some personality traits associated with being a perpetrator/victim of bullying such as conscientious, neurotic, submissive and aggressive. Second, it indicates that such personality traits are stable once learned. Third, it suggests that harassment may be an inherent characteristic of human interaction. In several fronts however, this approach has apparent weaknesses. A key criticism of the personal determinants-based approaches is that they portray the personalities of victims and bullies as stable: a child inclined towards bullying or victimisation will continue to be so and is presumed to behave in the same manner throughout his or her adult life.²⁶ Yet as Smith et al. (2003, p. 186) have pointed out, some people who were formerly bullies or targets of bullies at school have succeeded both professionally and personally in life without resorting to earlier bullying behaviour or becoming targets of bullying. An ancillary ethical issue deserves mentioning: is it ethically appropriate to label a very young minor a potential life-long bully with the attendant risk that the individual might face discriminatory practices in his or her school system, perhaps even for years after he or she may have given up such behaviours? A further criticism of the personal determinants' approach is the failure to answer a crucial question concerning the relationship of personality to bullying. Although studies do show that personality traits like anxiety, neurotic behaviour and low self-esteem are predominant among victims, an important question is whether and to what extent the personality of victims is an antecedent or a result of the harassment, thereby challenging the very core assumption that particular personalities cause bullying (Hoel et al., 2001a, p. 462; Hoel & Cooper, 2001, p. 7).

²⁶ Smith et al. (2003) have produced a preliminary report indicating that being a victim or bully in school is correlated to being a bully or victim in the workplace.

For example, as a result of post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) due to bullying, the individual may develop some notable personality changes. A documented example would be hypervigilance (feeling edgy, irritable, easily startled), thought intrusions (recurrent memories, nightmares and flashbacks) and avoidance (avoiding previously fearful thoughts, situations and locations) (Namie, 2003, 'Impact on Targets' Health' section; Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996, pp. 254-255). PTSD can also lead to a general anxiety disorder, depression and obsessive syndromes (Groeblichhoff & Becker, 1996, p. 277). Since the symptoms of this changed personality are quite typical and distinct, even psychiatrists misunderstood these symptoms as something the individual brought into the company in the first place rather than recognising them as the result of PTSD (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996, pp. 256-257; Zapf, 1999, p. 81).

Consequently, some physicians and employers share the view that the victims' personality are the cause of bullying, and in many cases the victims are forced to leave the organisation rather than the perpetrators (Leymann, 1996, p. 179; Zapf, 1999, p. 81). By selecting potential targets using Leymann's (1996) argument, all that an organisation will be doing is selecting out those people who have already been victims of bullying and therefore punishing them twice.

Given these criticisms, Leymann (1996, pp. 178-179) has a somewhat radical view that personality variables are irrelevant in studying bullying or harassment. He argues that research in school and workplace bullying so far has not been able to validate that personality factors are the cause of bullying, and accordingly, becoming the target of harassment is due to nothing other than simple coincidence and unlucky circumstances. Leymann (1996, pp. 178-179) suggests that further longitudinal

research is necessary to address this issue (see also Coyne et al., 2000, pp. 345, 347; Einarsen, 1999, p. 21).

Situational Approach

As a reaction to the weaknesses highlighted above in the personal determinant approaches, theories which can be broadly categorised within the situational approach were formulated. During the 1980's, developments in aggression theory increasingly emphasised the role of situational/environmental factors in eliciting aggressive behaviour (Geen, 1990, pp. 195-203). Researchers such as Zapf et al. (1996) and Einarsen, Raknes, and Matthiesen (1994) have argued that situational factors facilitate or inhibit occurrences of workplace bullying. The approach has enjoyed wide currency in some countries. In Scandinavia, in particular, situational factors have received increasing public attention and awareness, and the governments have funded research and established anti-bullying legislation based on these premises (Einarsen, 2000, p. 390; Einarsen, 1998, p. 1; Leymann, 1996, p. 168, 180, 181). This section explores the contribution of situational factors in explaining workplace bullying and the perceived limitations of situational theories in workplace bullying literature, and this is followed by a discussion on RAT which argues for its relevance for understanding workplace bullying research.

Firstly, what is meant by situational or environmental factors according to the literature? According to Pervin (1978) the term 'situation' is defined by "who is involved, what is occurring and where the action is taking place" (p. 79). For example, a person reading in an office is one kind of situation; if the person answers the telephone, the situation has changed. In turn, the term 'environment' includes "an

organisation of discrete situations and characteristics which may be continuous across situations but relevant to each of them” (Pervin, 1978, p. 80). Examples of environments are residences and workplaces. So the terms situation and environment are related since the former is often a subset of the latter, and for this reason both terms are used interchangeably in this thesis. Chappell and Di Martino (1998, p. 66) provide a useful comprehensive definition of ‘work environment’ in their report on workplace violence. According to them, the work environment is composed of a multitude of elements including the organisational structure, managerial arrangements, prevailing culture and immediate physical layout. For the purpose of the present study, the terms situation or environment do not necessarily imply solely the immediate physical settings in which behaviour occurs but rather include the work and social environment within the organisation as an antecedent of bullying. A similar broad concept of work environment was also proposed by Einarsen (1998, p. 384).

There have been a number of prominent studies emphasising the role of situational or environmental factors in explaining workplace bullying. For example, Einarsen et al. (1994, p. 395) found that the phenomena of bullying is correlated significantly with leadership, role conflict and work control. The research indicates that the absence of authority to monitor and control one’s work (autonomy), the lack of clear goals, and the lack of constructive leadership may be potential causes of harassment (see also Einarsen 2000, pp. 390-391; Einarsen, 1998, pp. 5-6; Zapf, 1999, p. 82). Although exploratory in nature, this Norwegian study provided the first empirical support for the hypothesis that the work environment is correlated to the occurrence of workplace bullying. Furthermore, dissatisfaction with the social climate and the internal communication has been used to explain bullying (Vartia, 1996, pp. 211-212;

Einarsen et al., 1994, pp. 395-398). Victims and witnesses of bullying mentioned poor information flow and a lack of mutual discussion about goals as characteristics of deficient internal communication (Vartia, 1996, pp. 211-213).

Assessment of Situational Perspectives

Two theoretical frameworks are commonly used in the studies presented above to account for the relationships between work environment and bullying (see also Einarsen, 2000, p. 391). First, the revised frustration-aggression hypothesis which suggests that a highly stressed work situation—especially when they are perceived as unfair—produce negative affects/feelings that may eventually lead to aggressive behaviour (Berkowitz, 1989, p. 71). Bullying and harassment then may flourish in ill-conditioned work environments through environmental effects on aggressive behaviour. Second, the social interactionist approach to aggression (Felson, 1992, p. 3) that argues that stressful work situations will indirectly lead to aggression through its effect on the victim's behaviour. This is because distressed persons may annoy others by violating social norms such as politeness/friendliness and so indirectly elicit aggressive behaviour in others (Felson, 1992, p. 3). While these theories (Berkowitz, 1989; Felson, 1992) are useful in understanding the process of how aggression or bullying is triggered in the first place and how stressful work environment is related to workplace bullying, the present thesis maintains that theories which specifically identify situations or work environments that are conducive for workplace bullying are still limited. What is more, although a number of empirical studies have been conducted to examine the correlation between workplace bullying and certain situational factors, few have proposed theories that identify the interplay or combination of situational factors. One exception is Salin (2003), who proposed a

model based on a management perspective discussing various organisational antecedents that should be present for workplace bullying to take place, but it is yet to be tested empirically. This thesis proposes another theory, RAT, in order to fill in this gap and complement the existing literature on workplace bullying. It is expected to identify various situational factors present simultaneously that provide a necessary environment for workplace bullying to take place (with special interest in the voluntary sector).

The remainder of this chapter specifically examines RAT, a theorem based on the situational perspective and associated with the field of Criminology, and which has never been applied to explaining workplace bullying. The discussion includes the development of situational perspective and opportunity theories in the field of criminology, the position of RAT and the applicability of RAT in explaining workplace bullying in voluntary organisations. In doing so, it explores the potential contribution of RAT towards workplace bullying literature, towards explaining and preventing bullying in voluntary organisations, and in turn how RAT's applicability can be expanded based on this research.

Criminology and the Routine Activity Theory

As in the field of psychology and workplace bullying, due to the increasing awareness of the limitations of theories of criminality focusing on individual predisposition, supplementary or alternative views of crime causation were put forward in the field of criminology, such as the role of environmental or situational factors (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993, pp. 113-114). Without denying that some people are more likely to commit crimes than others, situational theorists believe that there is a substantial

variability due to situational influences (see also Clarke & Felson, 1993, p. 10) and some even suggest that the situational explanations might be more important (Sutherland, 1947, p. 5). Bowie (2000, p. 18) and Chappell (2000, p. 399) are two examples of researchers who focus more on the characteristics of work teams and organisations (situational factors) that provide opportunities for crime to occur. Birkbeck and LaFree (1993) stated that “most of the research that explicitly examines situational dynamics in producing crime has originated in experimental psychology, symbolic interactionism or opportunity theories” (p. 113). Having said that, opportunity theories have made the most headway towards developing a situational theory of crime (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993, p. 113).²⁷ Even if offenders are predisposed with certain personality traits, theorists within this perspective maintain that the offenders still have to make choices based on the situation/opportunities on whether or not to commit the crime.

Opportunity theories consist of theories of situational selection (i.e., rational choice theory) and theories of victimisation (i.e., RAT). The former focuses on the decisions made by offenders in choosing situations for crime while the latter focus on the characteristics and activities of individuals that contribute to their victimisation. This thesis is primarily concerned with theories of victimisation (particularly RAT) rather than the theories of situational selection since the research focuses upon victims of workplace bullying and their perceived causes rather than the offenders’ perceptions. Additionally, it would be more difficult to conduct a survey among perpetrators as they do not easily admit to being such, especially in the limited surrounding of the

²⁷ Examples of opportunity theories include rational choice theory (Cornish & Clarke, 1986), control theory (Hirschi, 1969), routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and lifestyle/exposure theory (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978).

workplace where the risk of being identified and reprimanded is quite high. The following discussion focuses on the origins and central discussions of RAT; it then takes up how the application of RAT can contribute to understanding the phenomenon of workplace bullying, followed by an examination of how RAT can be applied specifically to the study of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations.

Routine Activity Theory (RAT)

RAT, also called the basic crime triangle, is a criminological theory proposed by Cohen and Felson in 1979 and it is considered to be one of the most important new perspectives in criminology among the theories of victimisation (Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993, p. 126; Meier & Miethe, 1993, p. 465). Its central premise, according to Felson (1994, pp. 21, 22, 42), is that society provides temptations to commit crimes and it also provides controls to prevent people from following these temptations.²⁸ In other words the routine daily activities²⁹ of potential victims can be used to explicate the victimisation of individuals or the victimisation rates of groups (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589; Miethe, Stafford, & Long, 1987, p. 184; Maxfield, 1987, pp. 275-277; Robinson, 1999, 'Routine Activity Theory' section).³⁰ This basic proposition that the illegal activities or crime feed on the conventional routine daily activities of the society is also extended to the voluntary sector. This thesis contends that employees and volunteers in voluntary organisations engage in routine activities, (determined by the distinguishing structure and nature of the voluntary sector) and that these routine

²⁸ RAT indicates the fundamental ironies in links between some otherwise constructive social changes and the increase in crime, for example; an increased participation of women into the workforce has decreased the number of caretakers acting as guardians at home and thus probably increased the number of daytime burglary (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 600; Meier & Miethe, 1993, pp. 472-473).

²⁹ Routine activities include "any recurrent and prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual needs...including formalised work, leisure, social interaction, learning...which occur at home, in jobs away from home and in other activities away from home" (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 593).

³⁰ See also (Cohen & Felson, 1979), "risk for victimisation depends on the circumstances in which people place themselves" (p.595).

activities may provide opportunities for workplace bullying to occur, thereby explaining why, when and how some employees and volunteers become victims of workplace bullying.

More precisely, the routine activity of individuals creates opportunity for crime by transforming the individuals into suitable target, and enhancing their contact with motivated offenders in the absence of guardianship (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 591). Thus, RAT identifies how crime occurs when three factors converge simultaneously in time and space: a motivated offender is present, a suitable target is available and there is a lack of suitable guardian to prevent the crime from happening (Cohen & Felson, 1979, pp. 588-589). A motivated offender is any person who might commit illegal offences for any reason (Clarke & Felson, 1993, p. 2). A suitable target can either be a person, an object or a place that may evoke criminal inclinations. The suitability of targets includes the value of the target and the monetary and symbolic desirability of it for the offenders, the visibility to the offenders, the access to it, the ease of escape from the site and portability of objects sought by the offender (Cohen & Felson, p. 595; Felson, 1983, p. 666). A capable guardian is anything (either a person or a thing) that discourages crime from taking place and can be either formal (security guards) or informal (such as neighbours) (Eck & Weisburd, 1995, pp. 5, 6, 55). If one of the components of RAT is missing, crime is less likely to occur. So no matter how suitable a target is, an offence may not occur unless a capable guardian is absent and a motivated offender is present (see also Cohen & Felson, 1979, pp. 589-590). In other words, the risk of victimisation is greatest for persons whose routine, daily activities bring them into contact with motivated offenders in the absence of guardians.

So given these insights from RAT, the thesis hypothesises that employees and volunteers in the voluntary organisations are likely to experience workplace bullying where there is a convergence of motivated offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardian components in the routine activity of the victim. Crucially, this thesis argues that RAT identifies situational factors specific to the structure and nature of voluntary organisations which may cause bullying and so provides an important contribution to understanding the phenomenon of workplace bullying in this sector and increases the possibility to control it. The forthcoming sections elaborate how these three components (motivated offender, suitable target and absence of capable guardian) contribute to explaining workplace bullying in voluntary organisations, with the understanding that previous studies using RAT have focused mainly on direct-contact predatory crime. But prior to that, the next section provides further evidence for the applicability of RAT in explaining workplace bullying in voluntary organisations.

RAT and Workplace Bullying

RAT was originally developed to explain personal-contact predatory crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589), that is, violent crime against a person (murder, assault, forcible rape) and crime where an offender attempts to steal an object directly from the victim such as mugging and robbery (see also Clarke & Felson, 1993, p. 1; Maxfield, 1987, pp. 277-278). However, Felson noted in his writings (Felson, 1994; Felson & Gottfredson, 1984³¹) that RAT may be relevant in explaining a wider range of deviant behaviours. In line with this argument, Osgood, Wilson, O'Malley, Bachman, and Johnston (1996) extended the situational explanations of crime found in Cohen and

³¹ They suggested that the prospect for delinquent activities increases when teenagers spend more time with their peers and spent less time in proximity with their parents (p. 713).

Felson's theory to explain individual offences and a wider range of deviant behaviours.³²

In the realm of 'bullying', Clarke (2002, 'Protecting Juveniles from Victimization' section) had briefly used RAT to explain why juveniles are considered suitable targets for crimes such as bullying, abuse by family members and sexual abuse by adults.³³ Garofalo, Siegel, and Laub (1987) explored the phenomenon of victimisation among adolescents in school, while Farrell, Phillips, and Pease (1995) applied RAT in explaining repeat victimisation such as domestic violence, racial attacks, child sexual abuse, fights, burglary, car theft, credit card fraud and robbery. The use of RAT in explaining bullying (mainly focusing on bullying in schools and among juveniles) and repeat victimisation in these studies indicates that the application of RAT can be expanded to explain workplace bullying as well.

Having said that, in the realm of the 'workplace', Lynch (1987) and Hopkins (1998; 2002) applied RAT in explaining victimisation at work and violence against businesses. Their main concern was limited to external workplace violence (occupational violence perpetrated by clients and violence from the general public who enter the workplace for criminal purpose such as robbery), which is not the focus of this thesis for reasons mentioned earlier in the Introduction. Another study by De

³² Osgood et al. (1996) developed a routine activity theory of general deviance such as heavy alcohol use, use of marijuana and other illicit drugs and dangerous driving. He concluded that socialising with peers away from home and authority figures, and in absence of a structuring agenda lead to deviant behaviour (p. 651).

³³ In the terminology of RAT, juveniles are considered as suitable targets for crime for the following reasons: children are easily accessible to the offender as most abuse occurs in the home and is perpetrated by relations or family friends; children are less capable of defending themselves physically because they are smaller and weaker; children are less likely to know they are being abused; children are less likely to complain or tell adults if they do recognise the abuse, and children are less likely to be believed if they report the abuse (Clarke, 2002).

Coster, Estes, and Mueller (1999) explicitly utilised RAT to explain sexual harassment at work. However, their results cannot be over generalised because it's based on data collected in 1993, from a U.S national telephone company. Hence, the need for a new study of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations should be emphasised.

Further support for conducting new research on the applicability of RAT in explaining bullying specifically in voluntary organisations comes from Lynch (1987), who indicated that "RAT was used to construct overly generalised models to explain an extremely varied phenomenon" (p. 283). For example, researchers initially assumed that the underlying causal determinants are the same for different types of property crimes related to the household. Thus one particular model of RAT was usually applied to various types of household victimisation such as burglary, household larceny and vehicle theft. However, Lynch notes (1987) it is unlikely that a single activity model can explain these internally heterogeneous classes of crime. Lynch (1987) suggests that "defining increasingly narrow classes of victimisation...may increase the explanatory power of quantitative models..." (p. 284). Lynch's idea (1987, p. 284), of 'domain specific' models of victimisation then would further emphasise the necessity of the present study. Consistent with this view, Einarsen et al. (1994, pp. 397-398) indicated that different work environment characteristics are of varying importance for bullying in different kinds of professions and organisations. For example, their study showed a stronger relationship between dissatisfaction with leadership and bullying for administrative workers interacting with their superiors on a daily basis than for teachers who work rather independently. Similarly, bullying among electricians is not related to leadership but relates mainly to climate and role

conflict. This is because electricians work in teams in different worksites and have little contact with their supervisors. In contrast, the leadership factor was strongly related to bullying among graphic workers as they are employed in small businesses and are closely supervised by the owners (see Einarsen et al., 1994, pp. 397-398). This thesis is particularly interested in the voluntary organisations and its distinctive characteristics that contribute to workplace bullying. Since different work environment characteristics are of varying importance for bullying in different kinds of organisations, the distinctive features of voluntary organisations is expected to provide specific situational factors contributing to workplace bullying.

The preceding section illustrates that RAT is relevant in explaining a wider range of negative behaviours and is not limited to direct-contact predatory crime. Research on sexual harassment at work, repeat victimisation, and juvenile/school bullying demonstrated that RAT could be a useful alternative theory for explaining more subtle, covert, persistent and less violent negative behaviour such as workplace bullying.³⁴ Nonetheless no specific study has addressed this issue, and this study addresses this absence by extending the application of RAT towards explaining workplace bullying.

Although the applicability of RAT in explaining workplace bullying has been established thus far, because RAT has been traditionally formulated to explain violent or predatory crimes, the precise measures that have been used to apply the components of RAT may not be directly appropriate for a model of workplace bullying and so special attention is required in order to achieve this. Furthermore, it is

³⁴ Personal e-mail correspondence with Prof. Dr. Marcus Felson (June 30, 2003) further strengthened the possibility of applying RAT in explaining workplace bullying in voluntary organisations.

suggested that the precise conceptualisations of RAT's components may vary depending on the nature of the crime in question (De Coster et al., 1999, p. 23; Lynch, 1987, pp. 283-285). The following sections discuss the specifics on how to operationalise the components of RAT in studying workplace bullying in voluntary organisations and build appropriate hypotheses for this research. This is established by taking into account the current understanding of the use of RAT in the existing criminology literature, the literature on the relationship between situational factors and workplace bullying, and the literature on the nature of voluntary organisations. In general the present thesis hypothesises that there are associations between a number of lifestyle characteristics of voluntary organisations, including their employees and volunteers, which may generate workplace bullying through a convergence of suitable targets and motivated offenders in the absence of guardianship. The discussion begins with the 'motivated offender' component before turning to the 'suitable target' and 'capable guardianship' components.

Motivated offender

Cohen and Felson (1979, p. 589) took the motivated offender as given and made no explicit statement about what might motivate people to partake in illegal activities. This is because the proponents of RAT argued that other theories of criminality and delinquency offer many insights explaining the concept of offender motivation, and that RAT is concerned with the circumstances surrounding the crime rather than the thinking processes of offenders and their rational decision-making. Having said that, the concept of offender motivation is implicitly assumed in RAT, whereby offenders are viewed as purposive/goal-oriented/rational actors who try to maximise profit and minimise pain/risk (see also Clarke & Felson, 1993, pp. 8-9; Farrell et al., 1995, p. 2).

The assumption is that the victim-selection process involves a rational decision to prey on suitable targets who lack guardianship (see also Hough, 1987). For example, it is rational for offenders to choose to target properties where valuable technical equipment can be seen (suitable target) and where there is no sign of occupancy (absence of guardianship) since this increases the chance of a reward and decreases the level of risk. Bjorkqvist, Osterman, and Lagerspetz (1994a, pp. 28-29) have introduced a similar concept of effect/danger ratio in explaining workplace bullying where the effect/danger ratio is an expression of the individual's estimation of the likely (positive) consequences and dangers of aggressive acts. This concept was in turn applied by Salin (2003, p. 1220) in explaining the factors that motivate bullies in the workplace. Based on the above discussion the current study implicitly assumes the component of motivated offender and therefore holds it constant. Additionally, the implicit assumption that workplace bullying is committed in situations where the benefits outweigh the risk is illustrated in the choice of suitable target and capable guardianship components, as will be discussed below.

Suitable target

Target suitability can be broken down into three components: the 'proximity' of potential targets to potential offenders, the 'exposure' or vulnerability of targets towards crime, and the material or symbolic 'attractiveness' of a person or property target (Meier & Miethe, 1993, p. 474). Proximity and exposure have typically been discussed as the structural features of victimisation or the surrounding conditions of the target, while target attractiveness is more important at the individual level³⁵ (Meier & Miethe, 1993, p. 475).

³⁵ However, this does not refer to the individual level theories that emphasise the role of personality factors: rather, it refers to the demographic characteristics and activities of individual victims.

Proximity. Proximity to crime is the physical distance between potential target and potential offenders (Meier & Miethe, 1993, p. 479). The routine activity approach to victimisation suggests that living in a high-crime area such as council housing increases the risk of being victims of property and violent crimes since these individuals are assumed to live in close proximity to motivated offenders; moreover, offenders are expected to target victims who are in close proximity to their residence (Thompson & Fisher, 1996, p. 56; Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Osborn & Tseloni, 1998). In the context of the workplace, proximity to potential offenders can be determined by the organisational size. Research on sexual harassment of women in the workplace suggested that women in highly populated workplaces are more likely to be sexually harassed than women in workplaces with fewer employees (De Coster et al., 1999, p. 38). This may be simply because the more employees there are in a workplace, the greater the likelihood of a potential perpetrator or/and the potential perpetrator may feel a sense of anonymity and hence assume there is a smaller chance of social condemnation or prosecution. Similarly, workplace bullying may occur in highly populated workplaces where a victim is more likely to be in close proximity to a motivated offender. Unfortunately a proximity measure cannot be applied in this study because there was not enough variation in the size of the voluntary organisations which participated to provide an appropriate comparison. In addition, the voluntary organisation's workforce, and in particular, the volunteer staff, generally do not necessarily have a similar working schedule as do business employees; many volunteers tend to render their service for a few hours a week. Moreover, Hoel and Salin (2003, p. 210) argued that evidence regarding the organisational size and the relationship to bullying is inconclusive. For instance, Hoel and Cooper (2000b, p. 16)

reported that small and medium sized organisations³⁶ are more conducive to bullying while in contrast, Einarsen and Skogstad (1996, p. 195) reported that bullying is prevalent in larger organisations.³⁷

Exposure. Exposure is more relevant for the present thesis because the victims of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations may be exposed to certain negative work environment (working conditions) compared to non-victims. Exposure indicates one's vulnerability to crime or visibility and accessibility of persons or objects to potential offenders. For example, risks of personal victimisation are assumed to be directly related to the amount of time spent in public places (such as streets and parks) at night (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978, p. 251). In the workplace, exposure to a stressful and negative work environment is frequently associated with workplace bullying (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994b, p. 179; Einarsen et al., 1994, pp. 395-398; Leymann, 1996, pp. 177-178). Characteristics of the negative and stressful environment are work intensification, a high degree of pressure, unclear and unpredictable job situation, enforced team working, unclear roles and command structures (Hoel & Salin, 2003). One of the factors that produces such a stressful and negative work environment in the voluntary sector is work overload. In 1998, 90% and in 2000, 96% of the safety representatives cited workload as responsible for producing negative work environment in voluntary organisations (TUC 1998; TUC 2000, 'Stress at Work' section). One of the important structural characteristics of the voluntary sector—lack of profit distribution—is expected to contribute to problems relating to workload. A major disadvantage faced by non-profit organisations due to the absence of profit distribution is that they are not solely organised for business

³⁶ 26-100 employees.

³⁷ More than 50 employees.

purposes, and as a result they are limited in their ability to raise capital (Leat, 1993, p. 19). Unlike the public and private sectors then, the voluntary sector derives funding mostly from charitable donations such as trusts and foundations (see also Ruckle, 1993, p. 117). In recent years however, due to the introduction of a ‘mixed economy of care’, voluntary organisations are subject to shifts in funding sources as income is increasingly coming from contracts to provide services—mostly to the government—and less from grants or from the general public (Courtney, 1994, p. 33; Cunningham, 2001, p. 228; see also Reed & Howe, 2000, p. 2). Since charitable donations are limited in frequency and value, competition for funds and support is intense among voluntary organisations leading to “bitter rivalries” in many cases (Ball, 1996, p. 12; Cornwell, 1995, p. 16; Leat, 1993, pp. 19-21). This intense competition to secure funding is likely to create a high degree of time pressure and work overload among many workers in the voluntary sector. Studies have shown that people with a high workload, time pressure and hectic work environment report more bullying (Appelberg, Romanov, Honkasalo, & Koskenvuo, 1991, p. 1052-1053; Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, pp. 29-30). Since work overload is indirectly associated with workplace bullying, this thesis hypothesises that victims of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations are usually exposed to work overload in contrast to non-victims.

Attractiveness. Another relevant component of target suitability is ‘target attractiveness’, which relates to the symbolic or economic value of persons or property targets to the offender (Meier & Miethe, 1993, p. 482). The higher the apparent value of a person/property, the more attractive they tend to appear and the higher the risk of being victimised. For instrumental crimes, it is relatively simple to

define the attractiveness of objects: small and expensive objects that are not properly secured are most attractive (Cohen & Felson, 1979, pp. 591, 595). For workplace bullying, the target attractiveness was conceptualised here in terms of employment status and the response/confrontation towards the perpetrator of the negative behaviour.

One of the distinctive characteristics of many voluntary organisations is that they rely on volunteer participation apart from paid staff.³⁸ According to Leat (1993, p. 34), the contribution of volunteers is an option for all non-profit organisations, whereas it is highly unlikely that a for-profit organisation could sustain volunteer involvement. Various studies have been conducted to investigate the target suitability of different levels of paid workers towards workplace bullying, though not in the voluntary sector. One study (Stewart & Swaffield, 1997) indicated that bullying may be linked to increasing job-insecurity and fear of redundancy (pp. 520-521) and that lower paid workers are most vulnerable (p. 534).³⁹ This shows that part-time, temporary and subcontracted workers tend to be more at risk of workplace bullying than full-time and permanent workers. The reason for this is that part-timers or contingent workers may be reluctant to retaliate due to job insecurity for fear that their short-term contracts may not be renewed if they are perceived to be troublemakers. At face value it may be argued that similar to contingent workers, volunteers are suitable targets as they are extra helping hands who facilitate the organisations flow and are thus situated in a position where they are susceptible to being ordered around and even bullied.

³⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 1, volunteers comprise one of the sector's most important resources. It is estimated that they contribute £12 billion worth of unpaid work to voluntary organisations (NCVO Research Quarterly, 2000).

³⁹ Stewart and Swaffield (1997) stated that "individual job insecurity, fear of redundancy and scarcity of alternative job opportunities enable employers to force those in employment to work more hours than they would wish at the prevailing wage" (p. 521).

Furthermore, there is an indication that volunteers are afforded relatively little protection by the legal system compared to paid workers (Fielden, 1996).⁴⁰

However, it is contended that there is another dimension to this explanation.

Volunteers may neither be in the same group as full-time/permanent employees nor in that of part-time/temporary employees in the context of the voluntary sector. Rather, volunteers may possess their own distinctive characteristics, such as their respective social statuses. Studies show that the likelihood of being a volunteer increases with income and educational qualification and as such, volunteers may be the social equals rather than socially subordinate to paid managers (Leat, 1993, p. 35). Furthermore, unlike full-time employees who depend on promotions and part-timers whose employment depends on renewal of contracts (Leat, 1993, p. 33),⁴¹ volunteers may assist because they want to on their own accord and may not aspire for monetary rewards or promotions. Hence they may also demand discretion in what they do freely (Leat, 1993, pp. 34-37; Shin & Kleiner, 2003) and are free to leave if they wish to. According to a report by the United Parcel Service [UPS] (1998, pp. 14-15), 40% of people that volunteered eventually stopped because the organisation made poor use of their time. Therefore volunteers may not be considered as suitable targets to be bullied since the risk involved in losing them is higher than the rewards expected. This thesis anticipates that paid employees (either part-time or full-time) are more susceptible to workplace bullying than volunteers are.

⁴⁰ The Sex Discrimination Act (1975) and the Employment Protection (Consolidation) Act (1978) only provide cover for paid employees (as cited in Fielden, 1996, p. 19).

⁴¹ Paid employees in the voluntary organisations, either full-time or part-time, have problems relating to job security due to a high level of dependence upon funding from sources over which the organisation has little direct control (Leat, 1993, p. 33).

Apart from the employment status, the present study explores ‘target attractiveness’ in terms of victims’ response/confrontation towards the perpetrator of the negative behaviour. In order to explain the relationship between ‘confronting the perpetrator’ and reports of being bullied, the following section will discuss three themes: the gradual evolving process of bullying, the literature on repeat victimisation and the special feature of the voluntary sector which makes ‘confronting the perpetrator’ an effective means in preventing workplace bullying.

Workplace bullying is not an either-or phenomenon, but can be seen as a gradually evolving process comprising several phases: aggressive behaviour, bullying, the victim’s exclusion from the workplace, and severe trauma (Einarsen, 1999, p. 19; Leymann, 1996, pp. 171-172). The process usually starts with some rather subtle aggressive behaviours that do not appear serious enough to be considered as bullying. According to Leymann (1990, p. 121), “the starting point of bullying is typically a triggering situation which is most often a conflict”. However, when these aggressive behaviours become more persistent and the victim has problems in defending him/herself, one is dealing with bullying. After a while the situation may accelerate into stigmatisation where the victim is humiliated in public and made into a laughing-stock at the workplace, which in turn affects the mental and psychological health of the victim quite dramatically. Since bullying is a gradually evolving process it is predicted that certain measures can be taken in the initial stage by the victim to prevent the negative behaviours from developing into bullying. The literature on repeat victimisation discussed below will illustrate the preventive measures.

One of the central characteristics of bullying is the experience of persistent negative behaviour by the victim(s) from the same perpetrator(s) (refer to Chapter 1). A similar notion of persistency is reflected in the repeat victimisation literature from the field of criminology. Repeat victimisation is “a time-ordered sequence of similar events suffered by the same individual victim or target” (Hope, Bryan, Trickett, & Osborn, 2001, p. 596). Farrell et al. (1995, p. 2) proposed two types of repeat victimisation: Risk heterogeneity⁴² and state /event dependent.⁴³ The latter complements the existing literature in workplace bullying as it implies that the same individual or group of perpetrators bully the victim persistently. In addition, event dependent repeat victimisation maintains that there is something about the victimisation experience itself which may increase the risk of further victimisation. According to Farrell et al. (1995, p.8), one of the reasons why event dependent repeat victimisation occurs is due to the victim’s failure to respond to the initial offences, thereby in effect reducing the perceived risks entailed in committing succeeding offences by the offender (see also Hope et al., 2001, p.600). In other words, the successful completion of a first offence renders the target more attractive for subsequent offences/event dependent repeat victimisation/bullying. Based on several deliberations it is anticipated that ‘confronting the perpetrator’ of negative behaviour can be a useful means to prevent workplace bullying from developing. Support for this is derived from PCS View (2002) which recommends that a direct approach is usually the best and that the victims should tell the person that he/she finds their behaviour unacceptable and ask them to stop. Additionally, Keashly (1998) stated

⁴² Risk heterogeneity refers to the fact that some targets are inherently more attractive and remain so overtime, thereby inducing repeated victimisation by different offenders. In other word it is a result of possessing characteristics that increases the likelihood of victimisation by different offenders (Farrell et al., 1995, p. 2).

⁴³ Event dependent refers to the likelihood of victimisation by the same offender and is related to the initial incident. In other word, one victimisation increases the risk of subsequent victimisation (Farrell et al., 1995, p. 2).

that, “some policies on workplace harassment even indicate that before the complaint can be taken higher, the target needs to have informed the perpetrator of the undesirability of the behaviour and request it be stopped” (pp. 103-104).

Confronting the perpetrator is expected to be a useful means particularly in the voluntary sector due to the sector’s distinct egalitarian ethos. Although, both voluntary and non-voluntary organisations must be egalitarian in the sense that they must comply with equal opportunity legislation, the voluntary organisations in particular may “face additional pressures to be more equal than others because of their public benefit mission and their emphasis on overcoming social disadvantage” while the for-profit organisations “do not pretend to be about reducing social disadvantage” (see Leat, 1993, p. 38). In such an environment the workforce is assumed to be well informed about the equal opportunity rights of the individual and the serious repercussions of bullying, through various well managed means such as equal opportunity policies and training. As a result of increased awareness, the victim is more likely to act fast by confronting the perpetrator in the initial stages of the negative behaviours, and the perpetrator is more likely to discontinue his/her negative behaviour because of fear of condemnation.

Based on the discussion of event dependent repeat victimisation, the gradually evolving process of bullying, Farrell’s et al.’s(1995) study as to why event dependent repeat victimisation occurs, and the nature of the voluntary sector which is based on an egalitarian ethos, it is anticipated that successful confrontation by the victims towards the initial negative behaviours is expected to reduce the probability of initial aggressive behaviours to exaggerate into bullying. On the other hand, if the victim

does not confront the perpetrator of negative behaviour, the successful completion of a first few offence renders the target more attractive for subsequent offences or being bullied. This is applied in the present study where employees and volunteers who experienced negative incidents but did not report that they were being bullied are predicted to have confronted the perpetrators of negative behaviours in the early stages compared to the respondents who report being the victim of bullying.

Apart from investigating specifically employment status and victims' response (confrontation), other more general measures of target attractiveness—socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, duration of service—were also included in this study. According to Hindelang et al. (1978, p. 243), demographic characteristics are associated with various role expectations which in turn lead to differences in lifestyles and subsequently to differences in the likelihood of victimisation (see also Meier & Miethe, 1993, p. 466). Similarly, Kennedy and Forde (1990) suggested that background characteristics affect time spent in risky lifestyles which lead towards dangerous results (pp. 209, 211). Thus, this study assesses various demographic characteristics in order to investigate which is associated to bullying in voluntary organisations and why.

Capable Guardianship

Having discussed the target suitability element of RAT and how it contributes to workplace bullying, it is important to consider the components related to the absence of capable guardianship in voluntary organisations, which is a crucial factor for bullying to take place based on RAT. Two types of guardianship can be distinguished: social (interpersonal) and physical (Meier & Miethe, 1993, p. 483).

The initial application of social guardianship in RAT such as household composition, house occupancy and having neighbours who watch a dwelling when it is unoccupied, was tailored to explain household victimisation or direct-contact personal victimisation (Thompson & Fisher, 1996; Tseloni, 2000). The availability of other people such as friends, neighbours or law enforcement officers may prevent crime indirectly by their presence alone or directly through offering physical assistance in warding off an attack. For the purpose of the current study, social guardianship is measured in terms of the leadership qualities in the voluntary organisations. As for the application of physical guardianship in RAT, it usually involves target hardening activities (window bars, burglar alarms, guard dogs) and participation in collective activities such as neighbourhood watch programs (Thompson & Fisher, 1996; Tseloni, 2000). The application of physical guardianship in the context of workplace bullying is more limited compared to its application in predatory or property crime. Unlike properties that can be guarded by using alarms, CCTV and watch programs, a workplace cannot be easily guarded from bullying incidents. However, one possible means of physical guardianship in the workplace is the establishment of organisational policies. The following section will discuss the element of leadership quality (social guardianship) before turning to organisational policy (physical guardianship).

Social Guardianship. The relationship between workplace bullying and leadership quality can be manifest in two ways: one is, when workers describe their superiors as the bully, and the second is, when the overall working climate is characterised as lacking constructive leadership (Einarsen et al., 1994, p. 397; Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 28). The following section first discusses the former manifestation before proceeding to the latter. As mentioned in the literature review (refer to Chapter

1 on the characteristics of workplace bullying), workplace bullying is said to involve power imbalance or a 'victim-perpetrator' element (see also Salin, 2003, p. 1216). Although power imbalance can be the consequence of a variety of individual, situational or societal characteristics (see Cleveland & Kerst, 1993; Thacker & Ferris, 1991), formal power differences, where workers describe their superior as the bully, is one of the most obvious sources of power imbalance in the workplace. As far as 'superiors being the perpetrators of bullying', British studies have consistently found that perpetrators in the majority of work place bullying cases are people in superior positions (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 16; Rayner, 1997, p. 201). In line with this, a similar situation is generally predicted in the voluntary sector where victims of bullying are expected to report negative behaviours related to bullying from superiors more often than non-superiors. Viewed from a routine activities perspective, bullying from superiors creates an immediate lack of capable guardianship simply because superiors who are otherwise perceived as guardians are themselves the perpetrators of workplace bullying. Victims then lack immediate avenues to curb the situation as the presumed reliable and trusting guardian is him/herself the offender. Moreover, the abusive behaviour is likely to persist because the behaviour from more powerful others often affect targets by reducing or restricting the victim's ability to respond, thereby, minimising the risk of further harassing the victim and maximising the effect (Keashly & Jagatic, 2003, p. 49; Keashly, 2001).

It should be noted that these previous studies were carried out with the assumption that the majority of managerial positions in the UK is still occupied by men (Rayner, 1997, p. 206). Hence, it is also important for a fuller understanding of the

phenomenon in voluntary organisations to explore if a similar trend exists in this sector where women are likely to dominate the majority of the managerial position.⁴⁴

So far the focus has been on the lack of capable guardianship created when the immediate superiors themselves are reported to be the bully. The following discussion draws attention to the lack of capable guardianship created due to an overall climate in the organisation that lacks constructive leadership. A weak, inadequate, or *laissez-faire* style of leadership, or a negative management style in the organisation may provide a fertile ground for bullying not only from superiors but also between peers or colleagues (Einarsen et al., 1994, p. 397; Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 28). It is argued that when superiors are not themselves the perpetrators of bullying, but rather constitute the third party or bystanders, an absence of guardianship occurs due to the lack of constructive leadership. So instead of solving the problem, first the superior may actively take part or even choose sides in the harassment process and secondly, the superior may deny the existence of the conflict or fail to acknowledge it (see also Adam & Crawford, 1992, pp. 156-157). In addition, the leadership may create a culture that permits such behaviour by adopting a negative management style. It is predicted that victims of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector would overall report experiencing a lack of constructive leadership compared to non-victims.

The importance of investigating the two components of the quality of leadership and their contribution to the lack of guardianship as discussed above cannot be underestimated because this may indicate that there is a lack of instrumental support by the management for the workforce. According to House (1981) instrumental

⁴⁴ Seventy one percent of voluntary organisation employees are women (Leat, 1993, p.32; NCVO Research Quarterly, 2000). Thus it is highly likely that women dominate the managerial positions.

support involves instrumental behaviours that directly help the person in need such as taking care of or assisting someone (pp. 24-25). Consequently, bullying may be prevalent in an environment where there is little instrumental support for the workers to help them when they are facing problems in the workplace.

One may argue that a lack of capable guardianship (in terms of the quality of leadership) is likely to be prevalent in any organisation (not only in the voluntary sector) where workers describe their supervisor as the bully or where the overall working climate is characterised by a lack of constructive leadership. Nonetheless, the management or leadership in the voluntary sector may be an important source of bullying due to several reasons. First, the introduction of a mixed economy of care has particularly increased the pressure on management. The voluntary sector managers are expected to cater to the vulnerable/disadvantaged members of the community with uncertain and limited funding, and are constantly accountable to multiple constituencies (Hailey & James, 2004, p. 344; Parry et al., 2005, p. 590). Moreover, their pay is 23% lower than the pay of the managers in the public sector (Parry et al., 2005, p. 595), and so can be considered as incompatible with the effort and pressure that they have to endure. Furthermore, since the voluntary organisations are recruiting staff (managerial and other level) from the private industry, there is no guarantee that these staff will have the same commitment to serve the voluntary organisations compared to those who choose employment due to a social service ethos (Cunningham, 2001, p. 229). So the overwhelming pressure, the incompatible reinforcement and the lack of insight in managing voluntary organisations may lead towards an inadequate management style.

A more specific characteristic apparent in voluntary organisations that is predicted to especially contribute to the absence of guardianship in terms of the quality of leadership, and thus the instrumental support, is the voluntary participation of the board of directors/voluntary management committee. One of the main functions of the managing board of voluntary organisations is to act as the arbiter in relation to organisational problems (Leat, 1993, pp. 26-30; Ruckle, 1993, p. 113).⁴⁵ This enables them to indirectly act as capable guardians by handling complaints seriously and creating awareness of the importance of enforcing zero tolerance of workplace bullying. However, for several reasons this crucial function may be jeopardised and negatively influence the quality of leadership in the voluntary sector. First, non-profit board members are usually selected to represent various constituencies and stakeholders of the organisation such as government funders, donors, consumers and other related voluntary organisations (Leat, 1993, p. 26). It is interesting to note that a survey of voluntary organisations in Britain showed that 60% of the appointments to senior posts were from outside the sector (Courtney, 1994, p. 35). Consequently, board members may be very busy people whose primary allegiance is towards their own organisations (Leat, 1993, p. 27). Furthermore, they may have limited understanding of the management of voluntary organisation (Leat, 1993, p. 27; see also Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7). Second, members of non-profit board are unpaid volunteers. So apart from having limited time for meetings and preparations, as volunteers they may distance themselves from their responsibilities as employers, leaving these for the employed staff to handle. Consequently, uninvolved and unaccountable board can endanger the survival of an organisation (Ruckle, 1993, p.

⁴⁵ According to Ruckle (1993) "The voluntary board stands as an extremely valuable and powerful resource to these organisations both in terms of raising funds and providing a wide range of expertise and guidance. Volunteer board members also have final decision-making authority, as well as certain legal responsibilities for the organisation" (p. 113).

107; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7). Therefore, this thesis anticipates that the quality of leadership in the voluntary sector is not only influenced by both paid managers/superiors, but also by the voluntary board.

Physical Guardianship. Apart from examining the absence of social guardianship in terms of leadership, this thesis examines the physical guardianship element in terms of organisational policies. According to Brodsky (1976, p. 84) bullying cannot exist without being either directly or indirectly condoned by the organisation. Further support for this view comes from Einarsen (1999, p. 23), who stated that bullying is prevalent in organisations where the perpetrators feel that they have the support or implicit blessings of the senior management and/or the organisation. Organisational support or lack of support for or against workplace bullying is demonstrated through various means. As discussed in the previous section, one form of lacking organisational support may be when workers describe their supervisor as the bully, or where the overall working climate is characterised by a lack of constructive leadership (see also Einarsen et al., 1994, p. 397).

The following section examines another important means of organisational support, the organisational policy which is categorised in this research as informational support. According to House (1981), informational support involves indirectly providing a person with information that the person can use in coping with personal and environmental problems (p. 25). Such information could be provided informally or formally, through introducing policies and providing necessary training. According to Hoel and Cooper (2000a), “all organisations need to have a policy for handling cases of bullying” (p. 111). Although this may not directly prevent bullying, it is seen

as the first step for an effective prevention as it shows that the organisation does not condone such behaviour, thus it may indirectly prevent workplace bullying. “If there is no policy against bullying, nor monitoring policy, nor punishments for those who engage in bullying, it might be interpreted that the organisation accepts such behaviours (see also Salin, 2003, p. 1220)”. In line with RAT, such policies are expected to play the role of capable guardianship to prevent workplace bullying. Hence, it is predicted that victims of bullying in the voluntary organisations are more likely to report the absence of bullying policies compared to non-victims. Although the voluntary sector was reputed for lagging behind in the production of health and safety policies in the past,⁴⁶ it would be too hasty to over-generalise this finding towards the policies dealing with workplace bullying. As a result, this thesis takes the initiative to further explore the current situation in the voluntary sector in terms of the production of bullying policies. Moreover, it is expected that the voluntary organisation in particular is more inclined to introduce bullying policies as part of promoting its celebrated egalitarian ethos.

To summarise, this chapter has based its discussion upon a routine activities theoretical framework to explore the situational causes of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. It predicts that workplace bullying occurs whenever motivated offender, suitable target and lack of capable guardianship are present in the environment. The theoretical framework takes into consideration several distinguishing characteristics of the voluntary sector and their contribution towards bullying:

⁴⁶ According to the TUC (2000) report, the worst sector for the production of health and safety policies is the voluntary sector.

First, the “target suitability” component of RAT is investigated in terms of the target’s ‘exposure’ or vulnerability towards negative structural environment, and the material or symbolic ‘attractiveness’ of the victim. ‘Target exposure’ is measured in terms of workload whereby it is hypothesised that respondents who are exposed to a higher workload are more likely to report being bullied compared to those who are exposed to a lower workload. ‘Target attractiveness’ is examined by exploring three variables: employment status (volunteers/employees), confronting the perpetrator and other demographic variables such as gender, age and duration of service. Employees are more likely bullied compared to volunteers; and those who do not confront the perpetrator of negative behaviours are more likely bullied than those who confront the perpetrator.

Second, the “lack of capable guardianship” component of RAT is investigated in terms of ‘social guardianship’ and ‘physical guardianship’. As far as social guardianship is concerned, perpetrator status and the constructive leadership climate are seen as potentially bringing about bullying. Those who experience negative behaviours from superiors are more likely to report being bullied than those who experience negative behaviours from non-superiors; and those who lack a constructive leadership climate are more likely to be bullied than those who are in a constructive leadership climate. Where physical guardianship is concerned, the availability of a policy that can deal with bullying is predicted to reduce the reports of bullying and vice versa.

The next chapter will consider how the methodology has been developed to test these conjectures.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter first gives a comprehensive description of the sample; second, it discusses the appropriate research design and methods utilised for the research; third, it elaborates on the development and modification of instruments used for the research; fourth, it discusses the procedure and the ethical issues involved in gaining access to voluntary organisations and its members, and finally it explains the data analysis techniques used for analysing the results at various levels.

Sample

There were two stages of sampling in this research. First, there was the selection of voluntary organisations and second, the selection of the employees/volunteers in the respective organisations. Although, effort was made to randomly select the voluntary organisations in the initial stage (refer footnote no. 50), this study largely depended on the availability and willingness of the organisations and respondents to participate. So this research is largely a cross-sectional survey that was carried out by means of accidental or opportunity sampling (non-probability sampling) (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, p. 80). The sample was derived from Leicestershire mainly because the researcher is based there and had established initial contacts with some voluntary organisations in the environs.⁴⁷ But another critical consideration is that Leicester's cultural diversity (BBC News, 2001; Leicester City Council, 2005)⁴⁸ is

⁴⁷ The researcher was working as a volunteer in one of the well established voluntary organisations in Leicester. From her contacts in this organisation, she was able to establish further connections with other voluntary organisations mainly in Leicester.

⁴⁸ Leicester is one of the most culturally diverse cities in Britain and based on the 1991 census, 28% of the population consist of ethnic minorities (BBC News, 2001; Leicester City Council, 2005).

likely to facilitate a normally distributed sample. Additionally, since this is the first known in-depth study on workplace bullying in volunteering organisations, different types of volunteering organisations were included rather than focusing on one particular type. Nonetheless as indicated in the first chapter, co-operatives, financial and mutual groups (like building societies, friendly societies and motoring organisations) were excluded since they may not meet the ‘non profit distributing’ criterion. It should also be noted that religious worship organisations (churches, mosques, temples, and synagogues) were excluded from this research since religious activity per se is an exclusive and private objective. Despite the existence of several faith-based NGOs in Leicester, these were not examined either since their members are often not diverse⁴⁹ and because of the difficulty of delineating what is a worship organisation as opposed to a separately constituted charitable organisation (SCVO, 2006). Overall, seventy voluntary organisations were randomly selected from the latest list/sampling frame provided by the Directory of Voluntary Groups in Leicester (2002); 29 responded positively.⁵⁰ In order to identify a broad and representative sample, a considerable amount of effort was also put into negotiating access to voluntary organisations and their members (this is discussed in the Procedure section). The identity of the 29 organisations that participated in this study will be kept confidential (as requested), but overall these organisations cover a wide range and can be classified into 15 types or categories. The classification was based on the International Classification of Non-profit Organisations (ICNPO) that was tested against the experience of the various project countries by Salamon and Sokolowski

⁴⁹ In Leicester’s context, and perhaps other regions of the UK as well, it is assumed that there is considerable homogeneous ethnic and class identification with specific worship organisations.

⁵⁰ The directory listed 676 organisations alphabetically. Effort was made to randomly select a sample which represents a wide variety of organisations as possible. So 10 voluntary organisations were selected from every 100, excluding religious worship organisations, and co-operatives, financial and mutual groups which may not meet the ‘non profit distributing’ criterion.

(2001; see also CNP, 2005, pp. 5, 18-22).⁵¹ The type of voluntary organisations and the percentages of respondents who participated from each type are recorded in Table 1.

Table 1: Classification of voluntary organisations

<i>Classification of voluntary organisations</i>	<i>No (%) of respondents</i>
Domestic violence/Women	25 (14%)
Counselling	11 (6.2%)
Carers	6 (3.4%)
Family services/Community development	18 (10.1%)
Support and International activities	6 (3.4%)
Health services	15 (8.4%)
Mental health	5 (2.8%)
Art	4 (2.2%)
Housing	15 (8.4%)
Civic and advocacy	15 (8.4%)
Sexual abuse	11 (6.2%)
Community safety	3 (1.7%)
Voluntarism promotion/philanthropic intermediaries	13 (7.3%)
Training/Employment	10 (5.6%)
Environment	21 (11.85)
Total	178

⁵¹ The ICNPO consists of twelve major groups, which were further divided into a variety (27) of subgroups. In this thesis, organisations were divided/differentiated at the subgroup level (refer Table 1).

Approximately 250 questionnaires were administrated to the members of these organisations and the response rate was 71% (178 questionnaires). Out of 178 respondents, 23 agreed to be interviewed.⁵² Further descriptive analysis of the sample details (see Table 2) shows that women (70%) are over-represented compared to men (30%). This reflects the composition of most voluntary organisations, where females represent the majority of staff. Seventy two percent (72%) of the respondents are employees while only 28% are volunteers. The age distribution is also skewed, with the largest group of respondents belonging to the 46 and above age group (35%). Approximately half of the respondents (57%) have served for at least 2 years, and only 3.6 % have served for more than 12 years.

Table 2: Main characteristics of the respondents included in the sample

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>No (%) of respondents</i>
Gender (n=178)	
Female	125 (70.2%)
Male	53 (29.8%)
Employment status (n=178)	
Employees	128 (71.9%)
Volunteers	50 (28.1%)

⁵² One interview was excluded, as it took 4 hours in which, the interviewee expressed her personal problems (divorce/family). It was felt that her marital problem may have affected her work life.

Cont' Table 2

Age (n=176) ⁵³	
Below 25 years old	22 (12.5%)
26-35 years old	47 (26.70%)
36-45 years old	45 (25.57%)
46 years and above	62 (35.23%)
Duration of service (n=169)	
Less than 2 years	97 (57.4%)
3-5 years	40 (23.7%)
6-8 years	14 (8.3%)
9-11 years	12 (7.1%)
12 and above	6 (3.6%)

Research Design and Method of Data Collection

This thesis is based on a cross-sectional research design that applies both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. As such, the following section starts by reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of various research designs including experimental, longitudinal and cross-sectional research design, and discusses why cross-sectional design is viewed as the most appropriate for this study. Then, the rational for using both quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection is elaborated on. Finally, attention is paid to the development of the questionnaires (quantitative data collection) and interview schedules (qualitative data collection).

⁵³ The questionnaire included eight categories for the age group. This was recoded in four categories.

*Research Design: Experimental, Longitudinal
and Cross-Sectional Design*

This research uses a cross-sectional research design rather than experimental or longitudinal designs for various reasons. First, although experimental design is suitable in determining the direction of causality, Hoel et al. (1999, p. 222) argued that due to ethical considerations, the bullying phenomena cannot be studied experimentally (see also Einarsen, 1997 as cited in Hoel et al., 1999, p. 216). Accordingly, it is maintained here that due to ethical limitations, it is not possible to simulate a bullying situation in the laboratory or experimentally manipulate organisations and employees in order to investigate the cause and effect of workplace bullying. Second, although the longitudinal design, where data are gathered at two or more points in time, may seem as an alternative solution to experimental designs, the limited time available for this study meant that the longitudinal design was not a suitable option. So, as it will become apparent in the following discussion, a more suitable design for this thesis is the cross-sectional design.

Cross-sectional design or ‘one-shot design’ aims to investigate a sample of the population at one time (Singleton, Straits, Straits, & McAllister, 1988, pp. 237-238). Since this is the first in-depth, systematic study on voluntary organisations in relation to workplace bullying, one of the aims of this study is to provide as much information as possible with regards to the nature, extent and experience of workplace bullying in this sector. Hence, for this purpose and given the time constraint of this thesis, it is more appropriate to look at a large number and variety of incidents at one point in time instead of a few incidents over various points in time (Keashly, 2001,

‘Limitation’ section, para. 3; Singleton et al., 1988, p. 238; Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, pp. 89-90).

Methods of Data Collection: Quantitative Versus Qualitative Method

The cross sectional research design can be implemented using either quantitative or qualitative data collection methods. The quantitative method is often characterised by questionnaires or self-report surveys while the qualitative method usually entails interviews. Whether administered on-line, through post, or personally, questionnaires have various advantages. For one, since this is the first systematic study on voluntary organisations in relation to workplace bullying, a questionnaire survey will be able to provide a thematically broad picture with regards to the nature, extent and experience of workplace bullying in this sector. Moreover, the behavioural checklist that is typically administered in questionnaire surveys is able to provide specific information about the incidence, prevalence and nature of hostile behaviours in workplaces (Keashly, 1998, pp. 100-101). Second, since workplace bullying is often subtle in nature, victims may consider it as part of the job or even think that their complaint will not be taken seriously, and so fail to report it to the authorities (Mayhew & Chappell, 2001, p. 7; Perrone, 1999, pp. 20-22). So surveys can measure incidents of crime or, in this case, workplace bullying regardless of whether or not a report has been lodged to the authorities (Perrone, 1999, p. 27).

Using questionnaires, however, can pose difficulties for several reasons. First, the self-report and retrospective nature of questionnaires may be problematic with respect to whether the reports provided are accurate since respondents may attempt to ‘fake good’ due to social desirability biases (Bennett & Robinson, 2000, p. 357;

Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, p. 108). Victims of workplace bullying may not want to be known as individuals with problems who are apparently unable to cope with the pressures of the job while the perpetrators may attempt to present a better picture of themselves. Second, there are also restrictions to the type and phrasing of questions that one can ask since an average literacy level has to be accommodated (Mayhew, 2000, p. 107). Third, although quantitative data enables the researcher to gain information on the nature and pattern of workplace bullying, it is problematic when it comes to understanding in-depth the subjective meanings and experiences of the people affected by workplace bullying (Lewis, 1998, p. 98; Lewis, 1999, p. 107). Similarly, Liefoghe and Olafsson (1999, p. 40) argued that some items depend on the subjective appraisal of the respondents and thus will not have the same meaning across respondents. For instance, it cannot be assured that the respondents are using the researcher's definition or their own even when required to base their responses on a specific definition of bullying provided by the researcher.

Choosing the most appropriate method to collect, interpret and evaluate data can be difficult since each method produces different types of data and each is flawed in some way (McGrath, 1994, pp. 154-155). Despite these weaknesses, McGrath (1994) suggested that support could be gained in a research by addressing the same questions with multiple methods (pp.154-155). In social research the combination of different forms of data collection is known as triangulation, where two or more different methods or measures are used (Lewis, 1999, pp. 107-108; Singleton et al., 1988, pp. 360-362). As these methods do not share the same methodological weaknesses (errors or biases), the pattern of error varies, thereby increasing one's confidence or reliability in the result (Singleton et al., 1988, p. 361).

Partly due to the disadvantages posed by quantitative methods, researchers often combine the questionnaire survey with the qualitative method of data collection, which is characterised by interviews and case studies. Qualitative approaches aim to allow respondents to speak for themselves rather than imposing the researcher's own values and definitions (Cowie, Naylor, Rivers, Smith, & Pereira, 2002, p. 47; Lewis, 1999, p. 107). Hence, the interviewer and interviewee relationship is more evenly balanced than it is in the questionnaire method. This is adopted in the field of workplace bullying as well, where Liefoghe and Olafsson (1999, p. 39-40) argued that the initial step in exploring the extent of the bullying phenomena can be taken using surveys, but this needs to be supplemented by other methods to further explain this inherently subjective topic (see also Cowie et al., 2002, p. 47; Rayner, Sheehan, & Barker, 1999, p. 13). Using method triangulation is an approach that is consistent with that of a number of other scholars researching workplace bullying. For example, in Bjorkvist's et al. (1994) study, apart from using the Work Harassment Scale (WHS), there were interviews of participants who considered themselves as having been exposed to severe workplace harassment for obtaining relevant details. Lewis (1999, p. 108) conducted structured interviews with 20 key informants, did postal surveys, and finally in-depth interviews with victims of bullying. Keashly (2001) used semi-structured interviews to probe subjects about their experiences in addition to making use of the Workplace Violence Checklist (WVC).

This research then recognises the subjective nature of peoples' thoughts and feelings about bullying at work, and draws upon the concept of triangulation where both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection are used to complement each

other. In view of this, the following section first elaborates on the development of the questionnaire (quantitative method) used in this study and then elaborates on the choice of qualitative method that is most suitable.

Measures:

Questionnaire

The questionnaire employed in the study included (see Appendix A) three parts: background questions about the respondents and the employing organisations, questions about negative behaviours experienced by the respondents with two different measures of bullying, and finally, questions about the perceived causes and consequences of these negative experiences (more detailed questions were asked in the in-depth interviews).

The first part of the questionnaire consisted of questions concerning the respondent and their voluntary organisation. The background questions about the respondents included gender, age, duration of service, employment status, job title and job description. In order to emphasise the confidentiality and anonymity of the study, respondents were given the choice to decide whether they wanted to answer certain demographic questions such as job titles and job descriptions. In addition, the respondents were not required to mention the organisation they are attached to. This was only coded after the questionnaire was returned to ensure confidentiality.

The second part of the questionnaire, which investigates the negative behaviours experienced by the respondents, was measured using the Negative Behaviour Questionnaire (NAQ), which was originally developed by Einarsen and Raknes

(1997). Nonetheless, it should be noted that the NAQ was modified based on Hoel and Cooper's (2000b, p. 27) factor analysis findings and suggestions. Hoel and Cooper (2000b) adopted the NAQ in a large-scale comparative study in the UK to investigate the prevalence of negative behaviours and bullying at work across various industrial and occupational groups. The NAQ originally consisted of 22 items that were written in behavioural terms with no reference to the terms bullying or harassment. Since this instrument originates from and is widely used in Norway, it was modified by Hoel and Cooper (2000b, p. 7) to suit the instrument within the cultural context of Britain in order to strengthen the validity and reliability. The factor analysis of the revised NAQ included 24 items with four categories of bullying behaviours (work-related harassment, personal harassment, organisational harassment and intimidation).⁵⁴

However, for use in this thesis, some minor modifications and amendments were made to accommodate the purpose and the sample of this research. This process is further facilitated by a pilot study in which 20 respondents from two voluntary organisations were asked to comment regarding the content and lucidity of the questionnaire and interview schedule. The following discussion focuses on the amendments made to the questionnaire, in particular the second part of the questionnaire (see Appendix A, items 1-37).

⁵⁴ "Work related harassment relates to someone's work activities. Personal harassment includes more personally derogatory acts directed at the persons themselves. Organisational harassment is less personal and is usually instigated by someone superior. Intimidation includes physical and overt violence (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 26)."

Sexual harassment and social isolation were two additional categories included for this research. Although sexual harassment is often investigated as a separate phenomenon in itself, this thesis included a special category on sexual harassment. This is because the prevalence of sexual harassment in voluntary organisations, particularly in the Citizen's Advice Bureaux (CABs), has been initially reported in a study conducted by Fielden (1996). Other than this report, further studies were not conducted to compare the prevalence of sexual harassment with other categories of bullying in different types of voluntary organisations. For this study, then, some items referring to sexual harassment were constructed (refer items 31 to 33 in Appendix A) based on the Psychological Workplace Inventory (Bjorkqvist & Osterman, 1996).⁵⁵

Another additional category that was included is social isolation. The NAQ used by Hoel and Cooper (2000b, p. 26) included a category on personal harassment and not on social isolation. However, in the current thesis it is argued that both categories of negative behaviours should be included. The reason being, these categories may nonetheless imply different meanings as indicated by some researchers. Personal harassment included more "personally derogatory acts that are directed at the person themselves" regarding their "private life and individual attributes" (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 26; Zapf et al., 1996, p. 223), while social isolation refers to "informal social relationships at work" (Zapf et al., 1996, p. 223). Two items, then, were constructed based on the Leymann Inventory of Psychological Terrorization (LIPT; Leymann, 1990, p. 121; Zapf et al., 1996, p. 222)⁵⁶ to represent social isolation: 'Restrict your

⁵⁵ The Psychological Workplace Inventory (Bjorkqvist & Osterman, 1996) included a section on sexual harassment that contains the definition and the different levels of sexual attention or advances that one may experience.

⁵⁶ Zapf et al. (1996) factor analysed the LIPT which then resulted in seven factors (organisational measures, social isolation, individual attributes, physical violence, attacking the victim's attitudes, verbal aggression and rumours) comprising 38 out of 45 items of the original LIPT.

possibility to speak by interrupting or cutting you off while speaking’ and ‘Refusing to communicate and avoiding you’ (refer items 14 to 16 in Appendix A for items related to social isolation). In addition, one of the items categorised under personal harassment in Hoel and Cooper’s study (2000b, p. 27) – ‘Being ignored, excluded or being sent to Coventry’ – was placed under the category of social isolation in the current thesis. This item indicates the general social relationships at work rather than the more specific individual attributes or private life.

Apart from including two additional categories, the second modification of this scale concerns items related to ‘intimidation’. Most of the items in the NAQ used by Hoel and Cooper (2000b, p. 22) are categorised as psychological or non-physical or covert acts, and only three can be referred to as physical or overt (‘Intimidating behavior such as pushing/finger pointing/ shoving/hitting’, ‘Being shouted at’, and ‘Threats of physical violence’). Since one of the aims of the study is to investigate the prevalence of covert as compared to overt negative behaviours, the NAQ is further modified to include more items related to overt behaviour. Hence an additional four items were adopted from the Workplace Aggression Scale (Neuman and Baron, 1998, p. 396): ‘Attack with weapon’, ‘Theft/damage of your personal belonging’, ‘Destroying mail or messages needed by you’ and ‘Damaging/removing company property (supplies, equipment) needed by you to do your job’ (refer items 1 to 7 in Appendix A). In addition, in line with the Workplace Aggression Scale, this category was known as ‘Overt aggression’ rather than ‘Intimidation’. The third modification on this scale involved the addition of a single item, ‘Insulting messages, telephone calls or e-mails’ (refer item 34 in Appendix A). Finally, some minor alterations were made on two items in order to clarify them: ‘Being ignored or facing hostility when you

approach’⁵⁷ was modified to ‘Having your opinion and views ignored’ (refer item 29), while ‘Pressure not to claim something which by right you are entitled to’ was modified to ‘Unreasonable refusal for leave requests, promotion or training’ (refer to item 22). Hence, the revised version of the NAQ for the study included 34 items in six categories, including overt aggression (items 1 to 7), personal harassment (items 8 to 13), social isolation (items 14 to 16), organisational harassment (items 17 to 24), work-related harassment (items 25 to 30) and sexual harassment (items 31 to 33). Item 34 is a single item scale ‘Insulting messages, telephone calls or e-mails’. Overall respondents were asked to indicate how often they had experienced these negative behaviours in the past one year, on a five point Likert scale from ‘Never’, ‘Once’, ‘Occasionally’, ‘Weekly’ or ‘Daily’. The internal consistency of items in each category was determined using Cronbach’s Alpha (refer to Quantitative Results chapter).

An ancillary part of the NAQ is the strategy used to measure bullying. As indicated in the literature review chapter, both objective and subjective strategies were used to measure bullying. First, the objective measure entailed asking the respondents to indicate how often they had experienced the 34 negative and potentially harassing acts (in the revised NAQ) within the past 12 months on a five point Likert scale (refer above). Second, the subjective measure entailed asking the respondents for their perceptions on whether they have experienced bullying in their workplace within the past 12 months and five years accompanied by (yes/no) answer alternatives (refer items 35 and 36 in Appendix A).⁵⁸ Additionally, respondents were asked regarding

⁵⁷ Since this item is linked to work-related harassment in Hoel and Cooper’s (2000b) factor analysis result, it is felt that the emphasis should be on some work-related tasks.

⁵⁸ This question was placed after the objective measure in order to avoid ‘cueing’ the respondents’ answers.

the indirect experience (witnessing) of bullying within the last five years (refer to item 37 in Appendix A). The subjective measure applied in this thesis is different than what other researchers (such as Hoel & Cooper, 2000b) appear to have used. Usually respondents were given a short definition of bullying as used in the literature and were immediately asked whether they would label themselves as being bullied based on the definition. In contrast, the present study enquired if the respondents have experienced bullying at work without giving them a prior definition. This is consistent with Lewis's (1999, pp. 112-113) approach, which merely asked at its simplest level whether the respondent has experienced an event of workplace bullying. The justification is that if an operational definition is given, it is not certain that respondents are using the researcher's definition or their own (Cowie et al., 2002, p. 40; Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 12; Keashly, 1998, p. 100; Liefoghe & Olafsson, 1999, p. 40).⁵⁹ Despite emphasising the persistent nature of bullying, Hoel and Cooper (2000b, p. 12) noted that some respondents (1.9%) did consider very rare incidents as bullying. Thus a respondent's own definition of bullying may not necessarily be in line with the one provided by the researcher. On the other hand, if no definition is given, it may not be clear that the persistent nature and the imbalance of power criteria are satisfied (Cowie et al., 2002, p. 40). So one could expect higher levels of bullying than in previous studies owing to the fact that no definition of bullying was included in the questionnaire (see also Zapf et al., 2003, p. 104). As a result, this study adopted a middle way whereby respondents were first asked if they had experienced bullying in the questionnaire, then they were asked about their perception of the concept (when interviewed) instead of giving them the definition. An additional benefit is that this enabled the researcher to investigate whether the respondents from the voluntary

⁵⁹ As Keashly (1998) stated, "the problem with such an operationalisation is it is unclear what the respondents are thinking of when they say yes or no" (p. 100).

organisations were aware of the phenomenon of bullying, and whether their definitions or perceptions of bullying are consistent with the global definition of workplace bullying often utilised by researchers (refer to the section on interviews for further information about the subjective measure of the experience of bullying).

All respondents who answered the NAQ section independently of whether they had been bullied or not were then required to answer the third part of the survey that included a number of questions about the perceived causes (items 53 to 65), consequences (item 38 to 41), coping strategies (items 43 to 52)⁶⁰, perpetrators' status (item 42 and an additional question attached to the NAQ scale, 'Who was most responsible for this behaviour/negative act?') and, finally, organisational policies dealing with bullying (item 66).⁶¹ It should be noted that apart from examining the consequences of bullying towards the individual victims (physical and psychological well being),⁶² this study also incorporates an investigation of possible organisational consequences, which include sickness-absenteeism (item 40) and job performance (item 39).

Overall, the three parts of the questionnaire were developed based on the two main research purposes of the study: to explore the nature and extent of workplace bullying/harassment in the voluntary sector and to apply RAT in explaining the phenomenon. In order to achieve the first purpose of the study, the second part which included the revised NAQ (items 1-37), was designed to explore the prevalence of bullying in voluntary organisations by subjective (items 35-37) and objective means

⁶⁰ The items were adapted from Rayner's (1997, p. 204) and Hoel and Cooper's (2000b, p. 21) survey.

⁶¹ Items for bullying policy were adapted from Ellis (1997, Figures 9 and 10).

⁶² Items 38 and 41.

(items 1-34), the negative behaviours most frequently experienced in the voluntary organisation (items 1-34), and the prevalence of overt and covert forms of aggression experienced by the victims of bullying (items 1-34). In addition, the third part of the survey was designed to answer further questions regarding the nature and extent of the phenomenon, such as the negative impact of bullying towards the individual and organisation (items 38-41), and the most frequently reported perpetrator of each negative behaviour (measured by the additional question attached to the NAQ scale, 'Who was most responsible for this behaviour/negative act?').

In order to achieve the second purpose of the study, that is assessing the routine activities approach to workplace bullying in voluntary organisations, data providing information regarding workplace bullying victimisation, target suitability (target exposure and attractiveness) and capable guardianship (social and physical guardianship) was required. Some variables were measured by multiple item scales while others were measured with single item ones. The outcome variable was measured by respondents' reports of being bullied or not in the past one year (item 35). The predictor variables measuring target exposure included workload (first the mean of items 19 to 20 were computed, then it was recoded into high and low workload). The predictor variable measuring target attractiveness is item 43, 'confronting the perpetrator' and employment status (from the first part of the questionnaire on background information 'employee/volunteer'). Additional demographic/personal characteristics from the first part of the questionnaire (gender, duration of service and age) were also included initially to examine the target attractiveness element although they were not used in the logistic regression in later analysis. The predictor variables measuring a lack of social guardianship include

perpetrator status (item ‘Who was most responsible for this behaviour/negative act?’ which was recoded into superior and non-superior), and lack of constructive leadership⁶³ (first the mean of items 17 to 24 were computed, then it was recoded into high and low experience). The predictor variable measuring lack of physical guardianship is the availability of policy (item 66 was recoded into available and not available⁶⁴). Finally, it should be noted that some items that are not used directly to examine the above variables are instead used indirectly when discussing the results. These are items relating to victims’ responses towards negative behaviours (items 44 to 52) and items relating to causes of negative experience (items 53 to 65).

The foregoing discussions focused on the development of the questionnaire that is used in the initial stage to gain information about the problems of bullying in the voluntary organisations. The questionnaire was designed consistent with the two main purposes of this study. As part of the method triangulation approach, the following section discusses the qualitative method of data collection. It explains the type of qualitative method applied and how it is developed to suit the purpose of the study.

⁶³ It is felt that items 17 to 24 will be able to give an overall indication of the constructive leadership climate in the organisation. These items are selected to measure the leadership climate because they are related to organisational harassment that is usually instigated by someone superior (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 26). Furthermore, items 17 to 24 are related to the typical questions asked when measuring leadership climate in an organisation (see Einarsen et al., 1994, p. 389).

⁶⁴ The first two options of item 66 (‘Yes, there is a policy and it is enforced’ and ‘Yes, there is a policy but it is not enforced’) were recoded into ‘policy available’, while the third and fourth options of item 66 (‘Don’t know whether there is a policy’ and ‘No, there is no special policy’) were recoded into ‘policy not available’.

Interview

The qualitative research instruments most commonly employed in exploring workplace bullying are peer nomination technique, case studies, focus groups and general face-to-face interviews (see Cowie et al., 2002). This research specifically used a general face-to-face interview technique for several reasons. First, although peer nomination technique has been widely used to investigate aggression among adolescents, it is not favoured in workplace harassment research because employees are often reluctant to identify colleagues (especially superiors) by name, due to the economic dependence on their work (Bjorkvist et al., 1994b, p. 182).⁶⁵ Second, focus group⁶⁶ interviews are not applicable in the present study since most of the voluntary organisations that participated were small in size and the workforce usually know each other.⁶⁷ Additionally, the possibility to recruit participants from a wide range of organisations is limited since only 29 voluntary organisations participated in the study, making the probability of the respondents knowing each other highly likely. Third, the use of case studies⁶⁸ poses the problem of representativeness due to self-selection, whether directly through help-lines or indirectly through case identification from the media and court cases (see also Cowie et al., 2002, p. 47; Hoel et al., 1999, p. 217). Additionally, “it is time-consuming, since it is usually only possible to investigate small samples of participants” (Cowie et al., 2002, p. 47). Although the general face-to-face interview technique applied in this thesis may pose a similar problem of

⁶⁵ Please refer pages 30-31 in the current thesis, for further elaboration on this point.

⁶⁶ According to Cowie et al. (2002) “Focus groups typically bring 8-12 people together for a roundtable discussion lasting from 1 to 2 hours” (p. 42).

⁶⁷ One of the main requirements of a successful focus group interview is that the participants should not know each other (Cowie et al., 2002, p. 43).

⁶⁸ Case study is an in-depth study of one case (a particular person’s experience or an individual unit such as a family), whereby data is obtained from several different sources such as observation, intensive interviews, probing of personal documents and archival records (Cowie et al., 2002, p. 46; Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, p. 137).

representativeness due to self-selection, this study is not limited to interviewing, probing and observing one or two self-selected respondents as in case studies. Rather this study interviews a larger number of respondents (23 respondents) for approximately one hour each in order to obtain an acceptable amount of in-depth information or data. In contrast to case studies that are often limited to selected group of victims who specifically make use of help-line or self-help groups, in this study a wide range of staff and volunteers were encouraged to participate, including those who were not victims and those who were bullied but did not seek help or report the incident. Thus, a general face-to-face interview technique that accommodates more respondents is appropriate for this thesis given the preliminary nature of this study, which also includes the perception of the voluntary sector's workforce regarding the concept of workplace bullying.

Developing a Semi-Structured Face-to-Face Interview Schedule

A Critical Incident Technique (CIT) also known as the Specific Incident Approach was used in order to develop the semi-structured face-to-face interview schedule (refer Appendix B). Flanagan originally developed this technique in 1954 and it was used to analyse failure in military flying training during the Second World War. By collecting information of critical incidents that caused recruits to be rejected, Flanagan actually identified the requirements of being a fighter pilot (Flanagan, 1954, p. 328). In contrast, most normal questionnaires are based upon aggregate assessments which concentrate in collecting incidents to provide an overall assessment of the frequency/antecedents and consequences with which bullying is experienced at work. Hence, contrary to aggregate assessments, the critical incident technique (CIT) relates specific experiences to their perceived cause, effects, beliefs and attitudes (see also

Liefooghe & Olafsson, 1999, p. 42). Liefooghe and Olafsson (1999, p. 43) used CIT by asking respondents to describe hypothetical individuals who are ‘extremely like...bullies’ and those who are ‘not at all like...bullies’ in order to investigate people’s representations of bullying at work. In addition, by requesting the research participants to cite an experience that they considered bullying, Liefooghe and Olafsson (1999, p. 43) were able to further identify the salient characteristics of the incidents.

Based on the CIT, the semi-structured interview developed for this study (refer Appendix B) first asked the respondents to recall the most memorable negative incident/behaviour that they experienced at their workplace (Flanagan, 1954, pp. 336-346). Apart from referring to Flanagan’s study, the framework for the semi-structured interview in this research is partly based on the structured in-depth interview schedule developed by Glomb (2002, p. 25)⁶⁹. However, unlike in Glomb’s (2002) study where interviewees were asked about the actual ‘angry’ incidents that they have experienced or witnessed in their organisation, in the present study, this question was modified and interviewees were instead asked to recall the most memorable negative incident. Note that the interviewees were asked about the most memorable negative incident rather than asking directly about their bullying experience. This is intended to indicate if the interviewees are more likely to experience persistent (bullying) or one-off incidents. Furthermore, although it may be argued that interviewees may recall overt behaviour more than covert behaviour, the literature reviewed suggests that these questions did elicit incidents that are covert as well. A study conducted by Keashly (2001,

⁶⁹ A complete structured interview instrument is available from Theresa M. Glomb on request.

'Discussion' section, para. 2) suggests that respondents tend to perceive emotional incidents as more memorable than physical or sexual incidents. Second, respondents were asked a broad question about the nature and the characteristics of these experiences. They were asked what they perceived as workplace bullying and whether they considered their experience as bullying. This enabled the researcher to investigate if the respondents of the voluntary organisations were aware of the phenomenon of bullying and the forms and characteristics of negative behaviours mostly associated with workplace bullying in voluntary organisations. Third, after talking about the incident in general, respondents were asked more specifically about the perceived causes and effects of their experience. Finally, respondents were asked about the organisational policies and prevention programmes available at their voluntary organisation.

Procedure to Gain Access

Apart from developing a questionnaire and interview schedule, a considerable amount of effort was put in negotiating access into organisations and their members. The first step involved gaining official permission or endorsement from the organisations. This included mailing letters one month earlier, introducing the study to organisational officials and often, follow-up letters, emails, phone calls and further meetings with the management with the intention of securing their co-operation (refer to Appendix C). Steps taken included: identifying the researcher; communicating the purpose and importance of the study; indicating how the findings may benefit the respondents and others; explaining how the sample was drawn and the importance of their co-operation; assuring that their responses will be kept confidential and will be combined with those of others for data analysis purposes; explaining that the questionnaire will

only take a few minutes to answer, and promising to send a summary of the study's findings to the main gatekeepers of the organisation. Since workplace bullying is a sensitive issue, the 'letter of permission' to gain access from the voluntary organisations specifically emphasised the significance of this research both for the employees and the organisation. The huge economic cost of workplace bullying to the organisation was highlighted in the letter, as was suggested by Lee (2000, pp. 600-601). Attention was called to previous studies that strongly indicate that there are a number of economic costs associated with workplace bullying because of its related health problems, high absenteeism rate and low productivity (Sheehan, Barker, & Rayner, 1999, p. 55; Sheehan, 1999, pp. 59-62).

Nonetheless, out of 70 organisations that were contacted, only 29 agreed to participate in the study. Requests for access were denied by many organisations on various grounds. The replies to the researcher's letter fit the following patterns: managers claimed that workplace bullying or harassment was not a problem in their organisations; managers explained that the organisation was in a very busy/hectic period and will contact the researcher in the future; managers claimed that they are overly booked by researchers who come to conduct research in the particular organisation and so they must select the ones most relevant to the development of the organisation; managers maintained that they have their own evaluation procedure and surveys which were conducted annually; and finally managers expressed their concern that this survey was provocative in nature.

As indicated above, gaining access to employers proved difficult as the subject matter involves issues relating to power and politics, and potentially incriminating

behaviours. This difficulty was similarly raised by Bjorkqvist et al. (1994b), who suggested that managers and heads of departments may hesitate to admit that harassment occurs at their workplace, since they might fear it reflects poorly on their own leadership abilities (p. 174). Hence, it is felt that the lack of co-operation from many voluntary organisations is partly due to a misconception that this research is about 'naming and shaming' the organisation, or getting back at the superior.

Gaining access to organisations does not only include obtaining permission from the management to conduct the study, but also includes obtaining permission from the management to administer the questionnaires personally. Even when permission to conduct research was obtained from the voluntary organisations, permission to administer questionnaires personally by the researcher was denied by a number of organisations. So as a last resort, questionnaires were administered through e-mails and post with the agreement of the management. The following discussion first elaborates on the direct administration of questionnaires and then proceeds to the indirect administration through e-mails and post.

Whether administered directly or indirectly, all questionnaires included a cover letter which informed the respondents about the purpose of the study, that all information would remain confidential, that their views were considered important, that their anonymity would be preserved, and that they were reminded that their participation is on a voluntary basis and that they were under no obligation to take part. The personal or direct administration of questionnaires allowed the researcher to attend to any inquiries that the respondents had while answering the questionnaire. It gave the opportunity to standardise the instruction, reduce interviewer bias and to establish

rapport for further interviewing in the future (Dyer, 1995, p. 137). Furthermore, direct administration motivated the respondents to complete and return the questionnaires (see also Dyer, 1995, p. 137). As a result the majority of the directly administered questionnaires were collected on the first and second visit.

While direct administration of questionnaires was personally conducted by the researcher, a separate procedure was developed for organisations that granted permission but refused to allow the direct administration of questionnaires by the researcher. The researcher then had to seek the assistance of the representative of the organisation who was briefed on what standardised instructions were to be given to the respondents in order to reduce interviewer bias (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, p. 88). The representative was instructed on the precise wording they should use prior to distribution. Packets of survey materials were sent or delivered to the representatives, who then distributed them to the respondents willing to participate in the survey. Each packet included a cover letter (which restated the purpose and anonymity of the survey and contained instructions for its completion), a survey copy, and a pre-paid return envelope so that the respondents could return it directly by mail to the researcher (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, p. 86). According to Hoel and Cooper (2000b), “this procedure guarantees full anonymity for the respondents and confidential handling by the researcher” (p. 8).

The next phase involved following-up on non-respondents (through the representative in-charge) in an attempt to gain their co-operation. Therefore, follow-up letters were designed to encourage respondent response and reemphasis the purpose and confidentiality of the study. The first follow-up mailing was sent about two weeks

after the original mailing and the second approximately two weeks after the first follow-up mailing. A new questionnaire and postage paid return envelope were enclosed with each follow-up mailing. However, a further follow-up was not administered as evidence suggests that a third follow up is often ineffective (Singleton et al., 1988, p. 260), and the study by then had already obtained an acceptable response rate (71%) (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, p. 87).⁷⁰

A similar process was applied when administering the questionnaire through e-mail. Surveys were e-mailed first to the representatives of the voluntary organisations since e-mail addresses of potential respondents were confidential and were not disclosed to the researcher. The representatives then forwarded the survey to the employees and volunteers. Respondents who chose to participate e-mailed the completed surveys directly back to the researcher. After two weeks the representatives were requested to e-mail a reminder to the respondents.

In general the respondents took about 15 to 20 minutes to complete the questionnaires. For all the 34 items in the revised NAQ, respondents were required to indicate how often they had experienced them on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from: never, once, occasionally, weekly, or daily. The majority of the other questions required the respondents to simply tick 'yes' or 'no' alternatives. At the end of the questionnaire, a separate slip of paper was provided in which the respondents included their contact details if they were willing to participate in an interview. The respondents were then required to detach this slip that comprised an 'interview consent form' from the main questionnaire and return them separately so that their identity remained anonymous

⁷⁰ Normally three mailings are necessary in order to obtain a 70% response rate (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985, p. 87).

(this is for the directly administered questionnaires and those that were returned by post). The main questionnaire and the interview slip were coded before the administration for the convenience of the researcher. It was stressed that these sheets would be kept confidential and that a code number would be substituted for their names so that their identity would be kept confidential. Specific times and dates were arranged with the respondents who agreed to be interviewed (n=23). The interview process lasted an average of 45 minutes to one hour with each respondent and was audio taped with his or her consent.

Response Rate

According to Bjorkqvist et al. (1994b, p. 182), the normal response rate for such types of research where sensitive questions are asked are usually low (less than 50%). With this as a measure, it can be said that this study has acquired a fairly high response rate of 71%, or 178 questionnaires from the 250 questionnaires administered. However, out of 178 questionnaires received, only two were received through e-mail while approximately 17 were returned through the post. Thus the personal administration method proved most successful and helped establish rapport between the researcher and respondents for further in-depth studies. The lack of response in this study is partly attributed to the administration method (e-mail and post). Apart from developing a strategic procedure to gain access, this thesis takes into consideration various ethical issues in the effort to encourage a reasonable response rate.

Ethical Issues

The methodology designed for this study complies with the ethical guidelines of the British Psychological Society (2000, pp. 2-11) and the British Society of Criminology

(Gelsthorpe, Tarling, & Wall, 1999). The basic underlying ethical issues considered throughout the discussion thus far relate to informed consent, the right to withdraw, confidentiality and debriefing. The questionnaire was administered with the consent of both the employers and employees; in addition, both the organisations and the respondents were given the relevant information for a reasonable understanding of the study. This included what the research is about, who is undertaking it, and why and how any research findings are to be disseminated. At the end of the questionnaire respondents were asked if they were willing to participate in an interview and, if so, whether they were willing to give their contact details. It was made clear therefore that respondents had the right to withdraw at any point and for whatever reason they wish. The respondents were also informed about how far they were assured anonymity and confidentiality. Although the respondents were not required to provide their names in the main questionnaire, a special coding system was utilised so that the respondents could be contacted later on for further in-depth interviews if they agreed. It was emphasised that identifiable data would not be passed on to third parties as the research material is rendered anonymous. Finally, in an effort to debrief the respondents, organisations and individual respondents were provided with information and useful web-sites on workplace bullying after the data collection.

Analysis

The final section of this chapter deals with the method of analysis used to interpret the data. Interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and manually coded based on the themes raised in the interview schedule. The step by step procedure introduced by Braun and Clarke (2006), on thematic analysis, which is a widely used qualitative analytic method, was referred to in order to analyse the interview data. This process

enabled to researcher to extract new themes which were not included in the initial research questions, yet provide pertinent insight to the study. On the other hand, the analysis of the quantitative data was carried out using the SPSS version 12 for WINDOWS. The remaining section explains the statistical analyses used to answer the questions relating to the first purpose of the study (to explore the nature and extent of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector), and then addresses the second purpose (to apply RAT in explaining the phenomenon).

Statistical Analyses Utilised to Measure the Nature and Extent of Bullying

Descriptive statistics was used to analyse data regarding the prevalence of workplace bullying. First, the frequency/incidence of respondents who self-identified as victims of workplace bullying was measured over the past 12 months (item 35) and over the past five years (items 36 and 37, both for being a victim and witness). Second, the frequency/incidence of respondents who experienced at least one of the negative acts in the NAQ (items 1 to 34) on a weekly basis over the past 12 months was measured. Third, the frequency of bullying reported (self-identified) in each type of voluntary organisation over the past 12 months was computed.

The forms of negative behaviours most frequently experienced by the respondents and the perpetrators most responsible for each negative behaviour were determined using descriptive analyses. A frequency tabulation was generated to show the ranking of the 34 negative behaviours (ranging from the most prevalent to the least prevalent). Additionally, a Friedman test was conducted to examine if the rank difference

between these negative behaviours is significant (Field, 2005, p. 557).⁷¹

Prior to conducting further statistical analyses on the NAQ, it is essential to determine the reliability of the scale. Cronbach's alpha judges the reliability of the NAQ by estimating how well the items that reflect the same construct yield similar results or are internally consistent (Pallant, 2001, p. 6). If the items in each category are consistent, then the particular category of negative behaviour will be retained, and vice versa for further analysis. For the convenience of further analyses using categories of negative behaviours, the compute function in the SPSS was used to calculate the average scores across the items that compose each category, thereby creating a new variable for each category.

Having established the reliability of the NAQ and the various categories of negative behaviours, the next step was to conduct a more specific analysis, the independent sample t-test, to examine how the different categories of negative behaviours are related to respondents' reports of being bullied. An independent sample t-test is normally used when comparing the mean score on some continuous variable (DV) for two different groups of subjects (IV) (see Pallant, 2001, pp. 177-181; Field, 2005, pp. 296-307). In order to apply the independent sample t-test in this study, the groups of bullied and non-bullied respondents are treated as the predictor variable (IV) while the

⁷¹ "It is a non-parametric statistic which is used to test differences between experimental conditions when there are more than two conditions and the same participants have been used in all conditions (each person contributes several scores to the data)" (Field, 2005, p. 557).

scores of each category of negative behaviour is treated as the outcome variable (DV).⁷² Overall, there are two important contributions of this analysis to this study. First, it shows whether there is a statistically significant difference in the mean scores for the two groups, specifically, whether bullied and non-bullied respondents differ significantly in terms of their experience of negative behaviours.⁷³ Second, it shows which category of negative behaviour is reported most frequently by victims of workplace bullying. Although the statistical significance does indicate if the difference between the groups is likely to have occurred by chance or not, it does not show the degree to which the variables (IV and DV) are associated with one another. As Field (2005) said, “just because a test statistic is significant it does not mean that the effect it measures is meaningful or important” (p. 32). In order to assess, then, the importance of the finding, the ‘effect size’⁷⁴ is calculated for each category of negative behaviour (Pallant, 2001, p. 175). It is expected that the effect size will be able to indicate which category of negative behaviour the victims of workplace bullying most frequently experience.⁷⁵

In order to examine whether workplace bullying significantly affects the victim’s well being, a cross tabulation with chi-square analysis was conducted between the report of being bullied (item 35) and the negative effects (on psychological/physical wellbeing

⁷² It should be noted that some researchers (Watt & van den Berg, 2002, p. 314) suggested that the independent sample t-test can also be used when the predictor (IV) is an interval/ratio scale while the outcome (DV) is nominal. Thus, theoretically the bullied and non-bullied group can be treated as the outcome variable while the scores of categories of negative behaviours can be treated as the predictor variable. Nonetheless, the more frequently used approach (where the DV was continuous while the IV was nominal) was preferred for an easier interpretation of the result.

⁷³ This analysis therefore also indicates whether the increasing experience of each category of negative behaviour is significantly related to increasing reports of being bullied.

⁷⁴ “This is a set of statistics which indicates the relative magnitude of the differences between means of the groups” (Pallant, 2001, p. 175). A more specific formula used to calculate effect size can be found in Field (2005, p. 302).

⁷⁵ According to Field (2005, p. 32) “since the effect size is a standardized measure and it can be compared across different studies that have measured different variables or with studies that have used different scales of measurement.”

[item 38], job performance [item 39], number of sick leaves taken [item 40] and personal relationships [item 41]). The predictor is the report of being bullied in the past 12 months, while the outcome is the negative effect.

Statistical Analyses Utilised to Examine the Applicability of RAT

Bivariate analysis was conducted between each predictor variable (workload, employment status, confronted perpetrator, demographic characteristics, status of perpetrator, constructive leadership climate and availability of organisational policy) with the outcome variable (bullied/not bullied) to assess initial significant predictors. Logistic regression was then applied in a multivariate context in order to examine the contribution of the above mentioned predictor variables, which are of nominal and ordinal scales, towards an outcome that is categorical/dichotomous/nominal, i.e., being a victim of bullying or not a victim (see also Field, 2005, p. 218). Overall, the logistic regression has less stringent requirements than the usual ordinary least squares regression. A logistic regression does not assume that the dependent variable is normally distributed,⁷⁶ nor does it assume a linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables. Additionally, a binominal/binary logistic regression was applied in this study because the dependent variable (outcome) was a dichotomy (bullied and not bullied) and not more.⁷⁷

For the purpose of logistic regression, the dependent variable and independent variables that were dichotomous/nominal were redefined (recoded). Logistic coefficients are difficult to interpret if the variables are not coded meaningfully. The

⁷⁶ Due to the binary nature of the dependent variable, a normal distribution cannot be assumed.

⁷⁷ There is another alternative, the multinomial logistic regression, which is only used in the case of dependants with more classes than two. So this analysis was not appropriate for the study.

convention for binominal logistic regression is to code the dependent class of greatest interest as 1, the other class as 0, and to code its expected correlates also as 1 to assure positive correlation. Thus for the outcome variable (DV), item 35, a response of ‘yes’ (was bullied in the past one year) was coded as a 1, while ‘no’ (not bullied in the past one year) was coded as 0. The predictors (IV) which were dichotomous or nominal were also recoded:

- Employment status (employed): A code of 1 refers to ‘employee’ while 0 refers to ‘volunteer’.
- Confrontation (confront): A code of 1 refers to ‘did not confront’ and 0 refers to ‘confronted’.
- Perpetrator status (perpetrator): 1 refers to ‘superior’ and 0 refers to ‘non-superior’.
- Availability of policy (policy): 1 refers to ‘not available’ and 0 refers to ‘available’.

In addition, it should be noted that the ordinal level predictors measuring workload (workload) and constructive leadership (leadership) were treated in the analysis as metric variables in accordance with the conventional way.

Several logistic models were run using different independent variable combinations. In order to investigate the main effects of the independent variables/predictors in predicting the outcome (being bullied), the predictors (workload, employment status, confrontation, perpetrator status, constructive leadership and availability of policy) were entered using the default method ‘enter’ in four successive blocks based on the categories that they represent in RAT. Workload represents ‘target exposure’,

employment status and confrontation represent ‘target attractiveness’, perpetrator status and constructive leadership represent ‘social guardianship’, while availability of policy represent ‘physical guardianship’. Furthermore, to test for the significant contribution of interaction terms between three target suitability variables (workload, employment status and confront) and three capable guardianship variables (perpetrator status, constructive leadership, availability of policy), nine two-way interaction terms were created (workload by perpetrator status, workload by constructive leadership, workload by availability of policy, employment status by perpetrator status, employment status by constructive leadership, employment status by availability of policy, confrontation by perpetrator status, confrontation by constructive leadership and confrontation by availability of policy). These interaction terms were included in the fifth block and a forward stepwise⁷⁸ regression analysis was carried out. The forward stepwise method enables the computer to add significant predictors (in this case, interactions terms) into the model one by one until none of the remaining predictors have a significant score statistic.

The output of logistic regression provides statistics that evaluate the significance of the individual variables entered into the analysis, as well as statistics that evaluate the significance of the blocks (clusters or categories) of variables as they are entered. The individual estimates are the beta coefficients of the regression equation, each of which is evaluated for significance (note that a negative estimate value indicates an inverse relationship). The odds ratio is a statistic that indicates the likelihood of increasing a step on the dependent variable for each step up on the independent variable.

⁷⁸ Stepwise methods are used when no previous research exists on which to base hypothesis for testing (Field, 2005, p. 227)

The blocks or categories of variables at each of the steps are evaluated by means of a scaled deviance (or G Square) value (which should decrease as more blocks are introduced and the model becomes more efficient), a Nagelkerke R Square value (which indicates the proportion of variance accounted for), and a Chi Square value which is evaluated for significance and which should increase in value as more blocks are entered.

Overall, the logistic regression investigates if the proposed routine activities model improves with the addition of the predictor variables (which represent target suitability and capable guardianship component), taking into consideration of the main effects and interaction effects. It also investigates if the predictor variables proposed under the framework of RAT are successfully maintained as strong predictors of bullying. The findings may reveal that some variables have a subtle effect on the outcome while some have a more significant effect. Some are prominent at an early stage, but then diminish as more powerful variables are added. Hence, the end result will indicate the applicability of RAT in explaining bullying in the voluntary sector and the situational features of the voluntary sector that are particularly related to bullying.

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the various initiatives taken to develop an appropriate methodology for conducting the study. In order to elicit a thematically broad picture with regards to the nature and extent of workplace bullying in this sector, combined with a greater depth of understanding of the subjective meanings and experiences of the workforce, a cross-sectional research design that applies method triangulation (questionnaire survey and interviews) was utilised. The questionnaire

was designed mainly based on Hoel and Cooper's (2000b) usage of the NAQ, while the semi-structured, face-to-face in-depth interview was constructed based on the Critical Incidents Technique (Flanagan, 1954) and Glomb's (2002) study. The sample for this study was derived using opportunity sampling: overall 178 respondents answered the questionnaire and 23 respondents agreed to be interviewed. In order to compensate for the limitations of non-probability sampling, effort was made to improve the procedure in terms of gaining access into the organisations, in gaining trust from the respondents, and in administering the questionnaires and interviews. Finally, the chapter explains the data analysis techniques used for analysing the findings at various levels. The results of these analyses are reported in the following chapters: Chapter 4 reports the quantitative results, while Chapter 5 reports the qualitative findings.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS- QUANTITATIVE

The goal of this chapter is to present the relevant results derived from the analysis of the questionnaire survey. The results are presented in two parts, based on the two general research purposes of the thesis: the first part reports the nature and extent of workplace bullying in the voluntary organisations, while the second part reports the results of bivariate analysis and logistic regression that indicate the applicability of routine activity theory in explaining workplace bullying in the voluntary sector.

Part 1: Nature and Extent

Prevalence of Workplace Bullying Based on a Subjective Measure

A total of 15% (n=27) of 178 respondents reported being bullied over the last one year. When the duration was extended to 'the last five years', 28% (n=50) or more than a quarter of the respondents reported that they had been bullied. It was also revealed that as many as 40% (n=72) had observed or witnessed bullying taking place. Table 3 shows that bullying is prevalent in almost all types of voluntary organisations with the exception of three organisations (counselling, support and international activities and mental health).

Table 3: Prevalence of bullying –per voluntary organisation

<i>Classification of voluntary organisations</i>	<i>Bullied in the past 1 year</i>		<i>Not bullied</i>		<i>No of respondents</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Domestic violence/Women	2	8.0	23	92.0	25
Counselling	0	0.0	11	100	11
Carers	1	16.7	5	83.3	6
Family services/Community development	1	5.6	17	94.4	18
Support and International activities	0	0.0	6	100	6
Health services	1	6.7	14	93.3	15
Mental health	0	0	5	100	5
Art	2	50	2	50	4
Housing	5	33	10	66.7	15
Civic and advocacy	4	26.7	11	73.3	15
Sexual abuse	2	18.2	9	81.8	11
Community safety	1	33.3	2	66.7	3
Voluntarism promotion/philanthropic intermediaries	4	30.8	9	69.2	13
Training/Employment	1	10	9	90	10
Environment	3	14.3	18	85.7	21

Prevalence of Bullying Based on an Objective Measure

Prior to giving a self-judgement whether or not one is or has been bullied (both in the questionnaire items 35 to 37 and in the interviews), all respondents were also asked in the questionnaire survey to indicate how often they had been subjected to 34 different negative acts in the past 1 year (this is an adaptation of Leymann's [1996, p. 168] objective criteria). Results reveal that as many as $n=44$ or 24.7% or approximately a quarter of the respondents had experienced at least one of the negative acts at least weekly during the past 12 months. An additional finding shows that out of the 44 respondents who have experienced at least one of the negative acts on a weekly basis (in the past year), 39% ($n=17$) reported or labelled themselves as victims of workplace bullying (in the past one year), while of the 134 respondents who have experienced negative behaviours once or occasionally, only 8% ($n=11$) reported or labelled themselves as victims of bullying. So the respondents who were identified as being bullied according to Leymann's objective criteria actually do label themselves as victims of bullying more often compared to those who experience negative behaviours less frequently.

Prevalence and Forms of Negative Behaviours Frequently Experienced

A further analysis upon the 34 negative acts reveal the most frequently encountered negative behaviours; these are listed below in ranked order (Table 4). A distinction is also made for those who experienced the behaviour once, occasionally, and those for whom the experience was a regular occurrence. Regular exposure combines the two answer alternatives 'weekly' and 'daily'. Refer to Appendix D for an overview of all 34 behaviours and the distribution of answers between the five answer categories. An

additional analysis called the Friedman Test was conducted to test the hypothesis that there are actual rank differences between the 34 negative behaviours.⁷⁹ The result showed a significant difference in the mean rank between these negative behaviours at $p < .001$.

(Table 4 on following page)

⁷⁹ Three items 8, 13 and 28 (refer Appendix D), had similar frequencies of occurrence and were competing for rank number 10 in Table 4 (as one of the most frequently experienced negative behaviours). However based on the Friedman test, the item 'excessive monitoring of your work' was ranked as number 10.

Table 4: Top ranked negative behaviours (based on n=178)

<i>Negative behaviours</i>	<i>Once %</i>	<i>Occasional experience %</i>	<i>Regular experience %</i>
Being exposed to unmanageable workload	3.4 (n=6)	23.6 (n=42)	11.8 (n=21)
Restrict possibility to speak by interrupting or cutting you off while speaking	3.9 (n=7)	27.0 (n=48)	5.1 (n=9)
Being shouted at	8.4 (n=15)	22.5 (n=40)	2.3 (n=4)
Given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines	4.5 (n=8)	21.3 (n=38)	3.4 (n=6)
Having your opinion and views ignored	4.5 (n=8)	16.9 (n=30)	5.6 (n=10)
Intimidating behaviour	9.6 (n=17)	12.4 (n=22)	1.7 (n=3)
Required to carry out tasks which clearly fall outside your job description	2.8 (n=5)	13.5 (n=24)	4.5 (n=8)
Attempts to find fault with your work	3.4 (n=6)	14.0 (n=25)	3.3 (n=6)
Spreading of gossip and rumours about you	6.2 (n=11)	9.6 (n=17)	3.9 (n=7)
Excessive monitoring of your work	2.2 (n=4)	11.8 (n=21)	4.5 (n=8)

Six of the most frequently reported negative behaviours above are directly related to the respondents' work (both work-related and organisational harassment). These are: being exposed to an unmanageable workload 38.8% (n=69); attempts to find fault with your work 20.7% (n=37); given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines 29.2% (n=52); required to carry out tasks which clearly fall outside your job description 20.8% (n=37); having your opinion and views ignored 27% (n=48), and excessive monitoring of work 18.5% (n=33). As for the non-work related behaviours, two were related to physical/overt violence: intimidating behaviour 23.7% (n=42) and being shouted at 33.2% (n=59). One behaviour was related to personal harassment, namely, spreading of gossip and rumours 19.7% (n=35), while one behaviour was related to social isolation: restrict possibility to speak 36% (n=64). By contrast, the items or behaviours least likely to have been experienced were: attacked with weapon 2.3% (n=4), followed by being a victim of actual or attempted intercourse 0.6% (n=1) (refer Appendix D).

An ancillary finding relating to the perpetrators of overt and covert negative behaviours indicated that, out of the 10 items ⁸⁰ which represent 'overt harassment' in this research, seven were mostly perpetrated by outsiders (client or members of the public), while out of 24 items ⁸¹ which relate to covert behaviour, 23 were mostly perpetrated by organisational insiders (superiors and co-workers).

⁸⁰ Due to unreliable Alpha Cronbach results, items 32, 33 and 34 were merged into the 'overt harassment' category which initially had only 7 items.

⁸¹ All the other categories of negative behaviours are covert/subtle in nature. Overall there are 24 items relating to covert behaviour.

*The Experience of Workplace Bullying and the Categories of Negative Behaviours
Associated with It*

Having analysed the frequencies of each negative behaviour separately, further analyses of the behaviours in terms of the categories were conducted. However, prior to conducting other analyses on the six categories of negative behaviour, the reliability test of the NAQ scale was established. Based on the Cronbach's Alpha results, the initial six categories of negative behaviour were reduced to only five categories. The overt harassment, personal harassment, social isolation, organisational harassment and work-related harassment categories were retained as the reliability analysis showed an acceptable alpha.⁸² Since the items from the sexual harassment category did not have an acceptable reliability coefficient ($\alpha=0.34$), they were distributed to other similar categories: item 31 was merged with the personal harassment category while items 32 and 33 were merged with the overt harassment category. In addition, item 34, 'insulting messages, telephone calls or e-mails', which was supposed to be an individual item on its own, was also distributed to overt category as it is not reliable as a single item. The final reliability test results are reported in Appendix E.

Next, the independent sample t-test was conducted to examine the relationship between workplace bullying and various categories of negative behaviours. The results show that bullied respondents reported significantly higher levels of negative behaviours, compared to non-bullied respondents.⁸³ This was observed for each category of negative behaviour (refer Table 5).

⁸² Nunnally (1978, p. 245) has noted that 0.7 is an acceptable reliability coefficient.

⁸³ The independent sample t-test was used since the data was treated as parametric. It should be noted that even if the data were treated as not meeting the parametric assumption, a similar result would be obtained. Though not reported here, the non-parametric counterpart of the independent t-test, the Mann-Whitney test, showed similar results.

- On average, bullied respondents experienced greater overt harassment ($M= 1.50$, $SD= .54$) than non-bullied respondents [$M= 1.15$, $SD= .25$; $t(28.06)= 3.24$, $p< .003$]. The magnitude of the difference in the means was ($r= .52$).
- On average, bullied respondents experienced greater personal harassment ($M= 1.70$, $SD= .85$) than non-bullied respondents [$M= 1.17$, $SD= .32$; $t(27.37)= 3.24$, $p< .003$]. The magnitude of the difference in the means was ($r= .53$).
- On average, bullied respondents experienced greater social isolation ($M= 2.26$, $SD= 1.11$) than non-bullied respondents [$M= 1.27$, $SD= .45$; $t(27.57)= 4.57$, $p< .001$]. The magnitude of the difference in the means was ($r= .66$).
- On average, bullied respondents experienced greater organisational harassment ($M= 1.89$, $SD= .68$) than non-bullied respondents [$M= 1.27$, $SD= .39$; $t(29.17)= 4.60$, $p< .001$]. The magnitude of the difference in the means was ($r= .64$).
- Finally, on average, bullied respondents experienced greater work-related harassment ($M= 2.22$, $SD= 1.00$) than non-bullied respondents [$M= 1.20$, $SD= .36$; $t(27.18)= 5.22$, $p< .001$]. The magnitude of the difference in the means was ($r= .71$).

The mean difference for each category indicated that the most frequently reported category of negative behaviour by the bullied respondents was work-related harassment, while the least-reported was overt harassment and personal harassment. This was supported by the results of 'effect size', where the strongest magnitude of

difference in the means was for work-related harassment, while the least was for overt harassment and personal harassment⁸⁴.

Table 5: Independent sample t-test for the experience of being bullied⁸⁵

<i>Negative behaviour</i>	<i>Bullied over the last 12 months</i>	<i>Mean score</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Mean difference</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Overt behaviour	Yes	1.49	.54	.34	3.24	.003
	No	1.15	.25			
Personal harassment	Yes	1.70	.85	.54	3.24	.003
	No	1.17	.32			
Social isolation	Yes	2.26	1.11	.99	4.56	.000
	No	1.27	.45			
Organisational harassment	Yes	1.89	.68	.62	4.60	.000
	No	1.27	.39			
Work-related harassment	Yes	2.22	1.00	1.02	5.22	.000
	No	1.20	.36			

⁸⁴ Personal harassment was considered, along with overt harassment, as one of the least experienced categories of negative behavior because it's effect size was very close to overt harassment.

⁸⁵ The independent sample t-test provides two sets of results: for situations where the assumption of equal variance is not violated (equal variances assumed) and for when the assumption of equal variance is violated (equal variances not assumed). In addition, SPSS also performs the Levene's test to determine the equality of variances as part of the independent sample t-test analysis. Based on the results of Levene's test for equality of variances which is presented in the output when conducting the independent sample t-test, it was found that the data in this study violates the assumption of equal variance. Consistent with this result, the t-values reported in Table 5 are specifically for equal variances not assumed (refer Field, 2005, pp. 300-301; Pallant, 2001, pp. 172, 179).

The results reported so far have focused on the prevalence of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. The next section reports on the negative outcomes of this phenomenon.

The Negative Effects of Workplace Bullying

A chi-square analysis between respondents' perception of being bullied and the negative effects of bullying reveals that workplace bullying is significantly associated with negative implications towards the victims, and thus it is indeed a grave problem in voluntary organisations that needs to be addressed. Results in Table 6 reveal that the respondents who reported being bullied experience more negative consequences than respondents who were not being bullied. Nonetheless 'taking sick leaves' seem to be the least applied by the victims.

(Table 6 on following page)

Table 6: Bullying in the past year and the negative effects

<i>Effects</i>		<i>Bullied in the past one year</i>		<i>P</i>
		<i>Yes</i> % (<i>n</i> =27)	<i>No</i> % (<i>n</i> =105)	
Psychological/ physical	Yes	88.9 (<i>n</i> =24)	39.0 (<i>n</i> =41)	< .001
	No	11.1 (<i>n</i> =3)	61.0 (<i>n</i> =64)	
Job performance	Yes	88.9 (<i>n</i> =24)	47.6 (<i>n</i> =50)	< .001
	No	11.1 (<i>n</i> =3)	52.4 (<i>n</i> =55)	
Took sick leave	Yes	40.7 (<i>n</i> =11)	10.5 (<i>n</i> =11)	< .001
	No	59.3 (<i>n</i> =16)	89.5 (<i>n</i> =94)	
Personal life/ relationship	Yes	74.1 (<i>n</i> =20)	26.7 (<i>n</i> =28)	< .001
	No	25.9 (<i>n</i> =7)	73.3 (<i>n</i> =77)	

Missing cases (*n*=46)

Part 2: Application of Routine Activity Theory

In addition to describing the prevalence and forms of bullying in voluntary organisations, the next section aims to apply the routine activity theory in explaining the phenomenon in voluntary organisations. Prior to conducting logistic regression, bivariate analyses were conducted between the components of RAT (target suitability and lack of guardianship) and the outcome variable (bullied/not bullied) to assess initial significant predictors. The target suitability component of RAT is explored in terms of ‘target attractiveness’ at the individual level and ‘exposure’ to bullying at the organisational level, while lack of guardianship was measured in terms of social and physical guardianship.

Target Attractiveness

Analyses were undertaken to explore if there were particular risk groups at the individual level (target attractiveness) with reference to specific demographic/personal characteristics (such as gender, duration of service, age), job status and ‘confronting the perpetrator’.

Gender

A slightly higher percentage of men (17%) reported being bullied compared to women (14.4%) within the past one year (see Table 7). However, this difference was not significant for neither the last one year ($p = .661$) nor for the last five years duration ($p = .685$).

Table 7: Gender difference and experience of being bullied

		<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>P</i>
		% (<i>n</i> =53)	% (<i>n</i> =125)	
Bullied over the last 1 year	Yes	17.0 (<i>n</i> =9)	14.4 (<i>n</i> =18)	NS
	No	83.0 (<i>n</i> =44)	85.6 (<i>n</i> =107)	

Duration of Service

Although, Table 8 indicates that respondents who have served longer (above 9 years) reported being bullied more in the past one year compared to the others, the result was not significant ($p = .059$). The results were also not significant ($p = .949$) when the duration was extended to five years.

Table 8: Duration of service and the exposure to bullying in the last one year

	<i>Less than 2 years</i> % (<i>n</i> =97)	<i>3-5 years</i> % (<i>n</i> =40)	<i>6-8 years</i> % (<i>n</i> =14)	<i>9-11 years</i> % (<i>n</i> =12)	<i>12 years and above</i> % (<i>n</i> =6)
Bullied over the last 1 year	11.3 (<i>n</i> =11)	15 (<i>n</i> =6)	14.3 (<i>n</i> =2)	41.7 (<i>n</i> =5)	33.3 (<i>n</i> =2)
Not bullied over the last 1 year	88.7 (<i>n</i> =86)	85.0 (<i>n</i> =34)	85.7 (<i>n</i> =12)	58.3 (<i>n</i> =7)	66.7 (<i>n</i> =4)

Missing cases *n*=9

Age

Age is of little importance with regard to the prevalence of bullying (refer Table 9), as the results revealed were not significant for either a one year ($p = .638$) or for a five-year duration ($p = .395$).

Table 9: Age differences in exposure to bullying in the last one year

	<i>Below 25 years % (n=22)</i>	<i>26-35 years % (n=47)</i>	<i>36-45 years % (n=45)</i>	<i>Above 46 years % (n=62)</i>	<i>P</i>
Bullied over the last 1 year	9.1 (n=2)	12.8 (n=6)	20 (n=9)	14.5 (n=9)	NS
Not bullied over the last 1 year	90.9 (n=20)	87.2 (n=41)	80 (n=36)	85.5 (n=53)	

Missing cases n=2

Employment Status

Chi-square analysis revealed that the percentage of victims was significantly ($p < .009$) higher among employees 19.5% (n=25) than among volunteers 4% (n=2) in the past one year (refer Table 10). Results were also significant ($p < .025$) when the time period was extended to include the experience of bullying within the last five years.

Table 10: Employment status and the experience of being bullied

		<i>Employee % (n=128)</i>	<i>Volunteer % (n=50)</i>	<i>P</i>
Bullied over the last 1 year	Yes	19.5 (n=25)	4.0 (n=2)	< .009
	No	80.5 (n=103)	96.0 (n=48)	

In addition, a significantly ($p < .001$) higher number of employees 71.9% ($n=82$) were worried about being bullied than the number of volunteers 27.6% ($n=13$) (refer Table 11).

Table 11: Job status and the perceived probability of being bullied

		<i>Employee</i> % ($n=114$)	<i>Volunteer</i> % ($n=47$)
Worried about the probability of being bullied	Yes	71.9 ($n=82$)	27.6 ($n=13$)
	No	28.1 ($n=32$)	72.4 ($n=34$)

Missing cases $n=17$

Confronting the Perpetrator of Negative Behaviours

Next, it was hypothesised that those who confronted the perpetrator of negative behaviours are less likely to be bullied compared to those who do not confront. However, the result in Table 12 shows that 34% ($n=18$) respondents who confronted the perpetrator of negative behaviours reported that they were later bullied, but of those who did not confront the perpetrator, only 11.4% ($n=9$) reported that they were bullied at a later stage ($p < .002$). A similar result was found when the time period was extended to include the experience of bullying within the last five years ($p < .002$).

Table 12: Confrontation with the perpetrator and the experience of being bullied

		<i>Confronted the perpetrator</i>	
		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
		% (n=53)	% (n=79)
Bullied over the last one year	Yes	34.0 (n=18)	11.4 (n=9)
	No	66.0 (n=35)	88.6 (n=70)

Missing cases (n=46)

Target Exposure

Workload

At the organisational level, target suitability is determined by ‘exposure’ or one’s vulnerability to bullying. At the onset of the thesis it was hypothesised that workplace bullying is more prevalent when respondents are exposed to a negative work environment, which in turn is characterised by a high workload. Consistent with this, Table 13 reveals that respondents who were exposed to a higher workload were more likely to report being bullied than those exposed to a lower workload. Results were significant both for the past 1 year and 5 years ($p < .001$).

Table 13: Bullying experienced in the last one-year, and exposure to an unreasonable target and workload

		<i>Workload</i>		<i>P</i>
		<i>Low workload</i>	<i>High workload</i>	
		% (<i>n</i> =136)	% (<i>n</i> =42)	
Bullied over the last 1 year	Yes	8.8 (<i>n</i> =12)	35.7 (<i>n</i> =15)	< .001
	No	91.2 (<i>n</i> =124)	64.3 (<i>n</i> =27)	

Capable Guardianship

The final crucial element of routine activity theory is ‘capable guardianship’, which is explored in terms of leadership (social guardianship) and organisational policies (physical guardianship). Leadership is examined in terms of perpetrator status and constructive leadership climate.

Perpetrator Status

With regards to perpetrator status, Table 14, shows that a larger number of respondents (28.6%) who experienced negative behaviour from a superior tend to report being bullied compared to respondents who experienced negative behaviour from a non-superior (17.1%). However the probability was not significant ($p = .128$).

Table 14: Perpetrator of negative behaviour and the experience of bullying

		<i>Experienced negative behaviour mostly from whom?</i>	
		<i>Non-superior</i> % (<i>n</i> =76)	<i>Superior</i> % (<i>n</i> =49)
Bullied in the past one year	Yes	17.1 (<i>n</i> =13)	28.6 (<i>n</i> =14)
	No	82.9 (<i>n</i> =63)	71.4 (<i>n</i> =35)

Missing cases (*n*=53)

Ancillary to this, Table 15 shows that almost half (42.3%) of the respondents who reported being bullied in the past one year were more worried about their immediate superior than they were about other perpetrators.

Table 15: Victims of bullying in the past one year are most worried about whom?
(n=26)

<i>Customer / clients</i>	<i>Subordinate</i>	<i>Superior</i>	<i>Co-worker</i>	<i>Volunteer</i>	<i>Public</i>	<i>Others (project consultant, partnership consultant)</i>	<i>Not worried</i>
15.4% (n=4)	3.8% (n=1)	42.3% (n=11)	19.2% (n=5)	0	3.8% (n=1)	7.7% (n=2)	7.7% (n=2)

Constructive Leadership Climate

In terms of a 'constructive leadership climate', Table 16 reveals that respondents who experienced higher organisational harassment (lack of constructive leadership climate) tend to report being bullied more (32%) compared to those who experienced lower organisational harassment (more constructive leadership) (8.6%). The result was significant at ($p < .001$).

Table 16: Exposure to organisational harassment and report of being bullied in the past one year

		<i>Organisational harassment</i>	
		<i>Low</i> % (<i>n</i> =128)	<i>High</i> % (50)
Bullied over the last 1 year	Yes	8.6 (<i>n</i> =11)	32.0 (<i>n</i> =16)
	No	91.4 (<i>n</i> =117)	68.0 (<i>n</i> =34)

Availability of Policies

Having reported the results pertaining to the social guardianship component of RAT, the following report is based on the physical guardianship. This component is examined in terms of the availability and implementation of organisational policies. When asked if there is any policy that deals with workplace bullying in their voluntary organisations, 47.4% of 171 respondents indicated that they 'do not know', 33.3% said that there is 'no special policy' and only 19.3% indicated the availability of

policies which may deal with matters concerning bullying (17.5% said the policies were enforced while 1.8% said not enforced). It should be noted that none of the respondents reported the existence of a specific bullying policy; rather, most reported the availability of an ‘equal opportunity policy’ and ‘grievance procedure’.

In addition, contrary to the hypothesis proposed, Chi-square analysis in Table 17 reveals that respondents who indicated the availability of a policy tend to report being bullied (21.2%) more than those who said that a policy was not available (14.5%). However, it should also be noted that the result was not significant for a one year duration ($p = .342$) or five years ($p = .342$).

Table 17: Availability of policy and the experience to bullying in the last 1 year

		<i>Availability of policy</i>	
		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
		<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
		<i>(n=33)</i>	<i>(n=138)</i>
Bullied over the last 1 year	Yes	21.2 (n=7)	14.5 (n=20)
	No	78.8 (n=26)	85.5 (n=118)

(Missing cases n=7)

In sum, the foregoing report of bivariate analysis on various predictor variables representing ‘suitable target’ and ‘capable guardianship’ components gives an

indication of the variables that may be beneficial when applied in the logistic regression: job status, confronting the perpetrator, workload, perpetrator status, constructive leadership climate and availability of bullying policy.⁸⁶

Results of Binary Logistic Regression

Appendix F presents the results of the binary logistic regression for the outcome variable, being bullied/not bullied in the past one year. Notice that the scaled deviance values decrease as successive clusters are entered. This indicates a better fitting model, or that the model is predicting the outcome variable more accurately at every stage. Additionally, the increase in Model Chi Square values with significant effects at each stage show that the overall model at each stage significantly affects/predicts the outcome. Block Chi Sq. examines the contribution of the variables entered at each stage. The significant Block Chi Sq. at each stage indicates that the predictors (either one or both) that were added at each stage affect the outcome variable. The significant Block Chi Sq. in stage two (Chi Sq.= 8.347, df= 2, $p < .05$) shows that given 'workload' is in the model, 'employment status' and 'confronting the perpetrator' (or either one) could significantly improve the model and so improve the prediction of the outcome. In stage three, the significant Block Chi Sq. (Chi Sq.= 12.011, df= 2, $p < .05$) indicates that given the workload, employment status and confrontation are in the model, the new block of variables entered ('perpetrator status' and 'constructive leadership climate') could significantly improve the model (the effect of both or either of the new variables entered is statistically significant).

⁸⁶ Certain demographic characteristics (gender, duration of service, and age) are not included in the logistic regression analysis since they did not show a significant effect in the bivariate analysis. 'Perpetrator status' was retained since there was other evidence from the interviews indicating that perpetrator status may be an important factor. Although, 'availability of bullying policy' did not show any significant effect in the bivariate analysis, it was still included in the logistic regression in order to investigate the possibility of a confounding effect.

However, in stage four the block Chi Sq. did not show a significant difference (Chi Sq.= 0.126, df= 1, $p = .723$), which means that the variable ‘availability of policy’ does not improve the model and that the model could do without this variable. Finally the Block Chi Sq. for stage five that included the interaction effect between ‘confrontation by perpetrator’, showed a significant effect (Chi Sq.= 7.305, df= 1, $p < .05$).

Along with the increase of the Model Chi Sq. values, notice also the Nagelkerke R Square value increases as successive clusters are entered into the analysis. After stage two variables are entered, the Nagelkerke R Square value indicates that about 16% of the variance in the dependent variable or the outcome (being a victim of bullying) is accounted for by the model; after stage three variables are entered (perpetrator and organisational supportiveness), the Nagelkerke R Square jumps to 29% of the variance. At stage four there is only a slight increase in the Nagelkerke R Square because the variable ‘availability of policy’ does not significantly contribute to the model. Finally, in stage five the addition of interaction of the interaction effect (confront by perpetrator) increased the Nagelkerke R Square to 37%, which means that the interaction effect accounts for an additional 8%, for a total explained variance of 37% for the entire model.

The resulting model in stage five retained all the main effect predictors (as they were analysed using ‘enter’ default) while only one interaction effect out of nine was actually retained.⁸⁷ Although the final model showed a significant model Chi Sq., indicating that the predictors do have an impact on predicting the outcome, only some

⁸⁷ The forward stepwise method used to analyse the nine interactions effects chooses the interaction effects that significantly contribute to the model.

variables actually have a more significant effect, and others only have subtle effects on the outcome. Results reveal that ‘perpetrator status’ [OR: 4.860 (95% CI: 1.051-22.471), $p < .043$], ‘leadership climate’ [OR: 21.980 (95% CI: 3.144-153.639), $p < .002$] and the interaction effect ‘confront by perpetrator’ [OR: .045 (95% CI: .004-.540), $p < .014$] significantly predict whether the respondent is bullied. Hence, only three of the main effect hypotheses and one interaction effect were consistent with the proposed routine activities approach to workplace bullying.

The variables that are not significantly related to the outcome and thus do not support the proposed routine activities approach to workplace bullying are: workload, employment status, confronting the perpetrator and availability of policy. Workload, employment status and availability of policy have remained insignificant predictors from stage one through five, while confront, which was significant from stage two through four, is no longer significant in the final stage. The interaction effect, confrontation -perpetrator, seems to have overtaken the effect of confront alone. In other words, just confronting the perpetrator does not necessarily make the respondent a bully victim at a later stage, but when the respondent confronts a perpetrator who is a superior, the respondent is more likely to be bullied at some point. Further elaboration on this and other results reported in this chapter will be made in the Discussion chapter, but prior to this, results from the thematic analysis of the qualitative data are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS- QUALITATIVE

The goal of this chapter is to present the results from the interviews. Various themes were derived from the analysis: Both answering the basic questions posed at the outset of the study and in addition, other interesting new themes were discovered. These qualitative results are organised in a similar structure to the previous chapter. The first part, reports the nature and extent of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. It includes themes concerning the subjective perception of bullying, the negative behaviours associated with bullying, the negative effects of bullying and the role of witnesses in the bullying scenario. The second part, reports the antecedents of workplace bullying based on the framework of RAT. It comprises themes concerning target attractiveness (employment status, personal characteristics and confronting the perpetrator), target exposure (workload, lack of work control and funding agencies), social guardianship (perpetrator status, constructive leadership climate, voluntary management committee, resisting change, insecure leadership, stressed-out leadership and use of external consultation), physical guardianship (need for a specific bullying policy, the crucial role of the management in implementing policies, personal barriers in implementing policies, misuse of policies and the real use of bullying policies), and personality factor (dedicated individuals, slow-paced individuals or fast-paced individuals).

Part 1: Nature and Extent

The Voluntary Sector's Subjective Perception of Workplace Bullying

As was mentioned earlier in the Methodology chapter, researchers often give a global definition of workplace bullying in the questionnaire before asking the respondents to give their self-judgement on whether they have been bullied. As an alternative, this research applied the interview method to investigate how respondents define and perceive workplace bullying rather than providing a definition. Of the twenty-two respondents who were interviewed (at least the interviews which were usable), 10 have experienced negative behaviours, nine have both experienced and witnessed negative behaviours, while three respondents have only witnessed negative behaviours. In particular, out of the 19 interviewees who have directly experienced negative behaviours, 15 said that they felt bullied, while four respondents said that they did not feel that they were being bullied. Generally, those who felt bullied fulfilled the central characteristics for their negative experience to be considered as workplace bullying when based on the global definition. Firstly, all 15 respondents reported persistent behaviours (as opposed to one-off incidents), with the average exposure to persistent behaviours being 16 months. Second, the respondents indicated that there was an imbalance of power and that they are, or end up, in an inferior position from which it is difficult to defend oneself. Twelve out of 15 respondents experienced formal power imbalance, and were bullied by the direct supervisor, manager, funders⁸⁸ or management committee. While three interviewees experienced bullying from a subordinate, client or colleague, they nonetheless reported that they

⁸⁸ One interviewee said that she was directly bullied by the funding agency. This study considers/includes funders and the funding agencies as superiors because the voluntary organisations are constantly under the supervision of the funders, have to adhere by their rules and regulations, and have to fulfil various tasks required by them.

felt inferior and controlled by the perpetrator, as shown below (cases 50 and 49).

Third, although both bullied and non-bullied interviewees reported being negatively affected, it should be noted that those who were bullied reported more intense consequences as compared to non-bullied interviewees (see the section on effects of bullying in this chapter and previous chapter).

Case 50 (bullied by subordinate):

What this guy was trying in a way was very personal and in quite an unreasonable way, trying to affect my behaviour negatively, he was trying to make me behave in a way, so that would have given him control...

Case 49 (bullied by client):

At some time in the past, it was recognised that this person who is a male, had an issue with me. He would follow me around, he would not say anything, he would just watch me, and follow me, it made me feel extremely uncomfortable... When he came in, in his mind, he has some kind of hold of me.

Interviewees who did not perceive their negative experience as a case of bullying did not fulfil some of the central characteristics of workplace bullying: All four of the interviewees (Cases 35, 12, 104 and 47) indicated to some extent that the perpetrator did not have (gain) control over them, thus there was no imbalance of power element in the relationship. In addition three of the interviewees (Cases 12, 104 and 47) indicated that the negative behaviours experienced were not persistent and on going (refer Cases 35, 47, 12 and 104 below).

Case 35 said that the perpetrator did not have authority over her, as she was a volunteer:

...I suppose it's easier to bully someone if you have authority over them....they can get away with it because they have some power...I am a volunteer and anytime I wish, I could simply walk out...That's why you have to be a different person to work with a volunteer because you cannot walk in like some dictator and tell people you must do this. You must make them work with you because you don't have the authority.

Case 35 further explained that volunteers are as valuable as paid employees:

I get the impression she had the idea that if you weren't paid you weren't valuable. If you were any good they would pay you. Our organisation had some very talented people who, working independently, on projects, always..., but they work pretty much on their own. She had come from an organisation where this clearly didn't take place. Where volunteers fetch and carried. They were different type I think. Uhm, anything we said to her she just ignored. And we're used to having an input, we're used to being treated with respect here. Uhm, there's nothing er distinction between volunteers and employees. Obviously they have to have the last say because it's their job and they are the professionals but we're generally well treated and this woman was quite a shock to people...

Case 47 did not encounter persistent negative behaviour, "It was a case of being undermined in one of my decisions I made...it happened on a number of occasions but not to that degree...just sort of niggling situations." Furthermore, it seems that the negative behaviours experienced by Case 47 did not make her feel powerless to the

extent that she could not control the situation. In particular, the interviewee expressed that she did not feel that it was a personal attack, but rather the issue dealt with her professional work, and that it was settled before resentment set in.

Case 12 did not narrate any persistent negative behaviour but rather some sporadic behaviours such as people ‘trying to put her down verbally’ at a frequency which was not persistent. In addition, it is felt that Case 12 did not consider herself as powerless as a result of such negative incidents. According to her, “The word bullying is putting somebody who is not physically or mentally as bright as you are, you put them down...” The fact that she is also a volunteer is seen to be a contributing factor.

Case 104 said that the negative behaviours experienced through the phone from colleagues from various partnership agencies were not persistent in nature, especially since these problems are usually settled immediately by her superior. Hence, it did not develop into a situation where the victim felt defenceless or powerless:

“...What I would do if it carried on? I would say, ‘I’m sorry. I can’t deal with this. My manager will deal with that’.”

Additionally, interviewees were also asked how they would define workplace bullying and harassment and the forms of negative behaviour associated with these concepts. The results are based on 14 out of 22 respondents, as 8 respondents failed to provide adequate information. The results reveal that the majority of interviewees do not perceive bullying and harassment as entirely identical, but rather as overlapping concepts (13 out of 14 respondents). Below are excerpts from the interviews with the

most commonly cited responses. There were four general trends found from the interview results.

First, there are those who considered bullying and harassment as similar, with harassment as more specific and focused while bullying as a wider phenomenon (six out of 13 interviewees):⁸⁹

Case 1:

“Bullying or harassment is to single somebody out.”

Case 7:

Bullying and harassment, I don't really think there's that much difference between the two. At the end of the day, it's almost like harassment will form part of general bullying 'cause bullying can involve like just ignoring somebody....So maybe bullying is sort of wider behaviour. But they both singled out people.

Case 86:

Obviously it's the same thing, but bullying has a wider spectrum and harassment is a more localised thing, like gender, sexuality, race, age. Yeah, where bullying is across the board, it's more general, more toxic, more poisonous. Because of that and because it's so subtle and so I suppose, it's quite sophisticated, and I think bullying is about part of manipulating others...

⁸⁹ Cases 1, 7, 44, 86, 104 and 85.

Second, those who perceive bullying and harassment as similar but relate them to different settings (three out of 13 interviewees):⁹⁰

Case 154:

“I think I’d use the words for the same thing...Harassment is more in a professional setting, and you might consider bullying to be more of a personalise (sic), when you are younger.”

Case 3:

...you attach bullying I suppose in some respects to school, to classroom, to school playgrounds and I think because you attach it to...in that respect you attach to being (sic) quite childish behaviour, so when it comes from adults, uhm I think you don’t expect it as much because you know, that’s what kids do...you don’t expect adults to be bullied.

Third, those who perceive bullying and harassment on different levels (two out of 13 interviewees):⁹¹

Case 47:

Harassment would be something like...I mean the obvious one that comes to mind is sexual harassment...But bullying I think is mmm...probably heavier, probably more stronger wording...I think harassment and bullying are on two different levels. I think harassment is the beginning of bullying.

⁹⁰ Cases 3, 12 and 154.

⁹¹ Cases 49 and 47.

Case 49:

“...because of the length of time, harassment turns into bullying...”

Finally, those who perceived the two concepts as different, yet gave similar examples in their definitions (three out of 13 interviewees):⁹²

Case 83:

...if I was harassing somebody it would be, I would think probably more work-related; so it would be about giving them work to do and we just, like giving them work to do and sort of constantly harassing to see if it's done...Making sure that the time scale is quite short to get it done...Bullying, I think, is about if I give somebody a piece of work and I get it back and I go 'This is useless, you can't do this, this is absolutely rubbish, take it back and redo it' I think it's the way it's done almost, it's quite subtle.

*The Experience of Workplace Bullying and the Categories of Negative Behaviours
Associated with It*

Out of the 15 interviewees who were bullied, only two reported overt behaviour as one of the most memorable negative incidents experienced (see below Cases 3 and 49).

⁹² Cases 79 and 83.

Case 3 was bullied by one of the MCs:

I received a call and basically straight away she was shouting at me. There were two volunteers in the office plus another worker and myself. Now, because she was shouting at me so loudly they could hear that somebody was shouting at me over the phone.

Case 49 was bullied by the client:

“He would follow me around, he would not say anything, he would just watch me, and follow me; it made me feel extremely uncomfortable.”

Nonetheless, consistent with the quantitative results, overt violence from organisational insiders is not as frequent compared to violence from clients.

According to Cases 49 and 7 (refer below) overt violence is a usual phenomenon and should be expected in the voluntary sector due to the vulnerable nature of the clients.

Case 49:

Uhm, possibly in that because you have people who perhaps feel frustrated in er you know they want to be an artist. But they cannot get any money. Not that we're a funding organisation. We don't give out money. That's not what we do. But, you know, they no doubt they have a hit list of places that they go to and you know you might happen to be the one on the day where they've been everywhere else and got rejected so right, we're never gonna get them, so that's the approach you get...Okay, then the voluntary sector as far as clients' concerned, dealing with people who, talking about people across the voluntary sector generally, not specific

to our organisation as such, that you've got clients who feel disadvantaged in one way or another, and therefore, perhaps, look to the organisation to be the scapegoat, that's how I feel. So as I was saying sometimes we may get at the outburst that we get from the individuals because they've been to the City Council, the Arts Council.

Case 7 casually mentioned his experience with a vulnerable client (note-this was not the most memorable incident).

One of the clients, yeah, wanted me to do something out while I was actually on a lunch break and I've been running round all morning and she came upstairs and I sort of said, 'You know, I'm having my lunch, I'll be with you in a minute' and she took it the wrong way, but it later turned out she was coming off anti-depressants and she's been very snappy and snarling at somebody anyway, but that really quite upset me because I got...she wrote a letter to another one of my colleagues, complaining about my behaviour...The users of the centre because of the different problems that they have actually come in with and some of the relationship issues they have themselves, and a lot of anger they carry around and stuff like that, uhm, I think sometimes they can feel very resentful towards the staff...

In addition, one interviewee (Case 5) who was threatened by a member of the public did not consider it as a case of bullying, but described more subtle negative behaviours perpetrated by organisational insiders as bullying. In addition, since violence from clients is usual, she claimed that their voluntary organisation has well established safety policies in order to protect their staff and volunteers from violence (refer to Case 5 below).

Case 5:

The one or two incidents that have happened here, er, I think to some extent it goes with the territory. But I also think that because we've got, we're very security conscious, more than we used to be, that we pretty much cut those red threads out completely.

The Negative Effects of Workplace Bullying in the Voluntary Sector

The negative consequences of workplace bullying are readily noticeable in the interviews. Although, some victims had experienced distressing life events, findings from the interview show that the bullying that they had suffered affected their life even more, as illustrated in Case 83: "I felt really sick, I became quite ill and I had two weeks off from the doctor. Tiredness because we were very, very tired, the kind of work it is, er, it is very draining." When probed further to know if this is due to bullying or solely the stress of the job, the respondent answered: "The bullying really, because the stress you could manage. But when they became equally bullying, then it was stressful, it just became too much."

See a similar report by Case 86:

"Yes, it's the, it isn't the stress of the job, it's lack of support for that, I can deal with that, you know I can manage that, it's the stress of the management structure, lack of management, yeah..."

Respondents also mentioned that due to the exposure to bullying they have subsequently developed health and psychological problems, but once they withdrew from the bullying environment, their health generally improved (refer Case 7).

Case 7:

There is high level of sick, sickness; definitely on the team I worked with. While my sick records here, in fact, I hadn't got a day of sick this year... I'll never take off health days here in the way I often felt...

All of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied said they were psychologically affected by their experience. Among them, ten of the respondents also reported that their performance was affected, seven reported physical consequences, and seven reported taking sick leave. Examples of consequences of bullying from the interviews are shown below (note that the interviewees usually tend to report a combination of negative consequences).

Case 2:

I didn't enjoy coming to work. It made me uncomfortable. To be honest with you, I'm very conscious of people's reaction to me; it makes me feel uncomfortable and I didn't particularly enjoy going to work for quite a few weeks till I've seen this period through.

Case 79:

I didn't want to go to work. I had a bad relationship with those people. I found it difficult to talk to anybody about it because it was so...it seemed so vague...you

know...to try to explain it to anybody...I thought I just became angry about it and less confident...I think I took a couple of days off work just purely because I was just really upset and stressed about it. It doesn't sound like much but I'm saying it now that the issue was very serious.

Case 86:

I think physical health, always in 'em... I find incredibly tired and I'm not usually like that, I usually, you know work through stuff and I've got a headache now trying to wake up this morning which I know that that's stress because I'm not sleeping comfortably; tense in my neck you know I've got all the potential—I know the signs so I'm aware that I'm very tense at the moment... The way I perform my duties, what I notice is I began to forget things and also classic signs of being stressed you know...

Nonetheless, further scrutiny of the interviews revealed the following results (Table 18) on the types of negative consequences associated with workplace bullying in this sector.

(Table 18 on following page)

Table 18: Consequences and the symptoms of bullying

<i>Consequences</i>	<i>Symptoms</i>
Physical	tired, lack of sleep, forgetfulness, headaches
Psychological	anger, felt incompetent, bursting into tears, loss of confidence, felt uncomfortable, lack of motivation, depressed, over-sensitivity
Job performance	back-track decisions, felt incapable of performing tasks, did not want to go to work, almost resigned, normal pace of work was interrupted, difficulties working with other staff professionally

As for the non-bullied interviewees, the interview findings show that they too faced negative implications due to their experience. However, the negative consequences for bullied interviewees were more intense (as shown above) than the negative consequences faced by the non-bullied. In particular the non-bullied interviewees did not show any negative physical consequences nor did they take sick-leaves due to their negative experiences.

The Role of Witnesses in the Bullying Scenario

The data reported so far, were mostly from the perspective of the victims regarding their negative behaviours and workplace bullying experiences. In order to get a fuller overview of the phenomenon, it is imperative to provide information from the perspective of the witnesses. This will be included in the following section.

Based on the information gathered, the role of the witness can be divided from two perspectives: First, from the perspective of the victim with regards to the reaction of the bystander(s) who have observed the incident and second, from the perspective of the witness/bystander.

Victims' Experience

Case 11 said her colleagues drew her attention to address the issue and suggested that she was actually being bullied:

“It was my work colleague who actually pointed out, she goes ‘She bullied you...’”

Case 85 recounted a similar experience:

But people that knew me and him, and knew, you know, I mean they would say to me ‘it’s not you, you know, it isn’t you. You’re not causing problems.’ It’s very easy isn’t it to think that you’re right but it wasn’t just me that was saying that, it was other people that were could see what was happening and kind of sympathise with me on what’s happening. And people from other organisations that shared the building that heard what was going on and so on, so yeah.

Nonetheless, some interviewees mentioned that the support provided may not be long lasting after all. For instance, Case 33 pointed out that some managers were on her side only in the beginning (see below):

‘No. No actually this person has been a good manager’, they were pointing things out, things I’ve achieved which is not just about me, it’s about the rest of the staff and volunteers. They were pointing this out and saying you can’t actually say that,

they were trying to pull her back because she was angry a bit coz she wasn't getting a full support in disciplining me.

Despite that, the directors gave her an informal warning without explaining the details of the behaviour that they are disciplining her about and without following the proper procedure. In the end, Case 33 cited that the witnesses choose to side with the perpetrator despite having their doubts (refer below). A similar event was narrated by case 86.

Case 33:

...I think the others (directors) were quite surprised on what was going on, I don't think they were fully aware of what was going to happen, I really don't think they knew what was going to happen. But the directors at the end of the day I do understand from their point of view although I think it's wrong they actually think that they have to be seen all together but I think some of them were a bit surprised at how it went...

Case 44 said that those who witnessed her being bullied could not do anything for fear of reprisal:

That was awful because the staff were put in a very difficult position because if they were seen to support me, that was wrong. If, and they didn't actually want to support what was going on but equally in the voluntary organisation your job's, yes you have contracts but it's all down to money. And an organisation at that time, this organisation could quite easily say it couldn't afford the staff and it could get rid of any of us. And, er, it was a hugely difficult time for everybody.

In some cases such as in case 152, the witness was threatened by the perpetrator(s):

It was on a Saturday and he came up to me and says I have to tell you something and then he went into detail about what have been said behind my and my colleague's back about us. And when he mentioned it, Asian guy, and when he mentioned it, he was told it's got nothing to do with him. If he wants to remain in the organisation he would have to keep his mouth shut.

Furthermore those who are sympathetic or empathetic are often subjected to bullying, for example in Case 152:

One of my colleagues, my colleagues and I, I told you about that was facing the same thing... Yeah, and because she started talking to me now, they thought she was giving away their secrets, because they had like...outside, just where empty areas, they had a place where we used to go and buy our lunch. And if it was like summer time, nice day, we go sitting in the park and eat our lunch. And I got accused of isolating, we got accused of isolating ourselves at break time from the rest of the people that work there. So basically what she's telling us that two black people are not supposed to go off on their own and eat their lunch in their own lunch hour and then come back to work because we're excluding them.

Witness Experience

To begin with, witnesses who hold managerial positions have the capacity to help the victim. For example, Cases 83 (MC member) and 50 (manager) not only witnessed some employees being bullied but also took some actions to stop the behaviour. An excerpt from Case 83 is quoted below:

The two bullied this one. Now, I didn't know about it for a while...I was on the management committee but I had, at that time, then, I had no, I wasn't their direct line manager. So, I have, I didn't see these three privately. And the person who, the new person had been employed and she wasn't qualified for the job. So it made a bad situation worse. But she was very badly bullied by the other two. Uhm, and so that's, was, was awful and when I did know about it, I put various steps into to stop it.

Similarly, Case 7 witnessed bullying incidents with one of his colleagues. He has been very supportive of her, but also thinks that she may have some psychological problems herself, which may have initiated the bullying behaviours towards her:

...there was one of my colleagues here, who I think has had a very, very difficult time. She was a local woman who got a job here, and most every one was initially very supportive of her, a lot of people got, uhm, I think really concerned that she has all sorts of ideas of station and were very resentful to her...and she hashed a barrage of complaints about her, anonymous complaints. From members of the public, users, stuff like that, and I think she was being, uhm, I think she's been a victim of the witch-hunt by people, to be honest. Some thought she was actually off her mental. I was concerned that it may have something to do with it...I'm a line manager and I've been very supportive about it as well, uhm but I think she has really struggled in terms of uhm a level of victimisation.

On the other hand, witnesses who do not have the organisational power mentioned that despite trying their best, they are often unable to help the victim. For example,

Case 22 was well informed about the grievance procedure in the sector. Having witnessed her colleague being bullied, Case 22 advised her to lodge a report:

We do have a grievance policy which I said to my colleague that she has a right to take a grievance report to this particular person and I would help her to do so. You know we do everything in our power ...I do have some experience in being a union representative. I've got quite a good grounding in disciplinary procedures.

Despite the effort, they could not do much since the MC members were not supportive, quoted Case 22:

I think I was affected because I was disturbed that my colleague was treated in an unjust manner, I didn't like it, so I tried to give her all my support and you know...and I wasn't entirely happy about it...I felt powerless to do anything about it...no one seem to recognise (none of the other managers recognised) it was a problem. Eventhough that she and I tried to address it to the management committee manage it, they said that it wasn't that bad...but it was, it was very bad, I thought it was very bad practice.

Furthermore, interviewees who hold subordinate positions, and in addition have a history of being bullied themselves, react in a more passive manner when they witness similar behaviours occurring to their colleagues. In these cases they often resort to merely consoling each other (Cases 152, 84 and 5) or to observe the situation from a distance (refer to Case 85 below).

Case 85 witnessed bullying and says she can relate herself with it but other than that she did not offer her help.

Uhm, there were about three I think from her management committee that were doing it and uhm she used to get in some terrible states and, but she, she would xxx her time. She went off with stress before I did. Uhm, and she just went to pieces. She just sat crying one day and couldn't stop. And it was just watching her, because you don't see it in yourself, you don't notice you, yourself, but I could see her looking older and living by the day and she just you know she's taking it very uhm she had very big mood swings. She would be alright one minute and the next minute she'd be screaming at the top of her voice cause she, she just couldn't cope anymore, you know I suppose she was the worst and the most affected person but it's facing xxx what I experienced.

Finally, witnesses may downplay the seriousness of the negative behaviour. For example, Cases 7 (as quoted earlier) and 12 indicated that the victim might have some psychological problem. Some witnesses such as Cases 154 and 104 (as cited below) even disregarded the negative behaviour experienced by her colleague as bullying.

Case 154:

Er, I think things where the person who has done it, realise it the person they say it didn't appreciate it and will not do it again. The person who's been offended will say something and challenge him and then they'll realise that they don't like it and they will stop. I think it's a very minor incident. But this sort of thing could upset

someone for a day or two and it wouldn't not ongoing and not intended to be offensive, not because they don't like them or they've got any problems with...

When probed further if he/she would consider it as bullying:

No, no. It's some negative situations but not, I am not going to, bullying or harassment, is something which is intended to happen, kind of intentional negative behaviour, whereas I'd say it's more things that people take the wrong way. And it's very much dealt with within the office. But also, there is a system to deal with it.

Case 104:

...but I think she was, she got so upset about, the slightest little thing upsets her. You understand what I mean. Once two or three things happened, then perhaps, something that's not actually harassment, because you're upset anyway and you're like a bit paranoid. But then in the end she actually left rather than make an official complaint. She actually left and got another job.

Part 2: Antecedents of Workplace Bullying in the Voluntary Sector-

An Application of Routine Activity Theory

The second part of the chapter contains various themes extracted from the interviews that are related to the possible antecedents of bullying in this sector. In addition, information regarding the applicability of RAT in explaining bullying is also presented here.

Target Attractiveness

Employment Status

Two (cases 35 and 12) out of four interviewees who did not perceive their negative experience as a case of bullying were volunteers (Note, that this should be interpreted cautiously as the other 50% were staff). On the other hand, none amongst the interviewees who were bullied were volunteers. Further probing showed that the volunteers indicated that there was no power element or imbalance in the relationship to qualify their experience as bullying. Interviewees who consider their negative experience as workplace bullying indicated that there was an imbalance of power, and that they are or ended up in an inferior position from which it is/was difficult to defend oneself (examples of the cases were already quoted earlier in this chapter in section ‘The Voluntary Sector’s Subjective Perception of Workplace Bullying’).

Personal/Demographic Characteristics

Although, not predicted as an important factor initially,⁹³ personal characteristic was an interesting theme that emerged from the qualitative analysis.

Cases 2, 11 and 86 indicated the fact that they were homosexual does play a role in the negative treatment they were subjected to (refer Cases 2 and 11 below).

Case 2 was a gay man:

...And although I'm not out, I'm not gay and out. A lot of people would suspect or know that because then, you know my marital status is single and I'm not exactly a young fellow, am I? So, people would suspect that. So, I'm very conscious of this, there's a lot, very seldom to my face, there's a lot of gossip, as in any workplace, around me and my personal life, which I'm always uncomfortable about. I've, I run a very, as a gay man who is not out, I've I'm always very concerned about that...I'm very conscious of whisperings, finger pointing, and name-calling, and gossip...

⁹³ Refer to the results from the bivariate analysis in the previous chapter, which show the insignificance of certain demographic characteristics, such as gender, duration of service and age, in predicting workplace bullying.

Case 11 mentioned that she was being bullied because she was a lesbian:

And also I think she (the perpetrator) was homophobic and she wanted all the lesbians out at the same time, myself and my colleague are lesbians and she actually told that to a member of the centre. So it's like somebody comes in here, I'm going to try and get all the lesbians out of the centre, and that's what she did. And I found that out about six months ago.

Cases 86 and 152 mentioned that race was one of the factors contributing towards the negative treatments as well (refer Case 86 below).

Case 86:

...so on one level I suppose there has been a, an unspoken expectation, I imagine there has been an expectation of me some how quite violent, a black man, who would sexually abuse, because I'm a black man, these I have access to these er extremity...

A similar experience was echoed by Case 152 who claimed that the director was being racist towards him. In addition, when questioned how he came to notice that this was a case of racism, he replied: "I knew it because I've been doing that kind of work for, since 1980, yeah."

Apart from that, sexism was also quoted as being an underlying cause for the mis-treatment, as in Case 85:

... he also I think was quite you know, I'm man, and you're woman, that sort of thing. And he was, that was his general attitude. Also, he looked down on women. He saw women as mere sex objects than anything else. And for me to have that knowledge, power that he wanted... it was just his general attitude and then comments that he would make...yes, sometimes, yeah. And he's just tall, and the way he spoke about his wife would be you know, you know, you just know and it's like he would if there were two people in a room, and I said one thing and the other was a male and he would always side with the male.

Hence, when interviewees experienced negative incidents that are of bullying in nature and subtle, many do tend to attribute such behaviours as due to personal characteristics (harassment) initially. For example, Case 44 mentioned that she has been harassed because she was a woman and a blond. However, when probed further they tend to say that bullying was something more than that; and that bullying and harassment are not entirely overlapping (refer Case 44 below):

No, they're not the same. I mean, the bullying was about, I mean, she, I believe that I was harassed because, in her opinion, the manager should have been male, I really do believe that. I think she struggled with working with a female. I think she has real issues and they were her issues. But I think she had real issues about a woman being in a senior position... Yeah, I was being harassed because I was blonde. There was no doubt about it. But she, in my opinion, for what it was worth, I think she found my demeanour as a woman, she struggled with it. She

obviously didn't like the fact that I got on well with the male members of the management committee. Obviously, excluding the chairman. But the management committee were predominantly male at that stage and they all got on with me and we would have adventure and a laugh. But it was always done in a professional way... So, you know, that was harassment. That was actually harassment. The bullying was more around, because she couldn't get what she wanted I mean in terms of particularly like complimentary service, she had determine that we were going to have a particular model of complimentary therapy in the organization. We weren't consulted. We weren't even asked any clients' opinions. We weren't actually going to do what was in the best interest of the client group. It was all financially-driven. And based on that, because I disagreed with it, she bullied and bullied and bullied to get around me. Yeah, it was constant, it was you know, 'You are wrong'. I mean the bullying took the effect of, if I put together a financial expenditure, you know a budget service, she would bully me in such a way that in a management committee meeting if I had miss xx, she would say to me you are incapable of writing a report. And that is bullying. Not harassment.

Confronting the Perpetrator of Negative Behaviours

The quantitative findings (as reported in the previous chapter) showed that bullying actually further escalates despite the use of 'confrontation'. This is especially true in dispute-related behaviour whereby escalation of conflict occurs due to the social interchange or interaction (such as confrontation) between the perpetrator and victim. Having said that, the qualitative finding in this chapter, offers an additional insight regarding the relationship between bullying and confrontation. It reveals that confronting the perpetrator may prove to be effective in certain circumstances.

Moreover, it also investigates other types of social interchange or interaction that may lead to bullying.⁹⁴ In order to investigate the kind of interaction that escalates into bullying or de-escalates the conflict, the interviewees were categorised into two groups: Non-bullied and bullied interviewees.

Not Bullied. Results generated from the four interviewees who were not bullied revealed two useful approaches in de-escalating the situation from developing into workplace bullying: confronting the perpetrator of negative behaviours and making the negative incident known to a supportive authority/management (problem-solving technique⁹⁵): Two of the interviewees (refer cases 104 and 35 below) indicated that, apart from confronting the perpetrator of negative behaviours, they had also responded to the negative behaviours earlier by bringing the issue to a supportive authority (note the other two interviewees –cases 47 and 12 –only relied on confronting the perpetrator). A general trend was found among the non-bullied interviewees who applied ‘confrontation’: this technique was implemented in the early stages⁹⁶ (refer Case 104 below); the element of power imbalance was missing, for example Cases 12 and 35 who were volunteers indicated that they had nothing to lose and would leave the organisation immediately if they were mistreated (refer Case 35 below) whilst case 104 experienced negative incidents from clients and thus did not feel inferior or powerless in any way; and finally the problem or disagreement was more inclined to job tasks and had not evolved to personal matters (refer Case 47 below).

⁹⁴ The types of interaction as described in the following section are derived from the conflict management literature. These include problem- solving/confronting, obliging, dominating, avoiding and bargaining/compromising (Blake & Mouton, 1964 as cited from Keashly & Nowell, 2003, p. 343).

⁹⁵ Refer Keashly and Nowell (2003, p. 343).

⁹⁶ Most of the non-bullied interviewees reported to have settled the problem immediately (Cases 104 and 12) or in a few weeks (Case 35). Only one said that it took a few months (Case 47).

Case 104 said that she takes immediate action (puts a stop) whenever she experiences negative incidents. They are basically one-off incidents from clients (referrers). In addition, she claims to have good training:

But it's hard for me to say because I've never really been bullied or harassed to be honest because with the training I've had. I work in the benefit agency for 20 years. I've worked in a hostel. I know immediately, you just know that within a few seconds of being on the phone, so you tell them 'Hang on, be calm, be quiet. Say what you want.'...if it carried on I would say 'I'm sorry I can't deal with this. My manager will deal with that'...So the manager explained to him what was happening.

Case 35 did not feel bullied. She was a volunteer and she experienced negative behaviours from an employee. Case 35 felt that she has nothing to lose and confronted the perpetrator and later reported the incident to the management. She also said that she should have in fact complained earlier:

As I say, she joined in a job share and she wanted to make a bit of an impression. She wanted, I felt, to take over the things that my male colleague's been working on, and to show how superior she was. She did this quite nicely, in the beginning. But I refused to simply follow her instructions and take, uhm her instructions were exactly the opposite from what her male counterpart had given me and he had the responsibility for this project. So, I was stuck by what he told me. I simply said I'm sorry but what I've been told is I must this and I must that. And I can't do what you're telling me. He's running the project. You have to speak to him if you want to change it. Well, I wouldn't play ball and do just what she wanted. I think

I've been, was in the enemy camp. If you don't do what, she's, one of those people who if you don't do exactly what she wants then...She went on the offensive against me, I think yes... I did complain to her line manager who looked into it with the director of our branch and a conclusion was reached on that. I think I could have helped myself more and that I could have complained to the line manager earlier.

Case 47 did not feel bullied because the incident stopped immediately when she confronted the perpetrator. Furthermore, she argued that the problem dealt with job tasks and did not develop into personal attacks. So it did not develop into bullying: "No, no, I found that aa ... a personal, a professional attack. The fact that I would develop things professionally was not a slight on me personally. It was my professional work not my, my, myself, does that make ... yeah?"

Bullied. Although the majority of the victims showed signs of predatory-bullying, there are often cases where predatory-bullying turns into dispute. As such 11 out of 15 bullying incidents can be categorised as dispute-related bullying. In these cases the use of active strategies such as problem-solving, bargaining, compromising and competing are useful in de-escalation of conflict under certain conditions: when the perpetrator is supportive (refer Cases 1 and 2 below), or when the victim has a superior position (or develops an upper hand in the process) compared to the perpetrator (Cases 2, 83 and 50)⁹⁷. Otherwise, active techniques were inefficient in most of the cases (Cases 44, 49, 3, 33, 85, 86 and 152). Such cases were only solved

⁹⁷ Refer Cases 2 and 83 below.

with the intervention of a mediator (refer Cases 33, 44 and 152 below), while some victims had to resign (refer Cases 85 and 86 below).

Case 1 was bullied by the manager. The bullying stopped after she confronted him, although he did deny his behaviour initially: “So I challenged him but he denied it categorically.” In this case, the bullying behaviour de-escalated because of various reasons: First, the duration where she was bullied was quite short (3 weeks). It is argued that she confronted the perpetrator in the early stages of the behaviour and therefore, it did not have the opportunity to develop into escalated dispute-related bullying. Second, it is argued that the perpetrator is a fair and committed person as a manager otherwise (especially with regards to matters concerning equal opportunities). According to the victim, “Well, if he heard any inappropriate comments about somebody’s race or culture or sexuality or whatever, he will immediately jump up on that and say that it is not right.”

Other active strategies such as bargaining and compromising were effective when both parties were willing to discuss. For instance, in Case 2 the bullying behaviour de-escalated (after 6 months) because: First, the victim was the superior (bullied by the subordinate), which makes it easier on the part of the victim to ‘demand’ attention from the perpetrator. Second, it was reported that the victim introduced a new style of management by providing alternatives and opportunities to discuss with the perpetrators, hence the method of bargaining or compromising was utilised (see below).

Case 2:

It was quite difficult to manage, because I offered lots of alternatives. I didn't just take their accommodation away from them, or I have offered them similar accommodation, different accommodation...I'm, I was doing the job I was paid to do, with consultation, with offering, with apologies, smiling, feeling touchy, friendly like when I'm with you now...I put into in place things like one-to-one, and I encouraged output feedback, I asked people on a regular basis to tell me how I can do things better, have I done anything to upset you...

Of the three interviewees who used competitive strategies (Cases 83 and 44, 152), only Case 83 showed signs of de-escalation (see below). Case 83 said that since two of them were bullied (dispute-related), they decided to confront all the MCs. The situation de-escalated because all the MCs (perpetrators) resigned:

“Oh, absolutely controlling. They were terrible. Dreadful. And we ended up having a really big meeting, with them all...They all resigned (laughs).”

Nonetheless, in most of the cases active strategies seem to be less effective in curbing bullying. According to Cases 33, 44 and 152 (refer below) bullying only stopped when the authorities intervened, while Cases 85 and 86 had to resign (refer below).

Whenever Case 33 tried to confront the perpetrator, she experienced retaliation. The conflict declined only when Case 33 sought a meeting whereby an intermediary was present as a facilitator (see below):

What I did do was I sought a meeting between the said person and another director. The other director sit in as an intermediary as a facilitator. I called the meeting, I arranged the meeting and I arranged the venue and this superior who was abusive agreed to come along which I was a bit surprised at but I was glad and again I was sort of shaken inside but I was determined not to let them see in this meeting. I went there and I'd written a list of dates, things that have been said everything down...The meeting lasted an hour and half or more but I went through all these things but initially she wasn't prepared to listen, she was talking me down in giving her excuses to why and what I did was, I sat back let her talk herself out and then went in and pointed out every thing over the dates. Now none of that could be disputed...And she was so apologetic and I think she'd regret what she'd done.

Case 44 said that she challenged (competitive strategy) the perpetrator (one of the management committee) openly and as a result had a big argument. However, things de-escalated only when a new vice chairman took over and became the mediator and when the union was involved:

I don't know, I really don't know. It was all, we used to have one particular committee member, I mean one day we had an argument at the stairwell and it was totally unprofessional of me, I, I, I was so upset at my own behaviour because she accused me on the stairs and ripped me apart and other members of staff's doors were open. And she actually said to me, 'You will do as I say' and I said, 'No I won't', and I said, 'I will do collectively what I'm told to do by the committee but I will not do what one person wants' and she raised her voice and I actually said to her, 'Stop shouting at me'. And I was, I've got tears in my eyes and I actually said

‘You do not have the right to treat me like this. And I will not accept it’. And she said, ‘You will do as you are told’ and I said, ‘No I won’t. You’re wrong. What you’re asking me to do is wrong and I’m not going to do it. So, sack me if you must’. And she went storming out of the building and everybody knew...And from then on, it was just a battlefield and it went on for over 12 months and in the end, I mean, it was resolved because we elected vice chairman from another voluntary organization who could actually see what was happening, stepped in and actually, with another member of the management committee using the role of a counsellor here, they meet with her and they actually and tried very, very hard to act as a go-between. And it came to a stand up round where it was either her or me. And it went to a vote on the management board and the only reason I kept my job was because I had actually involved a union. And I mean it got so bad, and I actually said ‘If you dismissed me, I will take you, I will have you for harassment, I will have you for bullying. No matter what it costs I will have you’, and she, the management committee went to a vote and they only voted to maintain the manager because they couldn’t afford the adverse publicity.

Case 152 experienced racism which turned into dispute-related bullying. He constantly tried to challenge the perpetrators, one example was:

...and she came back the next morning and it’s my supervision and she would give me this long list about this, this, this. And well, when we started this, this, and this happened, now we got this, this, and this in place. So, it’s about time you get your act together. So, I said I refuse to accept that and that and that and that and because of that you’re gonna extend my probationary period. I refuse to accept those as reasons to extend my probationary period. And you can tell your partner,

and I'm not gonna call her by name, that's what I said to her, you can tell your partner that when she wants to arrange debriefing meetings at somebody's house in Hinckley, she's going by herself (*Note, that the bullies' partner who works in the same organisation, was actively contributing to the bullying process as well*). She went last night by herself, she can go again by herself. I don't live in Hinckley I don't drive a car. I'm not going to Hinckley to debrief for half an hour to come back to Leicester. I'm not doing it. We work in this organization. This is the base. The training took place here, we debrief here. The training took place here at er city rooms, we debrief at city rooms before we leave. Or we debrief at the office the next morning. I'm not going to anybody's house. Well, that's where we do most of our debriefing and healing work. So, that's your problem, not mine. This went on, and her behaviour got worse.”...

It only de-escalated when he decided to bring his case to the tribunal and eventually he left the organisation:

I had a bad cough. And I was coughing really badly one day. And I developed a hernia. It was very difficult to sit and stand, cause it was a groin hernia. So, sitting down was squashing it and every time I coughed, it would puff out, I went to my doctor. My doctor took one look at it and said I'm booking you in now for an operation and he phoned the General and they said they said I said I can only do it six weeks later. So, he says What do you do, I told him that most of it involves sitting down. Even if I'm doing training, it involves sitting down cause it involves small groups and only a bit of standing which is difficult standing and moving around especially with the cough. So, I'm signed for six weeks. I sent a sick note in. She phoned me the next morning and said why's the doctor signed me for six

weeks. Then, I'm not the general practitioner so you better ask him. And I started getting nasty letters, this was er 10th of October 2000. ah, when are you coming back to work? This needs doing, that needs doing, we need to sign up at least 50 more volunteers before the end of this month and I was pissed, and then I thought I had enough of this. So, I came in here (Racial Equal Opportunity Council) and saw a few people and they took the case on. And they wrote her and said any more correspondence goes through them or not the complainants xx dealing the case on their behalf . And I was still getting nasty letters. And then she stopped paying me. Er, and then she said I owed them 253 pounds for something, I don't know where that figure came from, I don't know what it's for, still don't understand what it was for and I brought that letter straight in and they replied to it and so on and so on. Then, the case went, it didn't go to tribunal because they settled before it went there..."

However, as a last resort some victims end-up leaving the organisation as they do not see any other alternative. Excerpts from Cases 85 and 86 are quoted below.

Case 85 confronted the perpetrator but the dispute worsened. It only de-escalated when she resigned:

Well, yeah, I argued with him... Well, not that it got me anywhere... It just made me very angry. It really upset me, really, I was very upset... Well, we just had this so much, I just couldn't argue with him any more, and like I said and then he just cut me off after that, so, in some ways it helped because it got him off my back to some extent but what didn't help was that he then I suppose I think back now, two other people and told them that it was my fault.

Meanwhile, Case 86 is leaving in order to de-escalate the situation. According to the victim, the bullying has been going on for 80 weeks. He thinks that he is not assertive enough and that the management went into a defensive position whenever he confronted them:

It wasn't grievance procedure. It was a formal complaint and with that, response from that, they'll get back to me, 'I don't know what you mean' uhm, but that was just a total defensive position they were into, which I can only, they said things like I was earlier saying about embarrassment because they've been embarrassed, all they can do is defend themselves. Everything I say I'm only gonna get a response, which is a true or understanding response which will be from a defensive position, What do you mean, tell us exactly what you mean, give us dates, times, you know, that sort of position they're getting into. So, that, that's as far as I went with that, by that time I've got a job interview, yeah. So, I was thinking hey you know, I'm not gonna push this because I need time and space to do what I want to do or I'm not going to function, so, yeah.

Target Exposure

This section reports on the types of negative working conditions that the voluntary sector workforce is often exposed to and the role played by these negative conditions in the occurrence of bullying. It is thematically divided into workload, lack of work control and the relationship with funding agencies.

Workload

Interviewees perceive workload as an unpleasant but intrinsic, almost unavoidable aspect of the organisational culture/characteristic and hence was something to be endured as part of the job description (refer to cases 85, 1 and 3 below).

Case 85:

“I’m not sure it is bullying. Uhm, I think it’s more lack of resources. There’s not enough money to employ more staff to do the work...I just think it’s the nature of the voluntary sector.”

Case 1 said that “It is part of the job description...It feels that it’s there all the time...Bullying and harassment is to single somebody out isn’t it? I don’t think I am singled out in any way (referring to workload).” Nonetheless Case 1 said that her workload had increased so much that she no longer feels that she is in control of anything (she cannot keep track of her clients).

Case 3 gave a similar explanation:

If we are talking about voluntary services, it would be lack of resources and I think because there is lack of resources, there is not enough funding sometimes to have extra workers, you’re expected to do far too much...there is far too much to be doing within your job description and so you just put an extra pressure on the work that you do.

Additionally, Case 3 mentioned that people get used to the workload and accept it as part of their job, only to realise that the long term effect can be detrimental: “When you are more used to it, you’d be more extra accepting it. However, long term, it has more of an impact because then you start taking days off because you’re sick and stressed.” This interviewee also indicated that one does not want to be seen as a person who can’t cope with their job, especially so when one is new at the position.

Lack of Work Control

Many interviewees (Cases 44, 86, 11 and 47) indicated that their work practice was questioned everyday in front of the staff and that their decisions were undermined (Refer to Cases 44 and 86 below).

Case 44:

...my working practice was questioned everyday in front of the member of staff...These two members (MC), they came in every day, they had control over all of my job description. So, if it was around finance or around services or around staffing matters, they had an input and everything that I did was seen as being negative... In my role as a manager, it would be my responsibility within my job description to carry out that review. I was never left to do it. It was ‘This is what we want you to. This is the out come of the review...This is what is going to happen and you are going to do it.’

Case 86 mentioned feeling “stepped on and squashed” when proposing projects for further development of the organisation.

Case 86:

I was to present a proposal for a project, things that I could do to develop and to accommodate needs, and with that it was a clear ‘No, we don’t need to do this’, when actually we were suppose to do it ‘cause it was something useful... Yeah and I was being stepped on and squashed.

In addition, interviewees (Cases 3, 11 and 35) indicated experiencing role conflict (perception of contradictory expectations, demands or values in one’s job) and role ambiguity (perception of job situation as predictable and clarified).⁹⁸

Case 3:

...when I first came to this place I was, part of my job description was not to manage staff...And that was not my role. I wasn’t, I suppose fully happy at that stage ‘cause it wasn’t part of my job description, and I didn’t come into this job to manage staff...Yeah, because I was managing yeah, and obviously I have not got the full training behind it but I’ve never managed staff...Yeah, it wasn’t informed, yeah. Sometimes, it was like felt I could make some decisions, but then I could make other decisions, so it wasn’t never really clear about my role and it was, yeah, in a formal way. So, it’s only when the new manager came in place, and things obviously change from there, uhm and now, you know. Obviously, we go, we do go on, from that on, ‘cause that person dealt with it head on.

⁹⁸ Einarsen, Raknes, and Matthiesen (1994, pp. 389-390).

Case 11:

She didn't let us go, she didn't tell us about area, youth work meeting, she didn't tell us about funding opportunities, she just wasn't there giving us accurate information... Well, she didn't have the get up and go about her to give us the accurate information or the information that we should be keying in to. As a manager of our project and supervisor, she didn't give us the appropriate information for the project to grow, so the project grew very little in the first 18 months.

Case 35:

But I refused to simply follow her instructions and take, uhm her instructions were exactly the opposite from what her male counterpart had given me and he had the responsibility for this project. So, I was stuck by what he told me. I simply said 'I'm sorry' but what I've been told is I must this, and I must that. And I can't do what you're telling me. He's running the project. You have to speak to him if you want to change it. Well, I wouldn't play ball and do just what she wanted. I think I've been, was in the enemy camp.

Funding Agencies. One of the important sources of lack of work control is the funding agency. In general, interviewees in this research seem to agree that accountability measures are beneficial (Refer case 50 and 49).

Case 50:

“I don’t have a problem with accountability. You know in fact it’s a good thing for taxpayers, it’s a good thing for people who are in charge, and it’s a good thing for clients.”

Case 49:

“You know I fully understand why. You know I’m a taxpayer, and I want to know where my money is going, and I feel that if I as an employee of a voluntary organisation received public money, I should be accountable for that.”

Nonetheless, the process of accountability was perceived as an unpleasant experience.

Case 50:

I’ve always said that is responsible for driving out people from the voluntary sector. There’s an irrationality of behaviour of funders you know. There’re lots of people in the voluntary sector that are prepared to accept long hours, low wages, stressful work...it’s a high stressed environment...the irrationality that you notice from time to time of funding bodies is beyond your control...And that really just drives people away.

Another interviewee spoke at length about the stress involved with meeting the requirements (accountability structures) of the funding organisation (refer to Case 5 below) and in addition, in most cases a single voluntary organisation has to satisfy the requirements of more than one funder (Case 7):

Case 5:

Sometimes we have felt that we've been put into so much pressure by their deadlines and the lack of flexibility from their own, and also the thing that if you don't do it, you just won't get the money. So instead of holding a big hammer over your head, it's like 'you will donate some time otherwise we will not send you the cheque and then what will you do?' And that to me feels like bullying.

Case 7:

...there's an awful lot of pressure in this line of work, constantly seeking sources of funding, so you can end up in a situation where we are at the moment we have money from Leicester's council, we have money for national lottery, we have money for two projects we are doing for the communities in the area, we have SRB money and you're looking at five parts of money and five monetary requirements and five contracts that you're working to...

Some feel that the government and other funders are not requesting the real information that is needed to gauge their effectiveness. Case 2 claimed that he was bullied by the funding agency into reversing (back tracking) his decisions which had nothing to do with them and that they had dictated to him how he should manage his own staff. Additionally, Cases 50, 49, 3 and 7 felt that they were put under unreasonable demands without given a fair say (see below).

Case 50:

It ranges from things where you got people trying to unreasonably change the work you do without understanding what it is...They're just dreaming up things to ask

before they'll give it the okay, and you know people will just be unreasonably awful about it...

Case 49:

Basically, because you get the money from them, yeap, they call the tune... and so there are times when they make what seemed to me quite unreasonable demands of people, that they want things that they never wanted in the past... So, you have it. If you know that you're looking for certain things, say, at the start of the financial year, then you collect evidence in order to show the things that they wanted to be seen. So, if for example, they want to know how many women come through the door... If you know in advance, then oh well, We've got to count all the women, so, we'll do it. We'll get on with it. But when they say that's another point retrospectively, then, how can you do that?... They put pressure on you to do things in unreasonable time scales and gather unreasonable, well produce unreasonable information... you know, you don't say no because of potential repercussions. The sort of veiled threat if you like.

Case 3:

...er, I think funding has been initially because partnership agency have put us a small amount of money into the organisation, I think they feel therefore they have the authority to make decisions and overrule decisions that are made within this management structure here. And so I think that also influences their way of thinking about what decisions they should be making to the organisation...

Case 7 also talks about unnecessary pressure from funders:

...and we've had stupid amounts of pressure on us uhm, from uhm, particularly one or two of the directors asking constantly for full evaluation reports...Uhm, asking us for further information all the time outside of the contract. We supplied the information that we're contracted to do you know, we carry out our own evaluations here but uhm, yeah, the workload that comes with that is phenomenal... Yeah, I think that's really an interesting point, because it has been one of the things about monitoring, that sort of say you know we were approved for funding on the basis of the teenage pregnancy project and there's no doubt there's a high teenage pregnancy rate in the area. And we were set in the project to work with that and people were constantly coming back wanting er, where's your baseline date, where's the, it's like well, we didn't have a baseline date you have it we wait for the money to work with that. And er every single project we've gone the way, we had to jump through many, many hoops to get funding, we've been called back in and there were some major issues about the fact that our second year two funding wasn't taken to their board when it should've been, they nearly bankrupted our project because we'd actually been six months into our financial year...

Not only that, sometimes after being put under pressure to evaluate work, the funding is withdrawn without any valid reason (unreasonably) as indicated by Case 50.

Case 50:

It doesn't explain some decisions, uhm it diminishes them in their work, by withdrawing funding that we need...They will evaluate work, they'll employ you to spend lots of time producing evaluation of your work...and funding's instantly been withdrawn...

These negative behaviours, although not physical in nature, have resulted in psychological trauma as indicated by Case 49.

Case 49:

No, in asking, they're terribly polite. Terribly professional, that you know full well the effect is that they don't use bad language or violence or anything like that but the psychological effects on you as a recipient they're just the same. You know, they've got control over you.

Some interviewees such as Cases 7, 5 and 50 consider such behaviours by funders as bullying (refer Cases 7 and 50 below).

Case 7:

“Uhm, it's really interesting cause I wouldn't have thought about it previously, but I do think in terms of one person not liking our organisation and making life difficult for us. Yes, I would think it would amount to bullying.”

Case 50:

“...And I think organisation to organisation, there is clear bullying that takes place here...”

In order to curb such problems Cases 5 and 49 (refer below) suggest that there should be mutual understanding between these two parties (the funding agencies and the voluntary organisation) in relation to the way voluntary organisations function and the pressures that they have withstand. In addition, Case 2 emphasised that the funding agencies should start trusting the voluntary organisations (refer below).

Case 5:

I think with the funders, we've tried to make sure that their management committee and their management staff are aware of the pressures that investment is putting on the voluntary sector. Now, when you think now you've got an extra 80,000 a year, how can it makes life harder? But it does actually make it harder because the basis that you're working with particularly the admin basis, doesn't grow, and so if you take more money on, all you need to do more work for the money and I think really that's why the stress levels arise and particularly when that isn't being understood by the organisation that's funding and there isn't a lot enough leeway.

Case 2:

There was no trust. This voluntary organisation wasn't respected by a large statutory organisation. I strongly have a view that they do not respect that we have the right processes in place, I had to tell them that I do one-to-ones with my people, that we do have equal opportunities policy, that we do have an escalation policies,

we do have a complaint procedure, I really believe that they thought that we didn't. I think that would be a common view, for that side industry, big statutory government organisation, that small setups like this don't have proper procedures and don't have proper management, tools, techniques...

Case 49:

"There is professional distance. I think the funders need to have a better understanding of the organisations they're dealing with...if we've met the criteria for funding then they need to trust us to get on and deliver."

Social Guardianship

The following section accommodates information about the perpetrator status and the overall leadership climate of the voluntary sector. The later offers information on the voluntary management committee, resistance towards change, insecure leadership, stressed-out leadership, and the usefulness of external consultation

Perpetrator Status

Of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied, 12 said that the perpetrator(s) were the authority/superior (supervisor, line manager, manager, chairman, management committee). On the other hand, of the four respondents who reported that they were not bullied, only one of them said the perpetrator was the authority.

In addition, interviews with the victims of bullying (who experienced negative behaviours from their superiors) indicated that their superiors often adopt an abusive style of management—ranging from 'asked to lie in reports', 'ignored when it's time

for supervision', 'accused based on rumours', 'threatened termination if did not adhere', 'humiliated and blamed in front of others', 'not allowed to participate in training' 'being ignored for consultation' and 'shouted at'.

Constructive Leadership Climate

Moreover, the majority of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied complained that they experienced an overall lack of constructive leadership. In particular, out of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied, seven (Cases 152, 85, 7, 44, 79, 33 and 3) of them emphasised explicitly that they were in an environment where the management did not provide the support that they needed (these were the interviewees who sought help from superiors who were not involved in the bullying). Excerpts from cases 152, 85 and 79 are quoted below.

Case 152:

...I reported it to the trustees. I sent them a letter. The chair of the trustees contacted her (the perpetrator), which is his due and told her about this letter that he received and its grievance. She told them (to the trustees) that they're only there to do what she tells them. She is the director. They will not discuss it amongst themselves, until she has spoken to them individually. And she found out the other trustees and told them that.

Case 85:

"When I phoned-up our national office and asked them for help, maybe then if they'd been uhm positive towards me, maybe I'd have gone forward and done it (taken up a grievance procedure)."

Case 79:

“...they just purely wanted to avoid the issue...and they were making themselves unavailable and they were ignoring my problem.”

In addition, three of the 15 bullied interviewees mentioned that the bullying only stopped when their supervisor or manager (authority) took up the matter and provided support (Case 49), or when a new management that provided a better and supportive environment took over (refer Cases 3 and 44).

Case 3:

“Initially, nothing, and it just continued really...I think it’s only when the new manager came to place that it was fully looked at.”

Case 44:

...it was resolved because we elected a vice chairman from another voluntary organisation who could actually see what was happening, stepped in and actually with another member of the management committee using the role of a counsellor here, they met with her and tried very, very hard to act as a go-between.

Voluntary Management Committee. In general, results from the interviews indicated that the MC (management committee) in voluntary organisations is a source of various problems. In many instances they are the perpetrators of bullying (six out of 12 interviewees who were bullied by their superiors indicated that the mentioned

superior was actually the MC)⁹⁹, or/and they are often viewed as non-supportive by the interviewees (twelve out of 22 interviewees explicitly mentioned about the unsupportive working environment created by the MCs)¹⁰⁰.

The MC members who are not supportive are often described as weak, avoiding responsibility and uncommitted (refer Cases 2, 86, 85 and 7):

Case 2:

But we have a weak management committee...That's the reality. If I take it (complaint) to the Chair, he will hand it straight back to me again saying that's what we pay you to do. It doesn't feel very good from the staff point.

Case 86:

I think one other thing is that they do what they feel to be best and actually they do what they need for themselves, which quite often is to do nothing or to do as little as possible but by doing as little as possible or by doing nothing, that actually hinders me, from something that I need to do.

Another victim, Case 85, felt that the MC "didn't do anything but create work and cause problems...They weren't supportive, they didn't take any of the work off you. They just gave me the work, here, I mean the management committee, if it's functioning, should do some of the work themselves, but they didn't."

⁹⁹ Cases 85, 83, 44, 79, 33 and 86.

¹⁰⁰ Cases 152, 85, 83, 2, 7, 44, 79, 33, 5, 22, 84 and 86.

Case 7 mentioned a similar experience:

Well, we recently had a disciplinary with a member of staff who I think could have constituted gross misconduct if they had wish to see it that way, and we started the disciplinary procedure against the member of staff. And because there's a long history between this member of staff and the board of directors, and I don't feel they have the confidence enough to actually, uhm, take proper action. A lot of that was left for me to do and it wasn't particularly my responsibility. But it was left to me, and I had to go away and do a lot of the legal research cause the last thing they want to end up with is an industrial tribunal, uhm, and they weren't in that position to be able to take on that responsibility.

In addition, Cases 85, 83, 5, 44 and 2 said that the MC members do not necessarily have the skills, knowledge and experience to manage voluntary organisations.

Case 85:

“...they didn't really know what they were talking about.”

Case 83 mentioned the importance of knowledgeable MCs:

Why are they there? I don't, some people get there by accident. Some because they want to, they get there by design, some people because they want to xxx but they you know if you think about any business really, whether it's large or small, when you're employing people, you have to have knowledge of employment law, and an understanding of health and safety; who understand about equal opportunities, about you know, complaints and grievance procedures and

disciplinary procedures and about bullying and harassment, and how actually to you know to manage people essentially.

And when Case 83 was asked if he/she thinks if the MC is equipped with such skills:

“No, and I don’t think a lot of them are. I’ve never actually I can’t honestly say I’ve come across, I don’t think I’ve come across any, and, I know you may get one or two people who are in it but not many, it’s very rare.”

Similarly Case 5 mentions the inconvenience caused by unskilled MCs:

“So, if the people on the management committee don’t have the level of experience that you have in community work, it’s very difficult for them to supervise you, in a professional way.”

Case 44 noted that upon realising the problem his/her the voluntary organisation is making the effort to appoint skilled MCs:

“So what I’m hoping that we get from the consultation in terms of management committee is that we actually recruit people who are skilled to the role and not just people to make up numbers on the management committee.”

Often MCs do not only abandon their responsibilities but there are those who go towards the other extreme and resort to over-managing or over-controlling their subordinates as cited by Cases 7 and 44 (refer below).

Case 7 explained how the sudden possession of power is often a temptation for misuse:

Majority local residents around here haven't worked previously, have never taken on positions of responsibility outside the families, uhm could be, feel very disempowered, and we put a bit of position of power and we give them training and people suddenly, often find out that they realise that they are bosses and that they do have the power to make decisions above and beyond what the staff make, and they have responsibilities toward the organisation and legal responsibilities and stuff like that as well. Uhm sometimes, sometimes, I think it goes to people's heads a little bit and yeah... they come in and they realise and go 'Oh I can sack you if I want to', and stuff like that...

While, Case 44 was over managed by the MC:

But at the time, they were a very much a hands-on management committee. These two members, they came in every single day, they had control over all of my job description. So, if it was around finance or around services or around staffing matters, they had an input and everything that I did was seen as being negative. So, if I for instance would, I mean the perfect example would be that we would have reviews, service reviews, so it would be a particular service within the organisation would be under review. In my role as manager, it would be my responsibility within my job description to carry out that review. I was never left to do it. It was, 'This is what we want you to'. 'This is the outcome of the review' before we had even gone through the consultation. 'This is what is going to happen and you are going to do it'. And I would say, 'Well actually, that's not

what review's about and consultation's about. I'm not prepared to do that'. But my role as manager was continually undermined.

Case 44 (also indicated that one particular MC controlled the other MCs so that the others became weak and followed her will):

When this particular member of the management committee was elected to the management committee, they were a patient, they came in as a patient and they were put in a position, into the position of an executive committee. Because of their previous employment, they have actually believe it or not been in the police force. And they were very, very controlling, and they had their perception of the management committee should be and it was very much their perception was if you're a member of a management committee, you have to be hands-on. And they put themselves in mentoring the manager.

Resisting Change of New Management Style. Cases 2, 86 and 83 reported that supervisors and subordinates have developed resistance towards new management styles (Refer to Cases 2 and 86 below).

Case 2 was bullied for introducing a new management style. He is from the private sector (BT-British Telecom). He himself was supposed to replace the current manager who has been there for 15 years. He felt bullied by this current manager and the subordinates when he tried introducing changes:

Case 2:

“I introduced the staff whereabouts board behind you, it’s just like it was a recognised way of working in BT, so keep a check on who’s in and who’s out. And everybody could see it. Again she (the manager that he was supposed to replace) threw it out...”

In addition, case 2 wanted to create space in the office by making use of the large space more economically. He wanted the office to be more assessable for the community. So he has to move around his workers and re-shuffle them:

Part of bringing the people into the community centre meant displacing staff. That was happening here already. It was my decision that the pace of that should happen and whatsoever. Of course the existing staff that were displaced were very displeased with me. That was a difficult one to make. They felt that I was steamrolling them, I think, but I wasn’t. I was just doing the job I was paid to do, in my view.

Case 86 talked about resisting change on the part of the management committee:

I think some of it was about change, some of it about change and it’s difficult because the organisation before I started, they ran on 1500 pounds a year, that’s how much they had, and that’s paid funding yeah, and they got money from ... like 40,000 and that’s a big chunk, they never learned how to manage that, they never actually understood what the responsibilities would be that came along with that, the accountability, so in some ways I think, they revelled in and really hold it for the state having a successful project, and in order to get money and stuff like that. And I would record, the time I do a lot of work and at the same time, what they

were resenting the fact that was because the project seemed to be successful and because I worked hard, they had to work, yeah, if they don't work, then it isn't a success, they've sort of stuck in between wanting to have all the prestige but not wanting to do the work for it. And when that realisation becomes, begins to come, they become aware of that, then they sort of face a difficult position of "do I stay with this or do I leave" and it's taking, they then having to wrestle with leaving and the prestige behind leaving, and a sense of who they are and how they bought themselves out of here, so I think it got really complicated in terms of how and why people or things begin to influence and not gone to each other and it would be difficult to keep confidence up and about where, do you see what I mean?...so they (MC) didn't know how to make decisions, uhm and that presented more difficulties because then it was a case of me realised that they weren't making decisions and trying to encourage them to have developed decision-making skills. Uhm, which they weren't happy about...

It should be noted that some (Cases 44 and 49) mentioned that the changes that the managers bring from outside are not necessarily suitable in this sector (refer case 49 below).

Case 49:

...you could well find that you've got people running them, who see the government officers that they're deal with and the commercial sectors they've got the experience as the role model how to run the organization you know and bring with them all the bad practices that they observe, perceive or whatever of those sectors into the voluntary sector you know. If it's good enough for ICI well it's

good enough for any little voluntary organization. And I think it's rarely also, because it's small and most of the time the organization is small you can get power crazed individuals within it. You know, just because we're small then you know in many respects the senior persons got "It's my empire, isn't it" you know if it's good enough for Jones Arby Jones to work like that then it's good enough for me.

Insecure Leadership/MC. Intertwined with resistance towards change is the element of insecurity.

Case 85:

I don't know, I don't know what it is. Whether it is insecurity with them, whether it's because they haven't got the knowledge, that they're frightened of the person. I don't know. I really, really don't know. I don't even know if that's what it really is. It's just my own, it's what I come to kind of, and other people knew with my situation, and knew me, thought that that was the problem, that I was too knowledgeable and they didn't like it because and because I've been there a long time I could I mean I could go to meetings, the very last meeting I went to which was the very last day that I worked with the organisation. And it was an area meeting, it was our management committee but they were coming out with things and I was trying to put, correct them I mean these are the people that have made the policies and I was there to correct them because I wasn't actually, What they said originally, when they looked back I was right and they were wrong and I think it started, they found a threat there because, because if you don't know what they said, originally, then they can get away with alternate. But if you got somebody there that, who's got, who's got that knowledge...

Similarly, Case 47 claimed that the superior of the voluntary organisation is insecure and stressed out:

As a, as a body, she's very insecure ... mmm she's been imposed for ... in my opinion, too many years with that same post. She's been in that post for twelve years which in my opinion is, is too long. She's too set in her ways, she's too mmm blinkered, do you know where I'm coming from? She's too set mmm, not open to mmm suggestions, not open to improvements. She's quite happy in her little box mmm ... because it's a comfort zone. Yes. And anybody that sorts of comes out with new ideas and wanting to move the organisation and wanting to progress I feel that she probably feels threatened by that, she feels threatened by somebody who has probably got the motivation, self-motivation to move on as well.

Stressed-Out Leadership/MC. Some interviewees included the element of stress as one of the reasons why the superiors are inefficient (refer Cases 83 and 33 below).

Case 83:

...and our stress was, er, you know, it was a combination of the two. But, it's no excuse. I'm not saying it's an excuse. I'm just saying it's part of the reason, er you know... sometimes that they realise they've taken more than they can... Yeah, and so they, I think they get angry and I think sometimes resentment comes in, and I mean my management committee turn around and say 'You're paid to do it' Yeah, but you said you would, make the decisions and it's really difficult. It's really difficult. So, I think that's what you do. And that's what frightened me most. It's them. It's like a loose cannon.

Case 33:

I think she was under a lot of stress, I think she was under a lot of stress in her position in the management committee, I think she's probably worried about retaining funding and I think just as much I'm under stress trying to identify and find funding and sort of funding was an area she attacked me on why haven't I found funding.

Use of External Consultation

The current interview results show that out of 22 interviewees, three reported that external supervision or consultant are available and useful (refer Cases 7 and 44 below).

Case 7:

I also had external supervision which is something that I brought in about two years ago because the management committee here weren't in the position to supervise its workers... I've got a lot of support from my external supervisor. She was swell. So, I feel more confident because I've actually dealt with it and I think the members of the board who were involved in that actually grew from being involved in it and realized how serious it was. Uhm and how serious the implications of any decisions they make were...Cause my external supervisor is sort of like a therapist. She's very very good in sort of saying What's really going on here, you know, what's, well, I've actually taken issues to her and she's often said to me sort of what do you think is really happening? What are the issues that, what's bringing up for you, how that might affect you, how you're working with them at the moment.

Case 44:

Because I feel that in order to progress beyond this, the organization needs some support, the management committee need some support to identify what their relationship with the staff team should be, and we've actually got... How are going to handle it? The management committee are meeting with the consultants about role and responsibilities of management committee and management committee members. The chair and I are meeting with them on our own so I think that's going to be an interesting meeting. And then the staff and management committee are meeting together with them. So, we're doing it with on three different levels.

Physical Guardianship

The succeeding section is concerned with the availability of policies in the voluntary sector. It covers themes such as the need for a specific bullying policy, the role played by the management in implementing the policy, barriers in implementing policies on the personal level, the possibility of misusing policies and the real use of policies.

The Need for a Specific Bullying Policy

The interview findings show that the current applicable policies, such as those concerning equal opportunities and grievance procedures, are not entirely adequate in preventing workplace bullying. In particular, seven out of 19 interviewees (including bullied and non-bullied interviewees) indicated that a specific policy on workplace bullying is needed (Cases 1, 2, 86, 50, 3, 47, 44).

Case 86:

...Grievance policy quite often as I see it, is about the process whereas I think that the bullying policy or approach something encompasses the stuff about preventing as well. You know something like awareness raising. Yeah, I think the bullying policy is perhaps wider somewhat in scope than grievances...Organisations that work directly with people, I think could do anti-bullying policies.

Another victim (Case 3) felt the same way, “I think bullying needs to be more well defined than equal opportunities, ‘cause equal opportunities don’t define bullying.”

In addition, according to them, an equal opportunity policy may not be specific while a bullying policy will be able cover types of behaviours not necessarily obvious and will explain the prevention methods (Case 2): “It’s more than what policies are sort of talking about, you know obvious thing that you can see. Bullying is something you don’t necessarily see.”

The Crucial Role of the Management

Nonetheless, eight out of 15 interviewees who were bullied mentioned that the presence of a policy—no matter what policy it is—might still not be adequate. Some have tried using the grievance procedure, but were not given the support by the management (85¹⁰¹ and 79¹⁰²) or did not receive the needed support because the management was influenced by the perpetrator (refer Case 44 below). Others felt that the management is too weak and not committed to implementing the grievance procedure effectively (refer cases 2, 7, 86 below), while Cases 83 (quoted below) and

¹⁰¹ As quoted earlier.

¹⁰² Refer below.

11 mentioned that it is difficult to activate a grievance procedure when the MCs themselves are the bullies.

Case 79:

“The complaint that I made wasn’t really taken forward.”

Case 44:

...when I did make a formal complaint, the people who were hearing the formal complaint, were members of the management committee on which she (the perpetrator) was a representative and she was very, very powerful and she had by this stage got the ear of the chair.

Case 2:

...we would have a standard escalation procedure. If a staff would have a complaint about me...the procedure would be to come to me and discuss it. If they don’t get satisfaction from me, they would escalate it to the management committee. But we have a weak management committee. So in reality there is no escalation procedure here.

Case 7:

I wasn’t confident in the people who would be implementing it (grievance procedure). I didn’t have any confidence in the management committee, cause at the end of the day, they’re volunteers...you meet once every quarter, you know you are from different background...you’re all busy people.

Case 86:

“It’s never been implemented, it’s never actually been said we have this policy now.”

Case 83:

...the whole thing about the grievance procedure is that you’ve put in the grievance and it would have gone to the chair of the management committee, but the grievance is about the management committee, and they’re just gonna say ‘well, that’s not actually because...,you just were’ well they would have just said that ‘we’re staff, we’re going to be above, we’re going to show that we’re really transparent’ and, that’s what they would have said. So, where do you take it, if you can’t take it to the management committee?

Personal Barriers in Implementing Policies

On a more personal level, Case 85 said that she had no more energy and confidence to fight her case:

Because I think and I think it’s probably true for most people that is such a situation. You see you haven’t got the perhaps the confidence or the energy left to use it I think by the time you get to that point, you actually ...and very little self-esteem. That all you want to do is just get away from it. I mean I was very lucky. I can see myself to be very lucky. Because I could afford to just say I resign and go and I appreciate there’s a lot of people that situation that come they’ve got to carry on working because they need the money, uhm, so in some respect I was very fortunate and my husband was very supportive, uhm, for me personally, it was just that I just wanted to, I just couldn’t fight, I just felt that I’ve been fighting for so long, I haven’t got any fight left in me. And for me to go through a grievance

procedure that means fighting, that I didn't want to do that anymore. Uhm, and I've lost I supposed.

Case 85 also noted that her loyalty towards the voluntary organisation stopped her from pursuing her case:

But the other thing that put off was my loyalty to the organisation because I didn't want to bring the organisation to, and with being a voluntary, what do you actually gain by taking them, because...yeah, but even so, I was still very loyal to the organisation. It was him, that the problem with, and it was the organisation that would've had to pay.

A similar experience was accounted by Case 35:

I think I could have helped myself more and that I could have complained to the line manager earlier. But as I say, this would have had an impact on other people who worked upon it all their lives and whom I did respect and did not want to create difficulty for them.

Cases 85 and 104 added that insecurity stops people from taking action.

Case 85:

But I think other people that can't afford to just walk away and say forget it and go, and they still got to work in there and I think a lot of people think that if they stir things up by going through the grievance procedure, then it would make things worse for them. Because they still got to work there.

Case 104:

Well, yeah, I think so, I think a lot of people are quite frightened to start something up. Cause once you start that, you can't go back can you? Especially someone like the council or things like that because it's all logged on, managers get involved, things like that. People are perhaps afraid to draw attention to themselves. They are. I think a lot of people are, I think a lot of people would rather leave. I know a guy who left the job because of it. Yeah, they withdrawn the leave. Didn't do anything about it?

The Misuse of Policies

It should be noted that out of 22 interviewees one in particular mentioned that the disciplinary procedure itself might be misunderstood as a bullying tool used by employers upon employees (refer to Case 22 below).

Case 22:

The moment we approach someone to say that you are going to be disciplined for something it's been my experience that the management is then accused of bullying straight away it's the first thing that seem to be thrown at the management which means that the management feel that what is going on here we are not even allowed to discipline our staff without being accused of bullying so it's like a tool that people are using to get at the management and I don't think in any instant that the bullying..... That the bullying has not been by the management it's more being by the staff to the management... You know they sort of ganged up on management the staff members gang up and say 'we are being harassed' but this is just a case of trying to avoid being disciplined or to lessen the effects of that disciplinary...so you

may think a person deserves to have not just a slap on the wrist but a letter of warning which you know a couple of those warning then you take a step further...but because behaviour of the staff has been so bad and they know it's been bad and they accuse of this bullying thing in order to lessen but it's quite interesting of how people do bend this bullying think about... Ya it's definitely manipulative or trying to be or just means that...

Case 22 further advised that in such cases, the management should set the priorities right:

...if you are sure that you are in right then as a management committee member if you are sure what you are doing is just then you have to continue with this regardless of the allegations and just try to concentrate in the actual incidents things that you are intending to discipline this person for and give them a chance to listen to them and give them a chance to bring their representatives with them and to look carefully of what they present and try to think clearly about what they have said and have you misconstrued of what had happened, to look at the evidence and sort of think about that there may be little haste there ...you have to think all this thing and not going to a disciplinary with a preconceived ideas that this person has done this full stop and therefore you are going to decide you mustn't go to the disciplinary with that kind of attitude—must go prepared to listen to the other persons point of view and possibly if necessary even to say 'O ya we could see what's happened here, we are sorry about this and therefore we are going to drop it' Must be prepared that this could happen not just you are right.

The Real Use of Bullying Policies

Finally, Case 49 stressed that bullying policy is not merely for show:

Uhm, well I suppose, it's a difficult one isn't it? Really, if you're having a policy then they've got to be supported within the organisation you know it's not lip service to something you know. If an organisation is going to have a bullying policy then it should be there for a reason not just to tick a box with a funding body and say oh, you've got one of those policies 'Oh yes, we got one, so just get off and take it out' you know it's a commitment isn't it? It's an approach.

Rather, Case 5 mentions that the awareness towards the policy, commitment and implementation is important:

I think it's very important that everybody in the policy affects, is aware of the policy so that it's not just written and put in the filing cabinet somewhere and forgotten about. It needs to be referred to, it needs to be referred in training, so that people have a useful understanding of it. And we need to refer to it when incidents happened that we need to deal with as a management group. Uhm so that people are aware of the policy, they know it's there, they know what it's for, how it works. And it's that procedure that you go through, such as happened, appeals, panels, uhm, going to the whole management committee, talking to other members of staff. I think yes, it's really awareness of the policy and good training so that everybody understands it...It's got to be referred to as a living document, so, it's, everybody's aware of it, it's it comes out in training year after year if needs be, and people are allowed to question it within the training environment. So that they can gain a really good understanding of it. And then that kind of underpins everything that

you do particularly for equal opportunity policy because the bottom line an equal opportunity policy is fairness and justice and I think that's how you operate, they must see the effects for the whole organisation.

The Personality Factor

Although, personality factor is not explored in RAT, the qualitative analysis documented this factor as a recurring theme in the interviews. The following section provides information about three prevailing personality types found in the interviews: dedicated, slow-paced and/or fast-paced workforce.

Dedicated/Conscientiousness

The voluntary sector workforce is generally dedicated and loyal to the cause of this sector as quoted in Case 44.

Case 44:

And I think all members of staff who have remained in post here for significant amounts of time don't stay because they get on with the management committee or they don't get on with the management committee, they stay because they can see the value of the services.

Fast-Paced

Consequently, employees do claim to be more fast-paced as described by Cases 47 and 7 below.

Case 47:

A few months but not to that same degree ... mmm ... just sort of, sort of niggling situations but, but probably ... probably I'm at fault for being hyper sensitive because I like to move things on and I know that things within the organisation don't necessarily ... mmm ... happen that way. People have set views in the organisation and they are quite happy for things just to stay as they are and I'm not (laughs).

Case 7:

Uhm, I think it was his general attitude and demeanour, er, he was, he saw himself as a bit of a tough guy and every one who worked in that sector should be sort of like really tough and should know the score and it was very sort of like in that environment, Umh, and he really didn't like sort of seeing people have sort of side weakness.

Slow-Paced

Nevertheless, some indicate that the voluntary sector also attracts individuals who are slow paced as described by Case 47.

Case 47:

I think the voluntary sector attracts a certain type of person...I think it attracts a person who is, who can be mmm on-a-go slow. They don't necessary, they are not necessarily highly motivated people because the voluntary sector as a rule is much slower... Slow paced, yeah, it's much slower paced as a ...

When questioned about the motivation of the workforce, Case 47 replied:

Well, yeah, but I, I question that. I really would question that, yeah, mmm ... I don't, I don't, I don't feel that our supervisors motivated and I think that boils down to being imposed for such a long time because you do tend to find also that people who are in the voluntary sector do stay in the voluntary sector for an awful long time... and, and they move from sort of one challenge from one organisation to another so they're always staying within the voluntary sector, so, so they want to go slow and they, they get that mind set that it is this constant pace. Well, to, to move, I feel, that to move, to charge an organisation forward you've actually got to put a business head on and you've got to have drive and determination and get it up and go and be more professional especially now that the funding, you know, is so much tighter and you can't, there's not so many funds to, to actually acquire. I think you've got to be a different type of person at the moment in the fund raising organisations. That the people that are in there now have been in there for such a long time that they are sort of set in their ways. Yeah, and it does attract that ...

The above three factors (dedicated, fast-past and slow-paced), although seem mutually exclusive, they are actually related to the trait conscientiousness and to the high prevalence of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The present chapter discusses the details of the results reported in Chapters 4 and 5. It is divided into six parts. First, the chapter determines the incidence of bullying in the voluntary sector, compares the results from this research to findings of what is available from previously conducted studies and most importantly, reveals the extent to which workplace bullying poses a significant problem within the voluntary sector. Second, the practical implications of the above findings towards the voluntary sector are examined. Third, the ‘target suitability’ (employment status, workload, confrontation) and ‘lack of capable guardianship’ (perpetrator status, constructive leadership climate, availability of policy) components of RAT are examined, in explaining bullying phenomena in the voluntary sector. Additionally, the results from the bivariate analysis, logistic regression, and interviews are discussed to explore the similarities and contradictions, and to explore other factors that are most likely to be related to bullying in the voluntary organisations, specifically taking into account the voluntary organisations’ distinguishing nature and the changes that they have gone through over the years. Fourth, the practical implications of the above findings towards the voluntary sector are examined. Fifth, the theoretical implications of the study are investigated. Here, the extent of the applicability of RAT in explaining workplace bullying and the possibility of further expanding RAT are considered. Finally, the methodological implications and limitations of the study are identified and suggestions are made to improve future research.

Part 1: Nature and Extent

As part of the first purpose, this study answers questions regarding: the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector; the forms of negative behaviours experienced in voluntary organisations; the forms of negative behaviours particularly associated with workplace bullying; the perception of the voluntary sectors' workforce regarding the nature of workplace bullying; the effects of bullying upon the individual victim and organisation; and the role of witnesses in the bullying scenario.

Prevalence of Bullying in the Voluntary Sector

Previously in the literature review, it was argued that the initial reports from the TUC (2000),¹⁰³ the MSF (Ball, 1996),¹⁰⁴ the UK National Workplace Bullying Advice Line (Field, 2001) and the Guardian (Walker, 1998) were inadequate. As a result, the current research provides elaborate quantitative and qualitative data (from the victims in specific and the work force in general) regarding the extent of the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector.

The majority of the voluntary organisations investigated in this study reported incidents of bullying (Twelve out of 15 organisations). However, examining the incidence level of workplace bullying and comparing it to international or national studies is complicated due to two reasons: first, there is a lack of research on workplace bullying in the voluntary sector¹⁰⁵; second, because the phenomenon has been measured in a number of different ways over different periods of time, there are

¹⁰³ Forty five percent of their safety representatives reported that bullying, as a cause of stress, is a particular problem in the voluntary sector (TUC, 2000, 'Stress at Work' section).

¹⁰⁴ Sixty three percent of their representatives reported dealing with complaints of bullying in the past 12 months (Ball, 1996, p. 12).

¹⁰⁵ Ironically, this is one of the very reasons for conducting the research.

methodological differences that make comparing difficult. For instance, as detailed below in Table 19, some past studies have measured the number of negative acts reported via the NAQ, while others have asked respondents to self-identify as a bully target (though in many cases they have used both). Furthermore, they also use various durations of time. This study asked respondents about their experience in the last 12 months and five years, while in general, most studies ask about the last 6 months. Regardless of the approach, enough data exists for an interesting comparison. The current research can be compared with two other studies which included some findings on the prevalence of bullying specifically in the voluntary sector, that is, a large-scale study conducted by Hoel and Cooper (2000b) comparing various organisations in the UK and a study conducted on non-profit organisations in Sweden by Leymann (1992 as cited in Zapf et al., 2003, p. 108).

In this study, 28.1% respondents reported (self-labelled) being bullied in the past 5 years (refer Table 19). This is a high figure considering more than half (57%) of the respondents in the present study have only been in the organisation for 2 years or less. This is comparable (if not slightly higher) with Hoel and Cooper's (2000b) findings at the national level where 26.7 % of the respondents from voluntary organisations reported (self-labelled) being bullied in the past 5 years (p. 13). What is more, a thorough comparison of the present findings with Hoel and Cooper's (2000b, p. 13) findings revealed that the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector is actually much higher than the fire service, hotel industry, higher education, retailing and manufacturing sectors, while it is almost parallel to the police service and the post/telecommunications –the sectors usually acknowledged to have high prevalence rates. Additionally, the prevalence of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector was

slightly higher than in the civil service, NHS trusts, and banking sectors. Other less comparable but useful studies in the UK show similar findings. A study conducted/commissioned by UNISON (Rayner, 1998, pp. 1-2)¹⁰⁶ among the public sector union members, and by Quine (1999, pp. 229-230)¹⁰⁷ on the National Health Service. UNISON (Rayner, 1998, pp. 1-2) revealed that 14% of public sector union members reported being bullied in the past six months. Results from the present study (where 15% reported being bullied in the past one year) indicated that the voluntary sector workforce experiences almost similar levels of workplace bullying as the public sector workforce. Moreover, Quine (1999, pp. 229-230) reported that 38% of the National Health Service staff had experienced at least one bullying behaviour persistently within the last 12 months. Compared with the present study (48%),¹⁰⁸ there is an indication that the voluntary sector workforce is likely to experience more bullying behaviours than the NHS employees.

At the international level, a study conducted by Leymann (1992 as cited in Zapf et al., 2003, p. 108) on bullying in non-profit organisations indicated a 26% prevalence rate (21.6% handicapped employees and 4.4% non-handicapped employees). Where comparable, findings from the current study (24.7%-one negative act weekly in the last one-year) showed that the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector in the UK is almost as high as the prevalence rate in Sweden's voluntary sector. Other comparable results show that the prevalence rate of 15.2% (self-identified report) in the last one year from the present study is considerably higher than the bullying experienced by Finnish professionals (Salin, 2001, pp. 431-432) and US workers

¹⁰⁶ Self-labelled/identified as victims of bullying based on a specific definition in the past six months.

¹⁰⁷ At least one negative act experienced less frequently than weekly in the past one year.

¹⁰⁸ Eighty seven out of 178 voluntary sector respondents have experienced two or more negative behaviors occasionally (less frequently than weekly) in the past one year.

(Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2004, p. 20). Furthermore, the prevalence rate of 24.7% (of one negative act at least weekly) in the past one year is almost parallel to the prevalence rate among hospital employees in Austria (Niedl, 1995 as cited in Zapf et al., 2003, p. 105), and higher than the prevalence rate among manufacturing company employees in Denmark (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001).

Overall, although the prevalence rate of bullying in the voluntary sector in the UK has not increased dramatically, the results indicate that the problem is not decreasing either (when compared to Hoel and Cooper's (2000b) and Leymann's (1992) study). Moreover, the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector in the UK is higher than some major sectors in the UK (fire service, hotel industry, higher education, retailing, manufacturing, civil service, NHS trusts, and banking sectors), and internationally (Finnish professionals, US workers, hospital employees in Austria and manufacturing employees in Denmark).

(Table 19 on following page)

Table 19: Exposure to workplace bullying

	<i>Self-identified last 6 months (%)</i>	<i>Self-identified last 1 year (%)</i>	<i>Self-identified last 5 years (%)</i>	<i>1 neg/act weekly-NAQ last 1 year (%)</i>	<i>Witnessed bullying past 5 years (%)</i>
Current study (2003/2004)		15.2	28.1	24.7 (at least weekly) 48 (less frequent than weekly)	40.4
Hoel and Cooper (2000b)	10.6				46.5
All sectors			24.7		
Teaching			35.9		
Prison			32.1		
Police service			29.2		
Post/Telecom			27.9		
Voluntary			26.7		
Civil service			25.7		
NHS Trusts			25.2		
Banking			24.6		55.6
Fire service			20.0		
Hotel industry			16.8		
High. Educ.			21.3		
Retailing			17.6		
Manufacturing			19.2		
UNISON (Rayner, 1998)	14				

Cont' Table 19

	<i>Self-identified last 6 months (%)</i>	<i>Self-identified last 1 year (%)</i>	<i>Self-identified last 5 years (%)</i>	<i>I neg/act weekly- NAQ last 1 year (%)</i>	<i>Witnessed bullying past 5 years (%)</i>
Quine (1999)				38 (less frequent than weekly)	
Sweden (Leymann, 1992) Non-profit organisation				21.6- handicapped 4.4-non handicapped	
Finnish professionals (Salin, 2001)		8.8		24.1	
US workers (Lutgen- Sandvik et al., 2004)		11.4			
Niedl (1995) Hospital employees in Austria				26.6	
Mikkelsen and Einarsen (2001) Manufacturing companies in Denmark				8	

Forms of Negative Behaviours

The following section elaborates on the types of negative behaviours, which are most frequently experienced in the voluntary sector. Referring to Table 4 in the Quantitative Results chapter, amongst the most frequently reported negative behaviours in the voluntary sector, three were related to organisational harassment: given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines 29.2% (n=52), required to carry out tasks which clearly fall outside your job description 20.8% (n=37) and being exposed to unmanageable workload 38.8% (n=69). So, a quarter of the human resource in the voluntary sector reported that they felt overburdened by their workload (see Einarsen et al. [1994, p. 389] for similar items relating to workload). This is not surprising because the immense competition to secure funding is likely to create a high degree of time pressure and work overload among many workers in the voluntary sector. Another three most frequently reported behaviours are work-related: having your opinion and views ignored 27% (n=48), attempts to find fault with your work 20.7% (n=37) and excessive monitoring of your work 18.5% (n=33). Most of these behaviours are typically related to work control (see Einarsen et al. [1994, p. 389] for similar items relating to work control). Hence an interesting observation from the above findings is that most respondents in the voluntary organisations do not only experience negative behaviours relating to work overload, they also report a lack of work control. Although work overload alone could create a stressful work environment that is conducive to workplace bullying, having a high workload while being unable to control ones work and make relevant decisions could actually worsen the situation. This is in line with previous research which show that the problem of bullying comes to the fore when a high degree of pressure is present in

a work environment where individuals have little control of their own work (Einarsen et al., 1994, p. 396). Hence, much of the voluntary sectors' workforce may be especially vulnerable towards bullying due to the high workload combined with lack of work control.¹⁰⁹

Non work-related negative behaviours are also experienced in the voluntary organisations, although they are not as prevalent as job-related behaviours are. Two non work-related behaviours in particular fall under the top ten ranked negative behaviours: one in five respondents reported being subjected to gossip and rumour (personal harassment) while one in three reported being restricted in speaking (social isolation).

With respect to the items related to physical or overt violence, the study reveals alarming findings. As indicated in Table 4, two of the items from this category namely 'being shouted at' (33.2%) and 'intimidating behaviour' (23.7%), fall within the top 10 ranked negative behaviours. Two interesting observations could be made from this finding: first, these figures are higher compared to the average finding of the wide scale study conducted by Hoel and Cooper, (2000b, pp. 21-22); 'being shouted at' (29.8%) and 'intimidating behaviour' (17.5%).¹¹⁰ More importantly, in Hoel and Cooper's (2000b, pp. 21-22) study, only one item, 'being shouted at', fell within the top 10 ranked negative behaviours. Overt violence, then, seems to be particularly prevalent in the voluntary sector when compared to the average overt violence experienced by the overall organisations surveyed by Hoel and Cooper

¹⁰⁹ This phenomenon is further elaborated on in the proceeding sections when discussing the applicability of RAT in explaining workplace bullying, specifically the 'target exposure' component.

¹¹⁰ Of course it could also be attributed to the fact that Hoel and Cooper (2000b) used a duration of 6 months while the present study used a duration of 1 year.

(2000b). Second, the prevalence of physical or overt violence may be “linked to particular features of the work-environment” (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 23).

According to Hoel and Cooper (2000b) “the highest frequencies of physical violence are normally reported in sectors that are particularly vulnerable to violence from clients, as is the case with the prison service (31.6%), the NHS (22.3%) and teachers in schools (15.7%)” (p. 23). According to Cases 49 and 7, overt violence is a usual phenomenon and should be expected in the voluntary sector due to the vulnerable nature of the clients. Therefore, the high prevalence of violence in the voluntary organisation indicates that it is particularly vulnerable to violence from clients.

Further evidence for this is derived from the fact that out of the 10 items ¹¹¹ which represent ‘overt harassment’ in this research, seven were actually perpetrated by outsiders (client or members of the public).

While physical and overt violence were mostly perpetrated by outsiders or clients, an ancillary finding in the present study indicates that more subtle and covert behaviours ¹¹² were mostly perpetrated by organisational insiders (colleagues and superiors). ¹¹³ This is consistent with previous findings that overt aggression or violence in the workplace is often perpetrated by outsiders, while covert aggression is more often perpetrated by insiders (LeBlanc & Barling, 2004, pp. 9-10; Neuman & Baron, 1998, pp. 392-393; Rayner & Hoel, 1997, pp. 183, 187).

¹¹¹ Due to unreliable Alpha Cronbach, items 32, 33 and 34 were merged into the ‘overt harassment’ category which initially had only 7 items

¹¹² All the other categories of negative behaviours are covert/subtle in nature. Overall, there are 24 items relating to covert behaviour

¹¹³ Out of 24 items which relates to covert behaviour, 23 were mostly perpetrated by organisational insiders (superiors and co-workers).

Apart from the most frequently experienced negative behaviours, there are also conclusions to be drawn from examining the least experienced negative behaviours (see Appendix D). The items or behaviours least likely to have been experienced in the voluntary organisations were: destroying one's mail/messages (4.5%); being moved/transferred against one's will (3.4%); being attacked with a weapon (2.3%), and being the victim of actual or attempted intercourse (0.6%). It should be noted that many (six out of 10) of the overt behaviours are at this end of the rank, where they were least experienced. So, despite the nature of the work-environment which increased the prevalence of overt behaviour in the voluntary organisations, it is still experienced to a lesser extent compared to other forms of behaviours.

An ancillary negative behaviour that can be categorised as one of the least prevalent behaviours in the voluntary sector is sexual harassment. Fielden (1996) supplied evidence of sexual harassment within the Citizen's Advice Bureaux service (CABs) and concluded that sexual harassment is a serious problem that is experienced throughout the CABs (pp. 20-21).¹¹⁴ Without further investigation, her study may lead to an overgeneralisation that sexual harassment is prevalent in the voluntary sector. The current study, which includes a wider variety of voluntary organisations, revealed otherwise. Sexual harassment in voluntary organisations was infrequent (see Appendix D). Only 0.6% were victims of actual/attempted intercourse, 5.1% reported unwanted bodily touching, and 10.1% reported being told offensive sexual comments. Taking these figures together, on average, only 5% of the respondents in the voluntary

¹¹⁴ Sexual harassment was prevalent in over one third or approximately 37% of CABs.

organisations report negative behaviour relating to sexual harassment. In comparison with Hoel and Cooper's (2000b, p. 23) study, sexual harassment in voluntary organisations is considerably lower than in the hotel industry (24.2%), prison service (16.9%) and the NHS (15.3%). Moreover, it is almost parallel to the banking sector, which has the least sexual harassment (3.8%). This study shows that negative behaviours related to sexual harassment (both overt and covert behaviours) were amongst the least reported behaviours in the voluntary organisations. Although it is still premature to pinpoint a categorical reason for this, one possible explanation perhaps lies in the voluntary sector's equal opportunity policy. Most voluntary organisations have an equal opportunity policy to protect their workforces from being discriminated against on the basis of personal characteristics, such as sex, religion, and race. Hence, it is assumed that the equal opportunity policy may act as an initial regulatory impediment against sexual harassment. However, as it will become more evident in the following sections (when discussing RAT), voluntary organisations need to enforce policies dealing with bullying that are not merely confined to victims' personal characteristics.

Forms of Negative Behaviours Associated with Workplace Bullying

So far, the discussion has centred on the prevalence of various negative acts in the voluntary organisations. The following finding identifies the negative behaviours that are particularly related to bullying in voluntary organisations, and so is expected to facilitate the initial development of an effective preventive strategy in tackling workplace bullying. The independent sample t-test (refer to the Quantitative Results chapter, Table 5) revealed that bullying in the voluntary sector includes a variety of forms of negative behaviours: social isolation, work-related, organisational, personal

and overt harassment. Consistent then with earlier discussions in the literature review (Olweus, 1999),¹¹⁵ bullying in the voluntary sector includes both overt (violence) and covert interpersonal aggression. Nonetheless, not all forms of behaviours are experienced to the same extent. Victims of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations reported the least experience of overt behaviour,¹¹⁶ yet the most experience of work-related harassment. Despite the high prevalence of certain physical/direct (overt) negative behaviours,¹¹⁷ overall, this form of behaviour was still the least reported by victims of bullying. Hence, there may be a few occasions where employees or volunteers in the voluntary organisations experience incidents that are categorised as bullying from outsiders. For example, being persistently threatened with an unfounded complaint to a superior, or being persistently followed around by a particular client as was experienced by Case 49 in the interview (see Qualitative Results chapter). Nonetheless in line with Barron's (2000, p. 66) argument, aggression perpetrated by members of the public or clients did not necessarily have elements in common with workplace bullying. These experiences are usually one-off incidents with different clients (refer to Case 104 in Qualitative Results chapter) that do not necessarily fall into the category of workplace bullying. In addition, some interviewees claimed that their voluntary organisations have well established safety policies in order to protect their staff and volunteers from violence (refer to Case 5).

This is consistent with Keashly's (2001, 'Discussion' section, para. 11) finding where incidents perpetrated by clients/patients (in contrast to organisational insiders) were

¹¹⁵ Workplace violence and bullying are actually overlapping to some degree and are subcategories of aggression (Olweus, 1999, p.13).

¹¹⁶ It should be noted that the effect size of personal harassment was almost parallel with overt harassment.

¹¹⁷ As indicated earlier, since voluntary organisations are often (due to their functions) situated in less privileged areas, and are often required to deal with clients and outsiders, it is likely that the respondents do experience a high level of physical violence from the public.

associated with the lowest level of meaningfulness and the highest level of control. Similar to Keashly's (2001) finding, respondents in the voluntary organisations felt that their training had provided them with the necessary skills to deal with violence from patients (clients/outside), and they felt that they had the support from co-workers and the organisation to deal with these incidents.

Before proceeding further, it is important to note that apart from overt behaviours, the present research indicated that personal harassment is also the least likely to be experienced by the victims of bullying in voluntary organisations. This is an interesting finding considering that personal harassment is a form of covert aggression that was expected to be at the other end of the spectrum with the more prevalent covert behaviours.

Bjorkqvist and colleague's study (1994a) may offer a pertinent explanation for this finding. According to them, there are two forms of covert/indirect aggression: rational-appearing aggression and social manipulation. The perpetrator in both cases tries to conceal or disguise his/her aggressive intentions in order to reduce danger in terms of retaliation or social condemnation. There is a minor distinction however, between the two. Social manipulation¹¹⁸ is a kind of indirect aggression (similar to the unsophisticated form of indirect aggression witnessed in adolescents), whereby the perpetrator manipulates others to attack the victim, or otherwise makes use of the social structure in order to harm the target without being personally involved (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994a, p. 32; Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1992, p. 52; Forrest, Eatough, & Shevlin, 2005, p. 85; Archer, 2001, pp. 268-269). Personal

¹¹⁸ Social manipulation is also known as indirect relational aggression (Archer, 2001, p. 268).

harassment behaviours introduced in the questionnaire of the present study are similar to the social manipulation behaviours proposed by Bjorkqvist et al. (1994a, p. 30). On the contrary, rational-appearing aggression, is much more covert, sophisticated, and assumes a form of rationality in that the aggressor tries to make his aggression appear as if it does not contain aggression at all, or as not intended to hurt the target, and can be covered up if challenged (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994a, p. 32; Archer, 2001, p. 269).

The work-related behaviours in the current study were reminiscent of the rational-appearing aggression (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994a, p. 30). A study done in the workplace suggests that women tend to use less sophisticated social manipulation while men preferred to use rational-appearing aggression (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994a, p. 32).

Nevertheless, they also found that the most preferred style among the sexes remains to be rational-appearing aggression. The present study focusing on the voluntary sector which tends to be more populated by women would present an interesting case in re-evaluating the above finding. Despite the over-representation of females in this sector, which is likely to predict an increased usage of social manipulation, the current study reveals that the opposite was true. In other words, rational-appearing aggression seems to be more prevalent than social manipulation, which in turn reflects Bjorkqvist et al.'s (1994a) finding. The effect-danger ratio presented by Bjorkqvist et al. (1994a) facilitates the understanding of sex differences and developmental stages with regards to aggressive styles. Females tend to resort to indirect means of aggression rather than to physical means because they are by nature physically weaker than males. Since physical aggression is also dangerous for males (due to risk of condemnation and injury), the level of physical aggression decreases during adolescence and is replaced by more indirect means of aggression (p. 29). According to Archer and Coyne (2005, p. 222), during young adulthood, indirect aggression is refined to appear non-

aggressive if the perpetrator is challenged, which in turn, is later reflected in the work context as rational-appearing aggression.

In the context of the current study, although, some interviewees indicated that they were victimised because they were blond, homosexual, older, of a different race or gender or due to sexism (Cases 85, 86, 2, 11, 44 and 152), such forms of personal harassment/social manipulation are nonetheless, least reported by victims of bullying in this sector.¹¹⁹ The Methodology chapter notes that ‘personal harassment’ includes personally derogatory acts that are directed at the person’s private life and individual attributes. Accordingly, it is suggested that the clauses used in the equal opportunity policies, which explicitly address issues relating to discrimination based on gender, race, religion, or sexuality, are in fact referring to the individual’s private life and personal attributes. Perhaps the equal opportunity policies in the voluntary organisations provide direct protection from personal harassment in contrast to other forms of covert harassment. A similar inference was made in the previous discussion on the prevalence of sexual harassment in the voluntary sector. In addition, the voluntary sector accommodates a workforce that is more sensitive with issues of equal opportunities, social disadvantage and vulnerability. This is further reinforced by the training that they have received in order to work with vulnerable clients (refer to Case 152). Hence, when they experience negative incidents, many do tend to attribute such behaviours as due to personal characteristics (harassment) initially. Additionally, it is likely that the negative behaviour may start with personal harassment due to predatory-bullying which focuses on vulnerable victims (Einarsen et al., 2003, pp. 18-19) but develops into more subtle behaviours which are not easily observable or

¹¹⁹ Results reported in Chapters 4 and 5, on ‘Target Attractiveness’ are discussed here, as they are deemed necessary.

rational-appearing aggression (this point has been discussed in earlier sections). For example, Case 44 mentioned that she has been harassed because she was a woman and a blond, but bullying was something more than that. Since the risk in committing personal harassment is higher and it is more easily recognised as aggression, perpetrators may disguise the negative behaviours so that the real causes behind them (the victim's gender or age) are ambiguous and instead commit more rational-appearing aggression (such as work-related and organisational harassment) than social manipulation (personal harassment) (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994a, p.32).

Having said that, findings from voluntary organisations are generally consistent with previous research on other work settings which demonstrated that the most frequent manifestations of insider-initiated aggression are not acts of overt aggression or violence, but rather less dramatic acts of psychological aggression which are mostly covert in nature (Baron et al., 1999, pp. 282, 291).¹²⁰ A particular category of covert/indirect behaviour that is reported most frequently by victims of bullying in the voluntary sector is work-related harassment (rational-appearing aggression). This is because there is less risk associated with committing work-related harassment than with personal harassment, given that victims of work-related harassment may fail to retaliate since they are less informed about dealing with such harassment than they are with personal harassment, which is constantly echoed in the equal opportunity policy (this point has been elaborated in the above sections).

¹²⁰ Based on this, it is not surprising that many studies on workplace bullying (such as Barron, 2000; Neuman & Baron, 2003; Salin, 2003) typically investigate phenomenon associated with interpersonal aggression transpiring between members of the organisation rather than originating from outsiders.

A similar finding (that is the high persistency of work-related harassment) was revealed in Salin's (2001, p. 433) study among business professionals. It is argued that business professionals and the voluntary workforce share a distinguishing characteristic in the sense that they both possess higher level of education.¹²¹ The work-related negative behaviours such as 'excessive monitoring of work', 'having opinions and views ignored' and 'persistent criticisms of work' may not be readily acceptable as it undermines their expert knowledge and skills. Therefore, such lack of work control as experienced by knowledge workers may be more readily perceived as workplace bullying. Furthermore, although the overall frequencies of work-related acts were lower than in previous study (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b), it is important to note that the weekly or daily experience of many of these acts were comparable to Hoel and Cooper's (2000b) large-scale study, and higher than Salin's (2001) study among business professionals (refer Table 20).

Table 20: The weekly or daily experience of work-related negative behaviours in the current study compared with the findings from other studies

<i>Negative behaviour</i>	<i>Overall % in current study</i>	<i>Overall % in Hoel and Cooper (2000b)</i>	<i>Weekly % in current study</i>	<i>Weekly % in Hoel and Cooper (2000b)</i>	<i>Weekly % in Salin (2001)</i>
Persistent criticism of work and effort	11.9	21.2	2.3	2.6	0.8
Attempts to find fault with your work	20.7	25.6	3.3	2.7	-
Repeated reminders of your errors and mistakes	16.3	28.1	1.2	2.3	1.6

¹²¹ It has been mentioned earlier that the voluntary sector has a higher proportion of highly qualified staff than do the public and the private sectors (Hems & van Doorn, 1998, p. 19). Additionally, the likelihood of being a volunteer increases with educational qualifications (Leat, 1993, p. 35).

Cont' Table 20

<i>Negative behaviour</i>	<i>Overall % in current study</i>	<i>Overall % in Hoel and Cooper (2000b)</i>	<i>Weekly % in current study</i>	<i>Weekly % in Hoel and Cooper (2000b)</i>	<i>Weekly % in Salin (2001)</i>
Excessive monitoring of your work	18.5	27.4	4.5	5.2	3.2
Having your opinion and views ignored	27	57.1	5.6	7.9	5.1
Hints or signals from others that you should quit your job	9	11.1	1.7	1.5	0.3

So far the findings indicate that the effort to curb overt aggression, sexual harassment and personal harassment should be continued, although these forms of negative behaviours were the least reported by the victims of workplace bullying. However, as normative pressure against the above types of negative behaviours increases, there seems to be a shift to more covert modes. What is more crucial then, and the focus of this research, is the need to prevent covert aggression perpetrated by insiders, starting with work-related harassment which was more frequently reported by victims of workplace bullying. Consequently, this study addresses the need in analysing and understanding the causes of bullying among voluntary organisations based on the Routine Activities Theory, which will be discussed in Part 3. Prior to that, some pertinent findings regarding the perception of workplace bullying among the voluntary sector's workforce are discussed.

Perception and Awareness of Bullying

The perception of the definition and characteristics of bullying behaviour in the voluntary sector were examined in the interviews. The questionnaire survey purposely did not provide a standard definition of bullying to the respondents (for reasons already discussed in the Methodology Chapter); instead, it only asked if the respondents were or had been bullied or not. Alternatively, interviews were utilised to gain more information about the subjective perception, definitions and characteristics of bullying. Interestingly, information gained indicate that victims of bullying generally report experiencing behaviours which are persistent and ongoing for a duration of time;¹²² victims report ending up in an inferior position from which it is difficult to defend oneself, and victims often report more intense consequences compared to non-bullied interviewees. All these characteristics are often quoted in the global definition of workplace bullying suggested by Einarsen and Skogstad (1996, p. 187), “A systematic aggression or violence targeted towards one or more individuals by one individual or by a group, consists of repeated and enduring acts and the target is or ends up in an inferior position from which it is difficult to defend oneself” (see also Einarsen, 2000, pp. 381-383; Zapf & Einarsen, 2001, p. 369-370). In contrast, experiences that were not considered as bullying in the interviews did not necessarily fulfil the central characteristics of workplace bullying; persistent/enduring, imbalance of power and negative consequences. Thus, despite the reservations about providing or not providing definitions in the questionnaire (as discussed in the Methodology Chapter), this study, especially in the interview findings, reveals that the experiences

¹²² The independent sample t-test indicated that the targeted behaviours were statistically significant in frequency of experience; with the non-bullied experiencing them less frequently than the bullied. This implies that frequency is an indicator within the sample group as a defining parameter.

claimed to be bullying or non-bullying in the voluntary sector are generally consistent with the widely accepted definition of workplace bullying. Various explanations may account for this finding: first, respondents who participated in the interview may be particularly more aware of bullying because many of them have been victimised and have even discussed this issue with their colleagues, as illustrated by the following case.

Case 3:

I didn't really, I didn't really fully acknowledge it until I discuss it with a manager and she goes 'that's bullying, you are being bullied here'. And I didn't really think it was bullying, and I didn't really put that concept to it...

Second, interviewees may not have readily perceived their negative experience as bullying, but were encouraged through the lengthy interview process to contemplate the phenomenon and perceive it as bullying as a result. Third, a more optimistic interpretation would be that the findings generated from the interviews are an indication that staff and volunteers in voluntary organisations are generally aware of the nature of workplace bullying. Further support for this is derived from the questionnaire survey. Although the current study did not use a specific definition of workplace bullying in the questionnaire, the results were comparable with the study conducted by Hoel and Cooper (2000b) that used a global definition.¹²³ In particular, results in the column 'self-identified being bullied in the past 5 years' did not indicate any major discrepancies (see Table 19). However, the result for those who witnessed bullying in the last 5 years showed a discrepancy. Although Zapf et al. (2003, p. 104)

¹²³ This is an appropriate comparison because the current study was carried out in a similar cultural context as Hoel and Cooper's study.

suggested that studies that ask directly without giving a definition usually lead to a higher amount of bullying¹²⁴ compared to studies which include a definition of bullying, it cannot be concluded that the discrepancy in this study (in the column ‘witnessed bullying in the last 5 years’) is solely due to the absence of a proper definition. In particular, contrary to what Zapf et al. (2003, p. 104) have suggested, the figure in this research was less than the result from Hoel and Cooper’s study (both for witnessed bullying in the last 5 years). One possible explanation for this is that more than half (57%) of the respondents in the present study have only been in the organisation for 2 years and less, and they would tend to witness less bullying behaviour than if they had stayed longer. Nonetheless, there is also the possibility that the figures in this research are actually underreported instead of overreported, and that the provision of a standard definition may have revealed the actual prevalence rate of bullying in the voluntary sector. Further evidence would be needed from future studies to validate this claim.

In order to generate further information about respondents’ perception of workplace bullying, interviewees were asked how they would define workplace bullying and harassment, and the forms of negative behaviours associated with these concepts. As indicated in the Qualitative Results chapter, these concepts were viewed as involving similar negative behaviours, such as ‘manipulating others’ and ‘to single out somebody’. Nonetheless, workplace bullying and harassment were not viewed as interchangeable to the extent suggested at the onset of this research. In general, two

¹²⁴ Because people may also include occasional minor negative acts as bullying.

outcomes can be drawn from the results of the interviews. First, the result generated was contrary to the assumptions made earlier about workplace harassment.¹²⁵

Although interviewees perceive workplace harassment as involving similar behaviours to workplace bullying, they tend to limit workplace harassment to a more localised context or phenomenon relating to sexuality, gender, race, age and other identity markers. Moreover, workplace harassment was not viewed as necessarily possessing the persistent and enduring nature of bullying. Second, workplace bullying is often perceived as a broad phenomenon consisting of a wider range of behaviours and not merely associated with gender, sexuality and other personal characteristics. It is also typically characterised by a persistent and enduring nature rather than one-off incidents of violence. Additionally, some interviewees still associate the term bullying to school bullying, which is not surprising because the term was introduced in the school setting in the 1970's (Olweus, 1999, p. 8) and only later to the workplace in the 1980's in the Scandinavian countries (Leymann, 1996, pp. 165-168), and, indeed, in the 1990's in the UK (Lee, 2000, p. 594).

The preceding discussion on the perception and awareness of bullying shows that the voluntary sector's workforce generally recognises workplace bullying as a phenomenon with distinct characteristics that needs attention, and, therefore, that focusing on workplace harassment alone is not adequate. Nonetheless, despite the report of the high prevalence and general awareness of workplace bullying (among the workforce in general), the management of voluntary organisations may not necessarily agree that their organisation has a problem. As mentioned in the Methodology

¹²⁵ It was mentioned earlier in the Literature review chapter that workplace harassment was treated as not limited to sexual harassment or to attacks on the personal characteristics of the victim, but rather encompasses a wider range of behaviour, which is comparable to workplace bullying.

chapter, the effort to gain permission and support from the voluntary organisations to participate in this research was constrained and complicated due to a certain lack of understanding or for tactical purposes (to avoid research of the issue) on the side of the management. A similar disinterest for the topic in general was demonstrated by the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) in their press release of 6th April, 1999.¹²⁶ They argued that, “just because more people complain about bullying, it does not necessarily indicate that the voluntary sector has a particular problem.” Instead, they claimed that:

Voluntary sector workers are often more likely to come forward with workplace problems because they feel their employers will give them a fair hearing...In the voluntary sector people have a higher expectation that they will be treated fairly by their employers. That’s partly because of the ethos of the voluntary sector, but also because workers there are generally more active and politically aware.

The following section on the effects of workplace bullying makes the case¹²⁷ that the high prevalence rate of bullying is not merely an indication of the awareness of the workforce, but that it refers to and is often accompanied by serious and damaging implications.

¹²⁶ Their statement was in reaction to the claim made by The National Workplace Bullying Advice Line, which said that cases of bullying in the Third Sector showed a faster increase than in any other sector since 1998.

¹²⁷ The refutation is made partly to convince the relevant managements thereof, too.

The Effects of Workplace Bullying

This research confirms initial surveys and media reports on the effects of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector (see Cornwell, 1995, p. 16; TUC, 2000, 'Stress at Work' section; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7), and also provides further information on the extent and nature of the consequences. The questionnaire survey showed that respondents who had experienced bullying reported more negative implications than those who did not experience bullying. Victims of bullying were more likely to face psychological and health problem, perform poorly at work, take more sick leaves and have relationship problems in their personal lives, than non-victims.

An ancillary observation with respect to 'taking sick leave', is that it seems to be the least applied by the victims of bullying. Only 40.7% of victims of workplace bullying actually took sick leave, while 59.3% who were bullied did not take sick leave. The reason for this is that bullying targets may decide not to take time off, even when they feel that they are not well enough to work. Bullied employees often dare not be away from work because their absence could become a new reason for bullying, or could be portrayed as malingering (see also Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 34).

Whilst there are strong indications that exposure to workplace bullying does have negative consequences, some may argue that the relationship is more complex than a direct relationship as found above (i.e., being bullied is related to psychological ill health and reduced job performance), and that longitudinal data is required to try to disentangle these effects and to determine the cause-effect relationship (Quine, 1999, p. 231). This is because there are multiple ways of interpreting such findings

(Einarsen & Mikkelsen, 2003, pp. 130-131; Hoel & Cooper, 2000, p. 31): For example, certain respondents may be more likely to report being bullied than others, such as people who have a more pessimistic disposition. Such people might also report lower levels of job performance, and a higher propensity to take sick leave, than others. Furthermore, being depressed, stressed or anxious may cause a person to be bullied by unscrupulous workers who choose weaker people as their victims. Anxiety and depression may also weaken a person's ability to cope with stressors such as bullying, or make them more likely to perceive other people's behaviour as hostile and critical. So it is possible that people with health problems (psychological or physical) prior to any experience of bullying are more likely to report themselves as targets of bullying. Although further research is required to measure how personality factors contribute to the experience of being bullied, and also to systematically examine the well being of the respondent before and after their experience, the findings from the current research cannot be disregarded as it provides initial and substantial information regarding the situation in the voluntary sector.

Various psychological and health effects that are commonly reported by the victims of bullying from previous research (Einarsen, 1998; Hoel & Cooper, 2000a, pp. 106-108; Vartia, 2001; Zapf, et al., 1996, pp. 227-229) such as sleep problems, concentration difficulties, anxiety, anger and depression, and low self-esteem were prevalent in this study among the voluntary workforce. Moreover, the interview findings in this research show evidence that the victims themselves attribute their health problems to their experiences of being bullied. This is partly because the interviewer had specifically asked the respondents to distinguish the negative effects due to bullying and the negative effects prior to being subjected to bullying, perhaps due to an

exposure to other distressing life events such as bereavement. Although some victims had experienced distressing life events, findings from the interview show that the bullying that they had suffered affected their life even more, as illustrated in Case 83.¹²⁸ Respondents also mentioned that due to the exposure to bullying they have subsequently developed health and psychological problems, but once they withdrew from the bullying environment, their health generally improved (refer Case 7).

Apart from the negative effects upon the well being of the victims, results also reveal the organisational outcomes of bullying. The study shows that the voluntary organisation itself is likely to be negatively impacted in the form of lower staff performance and their absence due to sick leave. Eighty nine percent of the victims of bullying reported that their job performance was affected, while only 47.6% of the non-bullied reported that their job performance was affected. In the interviews, the detrimental impact of workplace bullying on performance and productivity has repeatedly emerged as a key factor. Ten out of 15 bullied interviewees reported that their performance was seriously affected. Their most common complaints are that they had to back-track decisions, felt incapable of performing tasks, did not want to go to work, almost resigned, their normal pace of work was interrupted, and had difficulties working with other staff professionally. With regards to taking sick leave, although only 40.7% of those who reported being bullied in this study actually stated that they took sick leave as a result of their experience. This figure is higher than that in other research: in a UK study of bullying among nurses, Quine (2001) reported that 8% had taken time off due to bullying; and in a Finnish study of municipal employees, Vartia (2001) reported that 17-18% had taken time leave.

¹²⁸ Refer to the section on 'Negative Effects of Workplace Bullying in the Voluntary Sector', in Qualitative Results chapter.

Although the specific financial costs towards the voluntary sector due to workplace bullying is not investigated directly in this research, the findings thus far indicate that the economic costs can be measured in terms of bullying related health problems, sick leaves and loss of productivity. In addition, the extent to which sick leaves and loss of productivity can financially impair an organisation has been discussed in the Literature review (Chapter 1). Following this line of argument, it is assumed that for the voluntary organisation where financial sources are limited, this could determine the organisation's viability.

The discussions thus far were mostly based on experiences cited from the victims of bullying. In order to have a more holistic picture, it is imperative to take into account witness experiences. This will be addressed in the next section.

The Role of Witnesses in the Bullying Scenario

As in many other studies (such as Hoel & Cooper, 2000, p. 20), whenever the respondents are asked what do they normally do when they experience or witness negative behaviours in the workplace, their most common response was to discuss the issue with their colleagues. However, this does not mean that victims received the support they needed from the bystanders. Although, some victims accounted that they received support from the witnesses, the current findings shows that the extent of support they received was only at surface level. For example, only two out of 15 interviewees who were bullied (Cases 11 and 85)¹²⁹ indicated that their colleagues (witnesses) drew their attention to address the issue and suggested that they were

¹²⁹ Refer to the section on 'The Role of Witnesses in the Bullying Scenario', in the Qualitative Results chapter.

actually being bullied. When witnesses were questioned about their reaction in bullying cases only two out of 12 (usually supervisors) claimed to actively support the victim, that is to provide support which eventually stops the bullying from progressing (Cases 83 and 50). In general, the majority of victims indicated that the witnesses could have done more. This finding concurs with Einarsen et al.'s (1994) study which reported that victims often complained about the lack of social support at work.

Information gathered from the perspectives of both victims and witnesses revealed that lack of support from the witnesses can be attributed to several factors: First, the witnesses are themselves affected from the bullying that they observed and dare not help (see Rayner, 1999). They often feel powerless due to fear of reprisal from the perpetrators (Case 44), and furthermore if caught supporting the victims many are threatened and subjected to bullying themselves (Case 152). In addition, witnesses who have been bullied previously are mostly traumatised and thus lack confidence or the energy to support other victims openly or more actively (Cases 152, 84, 5, 85).

Second, the element of victim blaming on the part of witnesses is evident in the interviews. For example, although, Cases 7 and 12 claimed to help the victim, they described the victim to be psychologically unstable. Whilst case 154 disregarded the negative behaviour experienced by her colleague as bullying. This may be because as the bullying process gradually evolves, the victims are often stigmatised and humiliated, which in turn affects their mental and psychological health quite dramatically (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996, pp. 254-255). According to Leymann (1996) the previous stigmatisation of the victim makes it easy to misjudge the situation as being the fault of the victim. Hence, the victim may be treated as the problem in the organisation (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996, pp. 256-257; Leymann,

1996, p. 179; Zapf, 1999, p. 81). As with Case 33, many witnesses end-up taking sides with the perpetrator.¹³⁰

Overall, although the witnesses try to provide social support for the victims, there is an indication that it is not at its fullest potential due to some factors already mentioned above. The findings are ironic considering the nature of voluntary sector where the workforce is constantly working to support the vulnerable clients, but at the same time they are hindered from supporting each other. In addition, the contention made in the Introduction regarding the applicability of objective data from witnesses is further supported. This study confirms that the reliability of objective data (such as the Peer Nomination Technique) from the witnesses may prove ineffective. The economic dependence on the job would prevent people from being honest and thus reluctant to identify colleagues (especially superiors) by name (Bjorkqvist et al. 1994b, p. 182). Furthermore, it is argued that often in cases of bullying, it is difficult for the observer to stay neutral due to the process of stigmatisation as mentioned above.

Having deliberated various themes on the nature of bullying in the voluntary sector, both from the perspectives of victims and witnesses, the following section of the thesis will discuss the implications of the above findings.

¹³⁰ The section on constructive leadership climate in this chapter, provides further support for this.

Part 2: Nature of Workplace Bullying in the Voluntary Sector and the Practical Implications of the Findings

The research refuted claims¹³¹ that the voluntary sector does not have an immediate problem with workplace bullying. Instead, it confirmed the preliminary findings by the TUC (2000; 2004), the MSF (Ball, 1996, p. 12) and by Hoel and Cooper (2000b, p. 13) regarding the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector and, furthermore, found that the problem has not improved nor addressed. Twelve out of 15¹³² categories of voluntary organisations investigated in this study reported incidents of bullying. Of the 178 respondents, 15% (n=27) reported being bullied over the last one year and 28% (n=50) in the last five years. In fact, following Leymann's approach,¹³³ as many as 24.7% or a quarter of the voluntary sector's workforce could be considered as being bullied in the past one year. These findings were further supported by the qualitative data. Of the 22 interviewees, 15 reported being bullied. Where comparable at the national level (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 13; Rayner, 1998, pp. 1-2; Quine, 1999, pp. 229-230), the prevalence of bullying in the voluntary sector was found to be higher than that among the NHS trust, fire service, higher education, manufacturing and civil service sectors, while it is comparable to that within the police service and the post/telecommunications—the sectors which are considered to have high prevalence rates. At the international level, the prevalence rate in the current study is higher than among Finnish professionals (Salin, 2001) and US

¹³¹ By the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) in their press release on 6th April 1999 and by the voluntary organisations which declined to participate in the present research.

¹³² The 29 voluntary organisations which participated in this research were further classified into 15 types based on the ICNPO (refer Methodology chapter).

¹³³ According to Leymann (1996, p. 168), an experience is deemed to be bullying if the negative behaviours (one negative act is sufficient), has been persistent (has taken place at least once a week), and has been ongoing for at least the last six months, regardless of the respondents' own perceptions.

workers (Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2004), and almost parallel that of the hospital employees in Austria (Niedl, 1995 as cited in Zapf et al., 2003, p. 105). Hence, it may be inferred from this study that the voluntary organisations are perhaps failing to recognise the seriousness of the problem and in view of their commitment towards equal opportunities; this failure is in direct conflict with the aims and principles of the voluntary sector. These results are hoped to stimulate further research on the phenomenon of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector and to encourage the management to pay more attention towards the problem.

The face-to-face interviews (which adopted the Critical Incident Technique) revealed several interesting findings regarding the voluntary sectors' workforce's deployment of the concept of workplace bullying. Overall, the workforce was generally found to be opinionated and aware of the characteristics of workplace bullying. Despite not specifying a particular definition of workplace bullying, the characteristics of the most memorable negative experiences cited by the interviewees who were bullied were comparable to those found in the definitions of workplace bullying commonly cited in the literature. That is, their negative experiences were persistent and carried on for a duration of time,¹³⁴ that the victims reported being defenceless (presence of power imbalance) and showed negative effects due to workplace bullying. Furthermore, although the term workplace harassment was theoretically perceived as having a wider connotation and seen as comparable to bullying as indicated in much of the literature (Kaukiainen et al., 2001, p.361; Leymann, 1990), the interview findings revealed otherwise. In general, the term harassment appears to be applied in a limited sense

¹³⁴ The average exposure to persistent behaviours was 16 months, which is consistent with Hoel et al's. (2001a, p. 451) study where two-third of the victims experienced bullying for more than one year (see also Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996, p. 195).

compared to workplace bullying. The characteristics common to workplace bullying (such as persistency and absence of obvious bias towards race, gender or disability) do not necessarily apply to workplace harassment (where the behaviour is not necessarily persistent, but shows an obvious bias towards personal characteristics). Hence, Lee's (2000, pp. 606-607) suggestion that "workplace bullying discourse should join the workplace harassment discourse in recognising single incidents" should be reconsidered. Having said that, the notion that workplace bullying is separate from the recognised problems of sexual harassment and racism (Adams & Crawford, 1992, p. 10) is also not supported in the current study. An alternative approach would be that workplace bullying and harassment are actually overlapping concepts, but not interchangeable. This also has implications for the equal opportunity policies in the voluntary sector: the currently available equal opportunity policies may be effective in preventing workplace harassment incidents, and bullying incidents which are of harassment in nature (persistent sexual and racial comments), while not effective in combating more general, covert, and broad phenomena such as work-related or rational-appearing aggression (this point will be revisited below).

In addition, there is the insight that future policies on workplace bullying in this sector should not be limited to interpersonal issues, but should also address the possibility of organisational bullying as well. Although, mainly relating workplace bullying to interpersonal problems, a number of interviewees mentioned organisational bullying in their accounts. This phenomenon was earlier studied by Liefvooghe and Mackenzie-Davey (2001) who noted that apart from the product of interpersonal relationships, workplace bullying could also result from different systems and organisational practices (such as a particular sickness policy, increased mechanization of production

at the cost of jobs, appraisal system, and threats of dismissal and discipline). Hence, by emphasising upon the social and organisational approaches, and highlighting the pressures and effects of work practises, workers tend to place the blame on the employing organisations (see also Hoel & Beale, 2006, p. 244). Similarly, in the voluntary sector, despite being mainly perceived as an interpersonal phenomenon, interviewees also mentioned about organisational bullying which was manifested in terms of: rules and regulations enforced by the funding agencies and the disciplinary procedures enforced the management. A plausible explanation for this is derived from Lee's (2000) case studies, demonstrating that staff appraisal system, linked to performance-related pay and promotion, can be a very powerful tool deployed by bullying managers. Applying a similar analogy, in the context of the voluntary sector, it may be argued that some bullying managers are inclined to unnecessarily enforce rules and disciplinary procedures upon the workforce. Nonetheless, the current thesis contends that there is actually more to this claim, and that there is a dire need to address the actual underlying source of the problem. According to Hoel and Beale (2006), the labelling of the organisation as the bully is essentially a useful weapon in workers' attempt to challenge or resist the undesirable and changing nature of work, which is often characterised by neo-Taylorist development, work intensification, depersonalised forms of management and other new management practices (pp. 244-245). Following this line of argument, which is further supported by the evidence gained in the current study (as will be elaborated in the third part of this chapter), it is suggested that future studies should aim to investigate the organisational changes in the voluntary sector which may lead to or be perceived as bullying.

The quantitative and qualitative data confirm initial media reports on the effects of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector (see Cornwell, 1995, p. 16; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7), and refute claims¹³⁵ that the prevalence of bullying in this sector is exaggerated because the workforce is more aware of the phenomenon. The findings rather reveal that there is a real cause for alarm. The study also provides further information on the extent and nature of the consequences of bullying. Overall, a statistically significant higher percentage of bullied respondents reported negative consequences in terms of physical/psychological health (88.9%), job performance (88.9%) and personal relationships/family life (74.1%) compared to non-bullied respondents.¹³⁶ The spill-over effect upon the well-being of the witnesses is also evident. This in turn jeopardises the role of witnesses in supporting the victims. Most witnesses fear from being reprimanded and thus are hesitant to be seen supporting the victims openly, which is ironic considering that the voluntary sectors' workforce are reputed to be the defenders of the most vulnerable/disadvantaged. Some witnesses even blamed the victims for being bullied, hence making the reliability of witness report questionable. The study demonstrates that being aware of the phenomenon is simply inadequate; it can often remain at the superficial level; and turn into a burden, if it is not reinforced or empowered by various factors. Hence, there is a crucial need in this sector to educate the management and employees that workplace bullying results in real physical, emotional and economic harm to employers, employees, victims and witnesses, and that the management should be persuaded to examine more closely the environment in which they expect people to work (see also Adams & Crawford, 1992, p. 14). Concomitantly, the management should be made aware that

¹³⁵ The Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) in their press release in 6 April 1999.

¹³⁶ The non-bullied respondents experienced less problems: physical/psychological health (39%), job performance (47.6%) and personal relationships/family life (26.7%).

the absence of an effective prevention programme can negatively affect a voluntary organisation's ability to carry out its objectives, and that there are significant cost savings for organisations which develop and implement a violence free workplace compared to reactive strategies which are less cost-effective (Mayhew & Chappell, 2001, p. 20).

In order, then, to establish an effective prevention programme, this research provides further information regarding the forms of negative behaviours associated with bullying in the voluntary organisations. The independent sample t-test shows that the least frequently experienced forms of negative behaviours by victims of bullying in the voluntary sector are overt (effect size=.52) and personal harassment (effect size=.53), while the most reported negative behaviour is work-related harassment (effect size=.71). Hence, this research confirms the growing recognition that physical violence at work that is typically perpetrated by organisational outsiders is merely the "tip of the iceberg" (Neuman & Baron, 1997, pp. 41, 61). Nonetheless, the prevention strategies for violence perpetrated by outsiders should not be neglected although some of the interviewees claimed that safety procedures are already well developed in the voluntary sector. This is because despite being the least related to workplace bullying, the findings indicate that the voluntary sector is still highly vulnerable to one-off or sporadic overt/violent incidents from outsiders. In addition, the prevalence of overt violence in this sector is comparable to other sectors that are particularly vulnerable to violence from clients, such as the prison service, the NHS, and schools (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 23).

What should be noted is the inclusion of personal harassment as one of the least experienced negative behaviours by victims of bullying, along with overt harassment. Based on this, the initial suggestion that sexual harassment is prevalent in the voluntary sector (Fielden, 1996, pp. 20-21) was also rejected in the present study. This is an interesting finding considering that personal harassment was expected to be at the other end of the spectrum with the more prevalent covert behaviours. It is suggested that the voluntary sector's workforce is well informed and trained about personal harassment, especially since it is explicitly quoted in—and indeed often the focus of—the equal opportunity policies.

Having said that, this research is generally in agreement with previous studies that covert aggression perpetrated by organisational insiders is more prevalent than overt aggression in the workplace (Baron & Neuman, 1996; Baron et al., 1999, pp. 282, 291; Smith et al., 2003, p. 176). Victims of bullying in the voluntary sector reported more covert behaviours (such as social isolation, work-related and organisational harassment) than overt behaviours. In particular, the weekly or daily experience of work-related acts or rational appearing aggression was comparable to and in many instances higher than that reported in Hoel and Cooper's large-scale study (2000b) and Salin's (2001) study among business professionals. This of course, would have important practical implications given that effort to eliminate or control one type of aggression (such as overt harassment and social manipulation) in the workplace may have the unintended effects of increasing alternative forms (rational-appearing aggression). What is more crucial then at this stage is for the management to play an active role in addressing workplace bullying and to implement policies that address (or incorporate into the existing policy) issues relating to covert aggression

commencing with work-related bullying. This need is further emphasised due to the interrelationship between the preponderance of knowledge workers in voluntary organisations, their high need for work autonomy, and the exceptionally high prevalence of work-related harassment in this sector (this point is further expanded in the following section of this chapter).

Overall, despite management's claim of not having an immediate problem, this research has demonstrated that workplace bullying not only exists, but most importantly is damaging to individuals and costly to voluntary organisations. It is hoped that if organisations/employers understand the potential impact of bullying, they will be more vigilant, view the problem of bullying more seriously and be willing to act. In order to facilitate the development of an effective prevention programme, the following section provides further information regarding the causes of workplace bullying.

Part 3: Antecedents of Workplace Bullying in the Voluntary Sector-

An Application of Routine Activity Theory

The third part of this chapter bases its discussion on RAT as a theoretical tool to further investigate the causes of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. In Chapter 4, each of the factors representing the components of RAT was explored separately using bivariate analysis. Then, these factors were combined in a model in order to explore their collective and interactive contribution towards predicting workplace bullying.

Overall, the final result of the logistic regression (see Appendix F, Step 5) provides partial support for a routine activities approach to workplace bullying in voluntary organisations. This is observed both for the main effects and interactive effects of the predictor variables. Of the main effects hypothesised to determine workplace bullying in the voluntary organisations, the organisational measures of social guardianship, especially perpetrator status and leadership climate, were the strongest predictors of bullying in this sector, while workload, employment status, confronting the perpetrator and availability of policy were not significantly related in the logistic regression model. Additionally, only one interaction effect was found to be consistently significant across different specifications (e.g. dropping the non-significant interaction terms), which is the ‘confront by perpetrator status’ interaction. Nonetheless, apart from discussing the significant effects, it is important for the following section to discuss the non-significant effects as well. Significant effects are discussed because it is important to acknowledge that some of the factors or predictors are more important in the context of voluntary organisations than others. It is also important to examine the reasons why other variables are not significant and have only a negligible effect. In line with this, the proceeding discussion examines the findings relating to the predictors which represent each of the components of the RAT, beginning with target attractiveness and target exposure which represent the target suitability component of RAT, and social guardianship and physical guardianship which represent the lack of capable guardianship component of RAT. It is important to note that the thematic analysis of the qualitative results enabled the researcher to derive new insights, in addition to the research questions posed at the onset of the study. This will be incorporated in the discussion below.

Target Attractiveness

Analyses were undertaken to explore if there were particular risk groups at the individual level (target attractiveness); with reference to gender, duration of service, age, job status and the experience of having confronted the perpetrator. As noted in the Quantitative Results chapter, only job status and confrontation showed a significant relationship in the bivariate analysis (in predicting bullying in voluntary organisations) and so were included in the logistic regression model.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, prior to discussing the ‘job status’ and ‘confrontation’ factors, a few observations regarding the gender and age of the victims of bullying are appropriate.

Gender

In workplace aggression and abuse literature, “power has typically been operationalised as organisational position/status” (Aquino, 2000, p. 176; Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001, p. 66; Keashley, 1998, p. 109). The proposition is that those in low power positions (subordinates) are more vulnerable to being the victims of hostile behaviours than are those in the higher power positions (superiors). Thus the gender imbalance in victimisation in many organisations where more women are victimised than men may simply reflect status differentials with superior hierarchical positions generally being held by males, while the less powerful positions in organisations are generally held by females (Zapf et al., 2003)¹³⁸. However, the current study shows a more balanced picture as the bivariate analysis revealed a non-significant relationship between gender and the report of being bullied (see also Leymann, 1996, p. 175). Several explanations can account for this: first,

¹³⁷ On the other hand, the variables gender, duration of service and age were not utilised in the logistic regression model since they did not show a significant finding in the bivariate analysis.

¹³⁸ According to Zapf et al. (2003, p. 112), the victims are about one-third men and two-thirds women in most samples.

contrary to the previous assumption, the superior positions in the voluntary sector may not be solely monopolised by women,¹³⁹ and superior positions may be more evenly distributed among genders in the voluntary sector. Or second, contrary to the common assumption,¹⁴⁰ the prevalence of bullying may be similar for all organisational status groups in the voluntary sector as reported by Hoel et al. (2001a, p. 448) in their large-scale UK study. Nonetheless, since the current finding was not consistent with Hoel and Cooper's (2000b, p. 14) finding,¹⁴¹ the inferences that can be made from it are limited. Future research should try to obtain a normally distributed sample in terms of gender distribution (as in Hoel & Cooper's, 2000b study) in order to facilitate a better comparison.¹⁴² In addition, the assumption that women hold most of the senior managerial positions in the voluntary sector should be further substantiated in future research by categorising them according to their organisational status (worker, supervisor, middle manager, senior manager, etc.).¹⁴³

Age

Age is also of little importance with regards to the prevalence of bullying, and the results were not significant for a one year ($p = .585$) nor for a five year duration ($p = .198$). Nonetheless, as Table 9 indicates, the group least at risk were those aged below 20. Further probing revealed that the majority of the respondents below 20

¹³⁹ It was initially predicted in the current thesis that in the voluntary sector, women may hold most of the senior managerial positions because three-quarters of all paid workers in the voluntary sector are female (Hems & van Doorn, 1998, p. 19; Leat, 1993, p. 32; see also NCVO Research Quarterly, 1998; 2000), while men are more likely to work part-time in the voluntary sector (NCVO Research Quarterly, 2000).

¹⁴⁰ Those who are in lower levels of organisational status are more prone to being the victims of workplace bullying compared to those who are in higher organisational status (Zapf et al., 2003, p. 115).

¹⁴¹ Women were significantly over-represented among targets compared to men in the voluntary sector (Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 14).

¹⁴² Descriptive analysis of the sample details (refer Table 2 in Methodology chapter) shows that women (70%) are over-represented compared to men (30%).

¹⁴³ Data from the present questionnaire on 'job title' did not provide sufficient information regarding the organisational status of the respondents.

years of age were actually volunteers. This may be supportive of the hypothesis that employees are more prone to being bullied than volunteers are, which is an indication that will be further discussed in the following sections. Nevertheless, it is suggested that the categories of age options that were offered in the questionnaire were rigid (until '46 and above'). A better understanding may be possible if the age category is extended. For example Hoel and Cooper's (2000b, p. 14) study suggests that older employees (between 55 to 70 years of age) were least at risk.

Overall, it should be noted that personal characteristics such as gender and age are not important determining factors of bullying in the voluntary sector. This is further supported by the fact that although respondents did claim that their negative experiences are due to gender (23%), age (21%), race (13%), political beliefs (6%), sexual orientation (4.5%), health (6.8%) and religion (5.3%), the number is not prevalent compared to other organisational causes, such as stress (33%), office politics (43%) and job level (47%).¹⁴⁴ This is generally congruent with the reasons explained earlier as to why personal harassment, including sexual harassment, is infrequent.¹⁴⁵

Employment status

Although the bivariate analysis showed a significant relationship between employment status and workplace bullying, when employment status was tested with other variables in the logistic regression in order to build a model explaining bullying

¹⁴⁴ Refer to items 53-65 in Appendix A. The percentages were based on N=132 (N=4 were missing case and N=42 were considered as not applicable). The non-applicable cases are respondents who did not experience any negative behavior in the NAQ (items 1-37).

¹⁴⁵ Perhaps because there is usually a clear notice in the equal opportunity policy of voluntary organisations that discrimination due to race, colour, ethnic or national origin, gender, religion, marital status, age, sexuality and disability are prohibited. In contrast, there is no clear instruction in the equal opportunity policy on how office politics and stress could be associated with harassment or workplace bullying.

in the voluntary sector, the results revealed that employment status no longer produces a significant result. This finding suggests that employment status plays a minor role in determining who will become a victim of bullying when compared to other variables such as leadership climate and perpetrator status. Hence, the relationship between employment status and bullying was not supportive of the routine activities approach to workplace bullying.

There are, however, other possible explanations for this null result: Since findings from the bivariate analysis and the interviews¹⁴⁶ have shown that volunteers are bullied to a lesser extent than employees, it seems premature to reject this argument based on the current data set. It is suggested that a more likely explanation for the non-significant effects of job status is attributed towards the measure of job status in this research, which did not take into consideration the various categories of volunteers and employees. In order to facilitate a better comparison, it is necessary to classify the employees working for the voluntary organisations into full-time employees, part-time employees, and casual employees (refer to NCVO Research Quarterly, 1998). Although it was suggested in the Theoretical discussion (Chapter 2) that part-time employees were exposed to workplace bullying to a higher degree than full-time employees, it was not explored in this thesis. Rather, these categories were merged into one (paid employees) and compared with volunteers. Future research on voluntary organisations should take this into consideration. Additionally, the volunteers can also be categorised into, full-time (regularly work more than 30 hours a week), part-time (work less than 30 hours a week) and casual volunteers (those having no fixed hours of work a week) (refer to Hems & van Doorn, 1998, p. 24). Full-time

¹⁴⁶ Findings from the interviews show that all the interviewees who reported being bullied were employees, while volunteers were amongst the interviewees who did not report being bullied.

volunteers are perhaps more susceptible to being bullied than part-time and casual volunteers since they are at the workplace more often and are therefore more exposed to the office politics and stress related to it.

Confronting the Perpetrator

Based on several similarities between the literature on workplace bullying and repeat victimisation (see Chapter 2), it was decided that Farrell et al.'s. (1995) proposition should be tested in this research.¹⁴⁷ However, despite predicting that those who confront the perpetrator of negative behaviours would less likely report bullying than those who do not confront the perpetrator, the findings from the bivariate analysis revealed otherwise (refer Table 12). Instead, an alternative hypothesis was supported whereby respondents who confronted the perpetrator are more likely to experience bullying than those who did not confront the perpetrator. There can be various explanations that account for this: 1) A more simple explanation would be that the non-bullied respondents may not have felt the need to confront the perpetrator since they might not have perceived the negative incidents as serious in the first place. 2) On the other hand, individuals who did not report being bullied may have relied more on other methods than just confronting the perpetrator. 3) Having said that, it should be noted that the interviews from the non-bullied respondents show that active strategies such as confronting the perpetrator have been used and are effective in certain situations, that are: when the non-bullied interviewees are usually more powerful than the perpetrator and often did not fear that they will lose anything in the process; when the problem or disagreement is more inclined to job tasks and not evolved to personal matters; and finally, when the non-bullied interviewees used

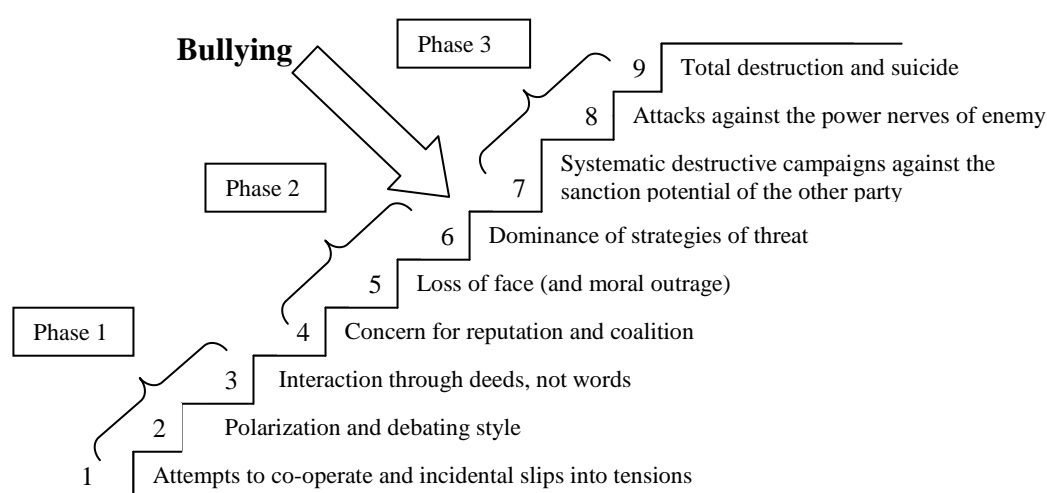
¹⁴⁷ According to Farrell et al. (1995, p. 8), one of the reasons why repeat victimisation occurs is due to the victim's failure to respond to the initial offences.

confrontation in the early stages of the negative incidents. The latter point indicates that the effectiveness of 'confronting' is perhaps much more evident at an earlier stage of the experience (Adams & Crawford, 1992, p. 59) and may not be effective if the negative behaviours have escalated into severe bullying. Further support for this is derived from Glasl (1982); Zapf and Gross (2001); and Keashly and Nowell (2003). Glasl's model (Figure 2) of 'levels of conflict escalation' differentiates between three phases and nine stages. Zapf and Gross (2001) utilised Glasl's (1982) description of conflict escalation at its various stages to determine where bullying in its most extreme form might fall (see also Keashly & Nowell, 2003, pp. 348-349). According to Zapf and Gross (2001, p. 502), bullying in its final stage is a boundary phenomenon between phase 2 and phase 3 (see Figure 2)¹⁴⁸. They described that severe cases of bullying are often characterised by the perpetrators' firm belief that it is impossible to collaborate with the victims anymore and consequently the victim should leave the organisation (Zapf & Gross, p. 502). This implies that active strategies such as confronting and discussing the problem are most often ineffective at phase 2 and 3. Hence, the present thesis contends that the non-bullied interviewees were able to utilise active strategies (such as confronting) in managing the conflict because they were in the earliest stage of bullying (Phase 1). As described by Zapf and Gross (2001, p. 502), in this phase, the conflict parties are interested in reasonable solutions of the problem, they tend to co-operate and deal mostly with impersonal issues, and despite being aware of tensions, the conflict parties try to handle them in a rational and controlled manner. The use of mediator intervention/third party intervention at

¹⁴⁸ Severe bullying could be classified as a conflict at the boundary between the phase in which the relationship between the parties is severed and dominated by threats, and the phase in which destruction of the other becomes paramount (Keashly & Nowell, 2003, pp. 348-349).

this stage can be minimal. Only two of the non-bullied interviewees (cases 104 and 35) indicated that, apart from confronting the perpetrator of negative behaviours, they had also sought the assistance of a supportive authority (note the other two interviewees –cases 47 and 12 –only relied on confronting the perpetrator). The third-party intervention strategies at the ‘discussion stage’¹⁴⁹ elaborated by Keashly and Nowell (2003, p. 352) seem to most accurately describe the third-party intervention that is possible for bullying at its lowest phase (Phase 1). Keashly and Nowell (2003, p. 352) suggested that when needed the third party can take a conciliation approach to facilitate clear communication between the parties. This is reinforced with the use of assertiveness skills of the parties involved and the use of summary statements and open-ended questions.

Figure 2: The conflict escalation model of Glass (1994)
as cited from Zapf and Gross (2001, p. 501)



¹⁴⁹ Based on the work by Glasl (1982), Fisher and Keashly (1990) and Zapf and Gross (2001), Keashly and Nowell (2003, pp. 349-352), elaborated a four-stage model (destruction, segregation, polarisation, and discussion), highlighting four main types of intervention strategies.

4) Another pertinent information lies in the ‘interaction-effects results’ of logistic regression. When ‘confronting the perpetrator’ was included in the model along with other variables, the results revealed that it is not confronting alone which is problematic, but confronting the perpetrator who is actually a superior himself/herself is more damaging according to the logistic regression. Hence, the interaction effect—confrontation by perpetrator status—was supportive of the routine activities approach to workplace bullying. The majority of the four interviewees who said that they were not being bullied experienced negative behaviours from other co-workers/clients rather than superiors. Thus, when the perpetrator is not a superior, confrontation may not be damaging (though it is recommended to bring the matter to the authority as well). On the other hand, confrontation made the situation worse for those who were experiencing negative behaviours from their superiors.¹⁵⁰ This finding was supported by the interview results where, in only 3 out of 12 cases,¹⁵¹ bullying by superiors against interviewees ceased following confrontation. In these cases, active strategies were effective because the victims developed an upper-hand in the conflict and the perpetrators were perceived as reasonable people who were willing to discuss. This was consistent with Musser’s (1982) model (as cited in Keashly & Nowell, 2003, pp. 344-345), which proposed that the less powerful person will base their choice of strategies on 3 criteria: the desire to remain in the organisation; degree of perceived congruence between his/her attitudes and beliefs and those of the perpetrator; and the perceived protection from arbitrary actions by the perpetrator with whom the conflict

¹⁵⁰ Apart from the four interviewees who reported not being bullied, interviews from the 15 respondents who reported being bullied were also analysed in order to gain more information. By building a general trend of why negative incidents either continued or stopped, additional information was gained to investigate the “target attractiveness,” particularly in terms of ‘confrontation’.

¹⁵¹ Out of 15 interviewees who were bullied, twelve experienced negative behaviour from their superiors, while three experienced this from their subordinates and clients.

exists. If active strategies are continually/simply used without considering the above criteria the dispute may worsen. This explains why the majority of the interviewees/victims continued to be bullied by their superiors despite confronting and discussing the issue with them. This point is further supported by the research on sexual harassment at work, which revealed that assertive confrontation of a superior is more likely to lead to retaliation when compared to non-assertive requests (Berryman-Fink, 2001, p. 62). In line with this view, another researcher Er (2001) suggested that the problem is due to the inappropriate use of assertiveness: “although assertive behaviour is claimed to achieve more satisfactory relationships in the workplace, inappropriate use of assertiveness can sometimes cause stress when used at the wrong time or at the wrong place or to the wrong person” (p. 5). Er (2001) further argued that in an autocratic management, it is perhaps wiser for subordinates to not assert anything at all as it is bound to be ignored by the authority or even face retaliation (p. 6). Thus, some may rightly claim that, this straightforward and common sense approach (confronting) is more likely to enrage than to persuade the perpetrators of negative behaviours to desist. Instead, it may result in an increased vindictiveness towards the accuser, making people who confront assailants actually more bullied (Adams & Crawford, 1992, pp. 58-59). According to the “Factsheet on Workplace Bullying” produced by the Andrea Adams Trust (2002), “confrontation is too unsafe an approach to be made by the individual alone”. Instead, it is suggested that individuals seek support and advice in dealing with bullying (seek third-party intervention). Nevertheless, the present thesis opts not to take such a drastic approach to eliminate ‘confrontation’, but rather suggests that confrontation and other active strategies are useful in certain circumstances and that appropriate assertiveness training may be effective in reducing workplace bullying.

Target Exposure

Workload

Apart from ‘target attractiveness’ the suitable target component of RAT is determined by the “exposure” to a negative work environment, which in turn is characterised by a high workload in this thesis. Reports from the TUC in 1998 and 2000 indicating that workload is highly responsible for producing negative work environment in voluntary organisations is further confirmed in this study. However, despite being highly prevalent in the voluntary sector and being significantly related to workplace bullying in the bivariate analysis, it was revealed that workload was not significantly associated with workplace bullying in the logistic regression (the relationship between workload and workplace bullying dissipates once additional factors are taken into account). Therefore, the relationship between workload and bullying was not consistent with the routine activities approach to workplace bullying.

One important factor that contributes towards this finding is that a high workload is increasingly becoming a normal phenomenon in the workplace. It may be that bullied/non-victims (those who were considered bullied using the objective criteria but who actually do not claim that they were being bullied using the subjective criteria in the questionnaire or the interview) perceive workload as an unpleasant but intrinsic, almost unavoidable aspect of the organisational culture/characteristic and hence was something to be endured as part of the job description (refer to cases 85, 1 and 3). Therefore, despite a general indication from the questionnaire survey (in the bivariate analysis) that high workload increases ones vulnerability towards bullying, the interview results reveal (as discussed above) that the trend is quickly shifting in the

voluntary sector, whereby high workload is so prevalent that it is increasingly perceived as a normal phenomenon despite the negative effects.

What is perhaps more worrying is that the current research found a high proportion (around 22%) of the voluntary sector human resource is exposed to a lack of work control. Many interviewees (Cases 44, 11 and 47) indicated that their work practice was questioned everyday in front of the staff and that their decisions were undermined. Case 86 mentioned feeling “stepped on and squashed” when proposing projects for further development of the organisation. Another (Case 1) said that her workload had increased so much that she no longer feels that she is in control of anything (she cannot keep track of her clients). Hence, while the workload failed to support the routine activity theory, this research has revealed that another factor, namely lack of work control, may be more important in predicting bullying in voluntary organisations. This is consistent with previous research (Einarsen et al., 1994) which indicated that the “problem of bullying comes to the fore when a high degree of pressure is present in a work environment where individuals have little control of their own work” (p. 396).

A high workload and the problems related to it, especially a lack of work control, can be attributed to the nature of the voluntary organisations. As discussed in Chapter 2, non-profit organisations derive funding mostly from charitable donations since they are not solely organised for business purposes (Leat, 1993, p. 19; Ruckle, 1993, p. 117). On top of that, “voluntary organisations are being pushed by shifts in funding sources as more income is coming from contracts to provide services, mostly to governments and less from grants or from general public (Courtney, 1994, p. 33; Reed

& Howe, 2000, p. 2).” Since government contracts now make up the largest source of income, voluntary organisations find themselves in an enormously competitive environment in order to secure funding (Courtney, 1994, p. 33; Leat, 1993, pp. 20-21; Reed & Howe, 2000, p. 2). To compound the situation, Reed and Howe (2000, pp. 2-3) noted that as their client needs increase, most voluntary organisations are compelled to devote additional resources to fundraising, partnering, reporting, and computerising (see also Courtney, 1994, pp. 33-35). Hence, the immense competition to secure funding, accompanied by the lack of funding and demands from the funding agencies, are the sources of a high degree of time pressure, work overload, and critically, a lack of work control among many workers in voluntary sector. Supported by the interview findings, the following discussion explains the funding process involved in the voluntary organisations, and how this relates to a high workload that lacks work control in this sector.

When receiving funding, the typical voluntary organisation undergoes an accountability process to maintain and ensure the continuation of funding. Voluntary organisations are increasingly being asked by their funders and by the general public to prove their effectiveness (Courtney, 1994, p. 34) by requiring precise, measurable and binding performance criteria and output controls in exchange for funding (Tonkiss & Passey, 1999, p. 268). In fact, a survey conducted in Canada indicated that more than two-thirds of the voluntary organisations say they now spend more time reporting to their funders (Reed & Howe, 2000, p. 3).

In general, interviewees in this research seem to agree that accountability measures are beneficial. These measures offer the opportunity to obtain important feedback on

the organisations' operations, and can help assure existing and potential donors that donations spent are accounted for (Refer case 50 and 49). Nonetheless, an interesting finding from this research that should be highlighted is that the need for accountability is not the main reason why interviewees were complaining, rather, they were frustrated with the funding agencies which constantly made the process of accountability an unpleasant experience (see also Cunningham, 2001, p. 232). As one interviewee argued (Case 50), there are many people who are prepared to accept long hours, low wages and stressful work, but the funders are responsible for driving people out from the voluntary sector. Another interviewee spoke at length about the stress involved with meeting the complex requirements (accountability structures) of multiple funding organisations at any one time (refer to Cases 5 and 7).

In spite of increased record keeping and reporting, some feel that 'government and other funders are not requesting the real information that is needed to gauge their effectiveness', a situation which was also reported in Reed and Howe (2000, p. 3). In this research, Case 2 claimed that he was bullied by the funding agency into reversing (back tracking) his decisions which had nothing to do with them and that they had dictated to him how he should manage his own staff. Additionally, Cases 50 and 49 felt that they were put under unreasonable demands without being given a fair say. Not only that, sometimes after being put under pressure to evaluate work, the funding is withdrawn without any valid reason (unreasonably) as indicated by Case 50.

Overall, many interviewees seem to be overburdened with a high degree of workload and demand from funding agencies. In fact, interviewees feel that the funding agencies assume that they have exclusive rights to control the voluntary organisations

solely on the basis that they provide the financial resources. What seems more worrying is that the over-controlling of the funding agencies seems to have left the voluntary sector's workforce unable to voice their views and thereby experience a lack of work control. This problem may be more apparent in the voluntary sector because it practices a distinct culture based on an ethos of participative decision making. Due to the voluntary sector's public benefit mission and the preponderance of professionals and knowledge workers who are often prepared to work on lower extrinsic rewards, the workforce expects to be involved in the decision making process, and it is more concerned with how the organisation goes about its work (Cunningham, 2001, p. 227; Leat, 1993, pp. 38-39; Parry et al., 2005, pp. 590, 595). So when these expectations are not met, it is likely that the workforce experiences a lack of work control and feels bullied. Consistently, interviewees have complained that lack of work control due to the pressures from funding bodies have resulted in psychological trauma and could be labelled as bullying (Cases 49, 7, 5 and 50).

Role Conflict and Role Ambiguity

Parallel with lack of work control, there is an indication that the workforce is experiencing role conflict and role ambiguity. In general, interviewees complained that they were not clear about their job roles, did not receive appropriate information to ensure the success of their projects, had to do jobs that they were not trained to do, received conflicting instructions as opposed to their real job description and often ended-up doing duties which do not match their job description. Although, such problems may be attributed to the funding bodies (as discussed above), more specifically, role conflict and role ambiguity can be seen as arising from an inadequate leadership as well. Weak, irresponsible, uncommitted, unknowledgeable MCs for

instance, tend to divert their jobs to other members of the voluntary organisations who are not actually responsible for the tasks. Incidentally, interviewees claimed that the MCs are not handling complaints that they are supposed to handle themselves, are just creating more work for others, and are doing as little as possible (Cases 2, 86, 85, 7, 83, 5, and 44). Furthermore, an over-controlling management may contribute towards role conflict by either demanding the subordinate to perform a task which is not in their job description, or to take away their job responsibility that was initially a part of their job description (Cases 7 and 44). Hence, expressions such as "...it would be my responsibility within my job description to carry out that review. I was never left to do it",¹⁵² are likely to infer the presence of role conflict and ambiguity. Since, role conflict and ambiguity are found to be associated with workplace bullying (Einarsen et al., 1994), future studies in this sector should take these factors into account, as the preliminary findings (based on the interviews in the present study) suggest that that there is ample reason to do so.

In the previous sections, predictors representing the 'suitable target' component of RAT were discussed. For workplace bullying to take place, RAT proposes another necessary component, which is the 'lack of capable guardianship'. The following discussion explores the guardianship component of RAT in terms of the availability of bullying policies (physical guardianship), perpetrator status and constructive leadership climate (social guardianship).

¹⁵² Refer to Case 44.

Capable Guardianship

Bullying Policy

Information obtained about bullying policy in the voluntary organisations can be explained at three levels. Firstly, at the descriptive level, 81% of the respondents from the voluntary organisations either claimed that there was no policy that deals with bullying in their organisation or, importantly, were unaware if there is a policy. The voluntary sector's management should be concerned because the TUC (2000, 'Managing Health and Safety' section) had already rated the voluntary sector as the worst sector for the establishment of health and safety policies. Yet, the importance of having a bullying policy and fostering awareness of it is crucial, as is suggested by the O'Donohue, Downs, and Yeater's (1998, p. 117) research on sexual harassment. According to their study, one of the situational variables that has been demonstrated to inhibit sexual harassment is the existence of explicit grievance procedures within the organisation.

Secondly, contrary to the hypothesis proposed, Chi-square analysis in Table 17 revealed that respondents who indicated the availability of policy tend to report being bullied (21.2%) more than those who said that a policy was not available (14.5%). However the observed relationship fails to meet the criteria of statistical significance ($p = .342$). Despite this non-significant relationship, at least one informal observation could be made from this finding: it may be suggested that only when the respondent is bullied, he or she takes the initiative to find out if the employer has a policy on harassment or unacceptable behaviour which covers bullying. So, as long as they do not experience any negative behaviours, they remain ignorant.

Thirdly, the non-significant findings in the bivariate analysis and the logistic regression show that the availability or unavailability of policy is not a determining factor if the respondents were bullied in the past year. As such, contrary to the routine activity perspective, the availability of policies does not provide guardianship against workplace bullying in the voluntary sector. This finding can be attributed to one important reason: even when respondents (19%) claimed that there was a bullying policy available in their organisation, further probing revealed that what they were referring to was the 'equal opportunity policy' and 'grievance procedure'. None of the respondents reported a specific bullying policy. In fact, all of the voluntary organisations that participated in this research claimed to have an equal opportunity policy that more or less contained the quotation below:

The (the name of the organisation) believes that no individual, group or section of society should suffer from discrimination and is wholly committed to the elimination of discrimination arising from race, colour, ethnic or national origin, gender, religion, marital status, age, sexuality, disability or any other improper grounds...The (the name of the organisation) will not tolerate acts of harassment or victimisation of staff or acts of discrimination or prejudice by its staff...

So, while much attention has been given to policies to combat racial or sexual discrimination, effort to create awareness of other forms of harassment is less developed in the voluntary organisations. Unfortunately, the equal opportunity policies extant in voluntary organisations do not ensure the prevention of workplace bullying (which is characterised more by work-related and organisational harassment

in this sector), and so effort should be made to further improve these policies. Other studies have also indicated that the voluntary sector is lagging behind in the establishment of policies in general. According to Cunningham (2001) some voluntary organisations were “operating with non-existent, out-of-date or poorly drafted personnel policies and procedures” (p. 234). As a consequence, 25% of voluntary organisations had faced an industrial tribunal, a figure which is higher than in the public and private services (see Cunningham, 2001, p. 234). Similarly Parry et al. (2005, p. 598) indicated that only less than 10% of the voluntary organisations were QuADS compliant, while more than a third of the public sector organisations were compliant with the QuADS standard.¹⁵³

As Andrew Cornwell (1995, p. 16) mentioned in the Third Sector, “if we were to maintain our commitment to equal opportunities it was necessary to develop a bullying policy.” The findings generated from the interviews further supported the need for a specific bullying policy. A number of interviewees in this research suggested that regardless of the presence of equal opportunity policies and grievance procedures, workplace bullying policies should receive attention in specific writing and in training sessions. In particular, seven out of 19 interviewees (Cases 1, 2, 86, 50, 3, 47, 44) indicated that a specific policy on workplace bullying is needed. For instance, Case 86 said that a bullying policy is wider in scope in that it should raise awareness about the phenomenon and introduce appropriate prevention strategies. In addition, according to them, an equal opportunity policy may not be specific while a

¹⁵³ Parry et al. (2005) conducted a specific study on voluntary and public organisations which provide substance misuse treatment services. In order to improve workforce competence in these services the Department of Health initiated the development of QuADs (Quality in Alcohol and Drugs Services). The introduction of QuADS standards means that all provider organisations must have a number of human resources policies and procedures in place in order to be able to maintain funding. These requirements include the development of policies regarding recruitment, training and equal opportunities (p. 592).

bullying policy will be able cover types of behaviours not necessarily obvious and will explain the prevention methods (Cases 2 and 3). This is further verified by Hoel and Cooper (2000a, p. 111), who suggested that all organisations need to have a policy for handling cases of bullying that include a clear definition complemented with behavioural examples, taking into account the local culture and the local understanding of the issue (see also Mayhew & Chappell, 2001, p. 21).

In summary, this research reveals that despite its egalitarian ethos, and the requirement by the funding bodies to introduce formal HR policies in exchange for funding (Cunningham, 2001, p. 233; Parry et al., 2005, p. 592), the voluntary sectors' workforce lacks informational support both in terms of the establishment of an appropriate bullying policy and in providing adequate training on how to deal with bullying. Having said that, the non-significant result of an 'availability of policy' juxtaposed with the significant result of 'social guardianship' in the logistic regression shows that informational support is futile without instrumental support¹⁵⁴ from the management. Eight out of 15 interviewees who were bullied mentioned that the presence of a policy—no matter what policy it may be—might still be inadequate. Many interviewees were not confident that their management is serious enough in supporting and implementing even the available equal opportunity policy or grievance procedures: Cases 85 and 79 have tried using the grievance procedure but were not given appropriate support by the management; Case 44 tried using the grievance procedure but did not receive the needed support because the management was influenced by the perpetrator; Cases 2, 7, and 86 felt that the management was too

¹⁵⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 2, House (1981, pp. 24-25) defined instrumental support as involving instrumental behaviours that directly help the person in need, which might include taking care of or helping someone.

weak and not committed to implementing the grievance procedure effectively; and finally Cases 83 and 11 mentioned that it is difficult to activate a grievance procedure when the MCs themselves are the bullies. Additionally, other factors on a more personal level further complicates the situation: first, interviewees are hesitant to make complaints due to their loyalty towards the voluntary organisation, second, victims are reluctant because of fear of losing their jobs (job insecurities), third, the disciplinary procedure itself might be misunderstood as a bullying tool, and finally, victims have reported that they have no more energy and confidence to fight their case. Therefore, it is reasonable to note that the presence of a bullying policy is useless without the instrumental support from the management. A similar view was echoed by Kelly (2005), who observed that although, 30 out of 36 public universities in Australia have bullying policies, there was an increase of bullying incidents. She argued that while, organisations are aware of the phenomenon, the representation of commitment to anti-bullying strategies may be vexed.

In line with this, the following discussion focuses on the importance of instrumental support. As Neuman and Baron (1998) stated, “demonstrated top management commitment to a policy of zero tolerance of internal violence or a related policy, is of core importance” (p. 408). Such commitment from the management is not only illustrated in the informational support (physical guardianship) but also, more importantly, as proven in the logistic regression results, it is illustrated in the instrumental support (social guardianship). The findings from the current study show that the strongest predictor of bullying in the voluntary organisations is social guardianship, which is manifest by the ‘perpetrator status’ and ‘constructive leadership climate’. In other words, workplace bullying occurs in the voluntary

organisations especially when there is a lack of social guardianship, which is in turn created when the perpetrator of bullying is the superior and when the organisation lacks a constructive leadership climate.

Perpetrator Status

Although, the bivariate chi-square analysis was not significant, the results showed a general indication that bullying behaviour in voluntary organisations is mostly perpetrated by superiors or people in a higher hierarchical level rather than non-superiors. This was supported by the findings from the interview: of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied, 12 of them said that the perpetrator(s) were the authority/superior (supervisor, line manager, manager, chairman, management committee). On the other hand, of the four respondents who reported that they were not bullied, only one of them said the perpetrator was the authority.¹⁵⁵ The foregoing finding also supports other British findings indicating that the majority of workplace bullying is perpetrated by superiors against subordinates (Hoel et al., 2001a, p. 450; Hoel & Cooper, 2000b, p. 16; Rayner, 1997, p. 206). However, contrary to the majority of findings (see Zapf et al., 2003, p. 113), the initial indication in the present study is that more females than males are bullies in the voluntary sector.¹⁵⁶ This finding could be explained by the fact that there are more women superiors than male superiors, but it is premature to confirm this notion for reasons already mentioned above (refer to the discussion on gender issues).

¹⁵⁵ Thus the majority of the interviewees who reported being bullied experienced negative behaviours from their superiors, while the majority of the interviewees who were not bullied experienced negative behaviours from their colleagues, clients or non-superiors.

¹⁵⁶ Of the 12 interviewees who were bullied by superiors, five were bullied by female superiors, three were bullied by male superiors, and four were bullied by male and female supervisors.

Most importantly, the findings from the logistic regression show that the relationship between perpetrator status and workplace bullying was supportive of the routine activities approach to workplace bullying. This supports the prediction made earlier that the absence of guardianship occurs when leaders (supervisors, managers or voluntary managers), otherwise perceived as guardians, are themselves the perpetrators of workplace bullying, thereby creating an initial power imbalance between the victim and perpetrator. According to Salin (2003) “without the element of ‘power imbalance’ the person towards whom the aggression is directed could withstand the direct or indirect attacks and retaliate, thus preventing bullying from beginning” (p. 1219). Additionally, Vandekerckhove and Commers (2003, p. 42), argued that bullying perpetrated by superiors or downward mobbing points to the failure of authority, that is, the formal power status is abused to perpetrate organisationally non-rational behaviour. In support of this, interviews with the victims of bullying (who experienced negative behaviours from their superiors) indicated that their superiors often adopt an abusive style of management—ranging from ‘asked to lie in reports’, ‘ignored when it’s time for supervision’, ‘accused based on rumours’, ‘threatened termination if did not adhere’, ‘humiliated and blamed in front of others’, ‘not allowed to participate in training’ ‘being ignored for consultation’ and ‘shouted at’.

The following section explores another element of social guardianship, that is the ‘constructive leadership climate’. This predictor is closely related to ‘perpetrator status’. In fact, the results of the logistic regression significantly maintained both ‘perpetrator status’ and ‘constructive leadership climate’ in the final model.

Whenever victims experience negative behaviours from their superiors, and as a

result, report that the perpetrator of bullying is the superior him/herself, this will most likely influence the perception about the overall leadership climate of the voluntary organisation.

Constructive Leadership Climate

The constructive leadership climate was significantly related with workplace bullying in the bivariate analysis (refer Table 16), and maintained its significant effect even when the full array of predictors were accounted for in the logistic regression.

Therefore, a constructive leadership climate is of crucial importance in predicting/preventing workplace bullying in the voluntary organisations. Respondents who are from a constructive leadership climate tend to be bullied to a significantly lesser degree than those who lack constructive leadership climate. Consistent with the routine activities perspective, workplace bullying is likely to occur when there is a lack of capable guardianship that is characterised, in turn, by a lack of a constructive leadership climate.

As indicated earlier in the previous section on the ‘perpetrator status’, of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied, 12 of them were particularly bullied by their superiors. Further probing revealed the important point that these 15 interviewees also complained about their overall leadership climate. Moreover, regardless of the perpetrator status, even when interviewees sought help from other superiors (from the management/superior who were not involved with bullying), many reported a lack of constructive leadership. Seven of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied (Cases 152, 85, 7, 44, 79, 33, and 3)¹⁵⁷ emphasised that they were in an environment

¹⁵⁷ Two of them left the job, one made grievance but eventually left the job after settling the matter out of court, while the other four remained.

where the management was unsupportive and that there was an absence of a constructive leadership climate. Many said that although they had reported their problems (regarding bullying) to their superiors/trustees, ‘nothing was done’ to help, or their complaints were ‘brushed under the carpet’. More alarmingly, the very management that was supposed to provide support was often perceived as siding with the perpetrator of bullying, or was itself influenced by the perpetrator. In addition, three of the 15 bullied interviewees mentioned that the bullying only stopped when their supervisor or manager (authority) took up the matter and provided support (Case 49), or when a new management that provided a better and supportive environment took over (refer Cases 3 and 44).

Overall, two of the predictors measuring capable guardianship, the constructive leadership climate and perpetrator status, are important in providing instrumental support for the voluntary workforce. The above findings indicate that a constructive leadership climate is important to providing support when coping with bullying or in order to prevent it (see Quine, 1999, p. 231).¹⁵⁸ Additionally, its potential contribution in creating a culture that prevents workplace bullying is demonstrated in this study, particularly so by the logistic regression. Most importantly, the presence of instrumental support is predicted to facilitate the implementation of informational support (establishing bullying policies and providing appropriate training for the workforce to combat workplace bullying).

¹⁵⁸ The British survey of 1,100 NHS workers also confirmed that a supportive work environment can protect people against some of the harmful effects from bullying/internal violence (Quine, 1999, p. 231).

A particular area of interest that was predicted to relate with the issue of the lack of instrumental support in voluntary organisations is the voluntary management committee/trustee. In general, results from the interviews indicated that the MC (management committee) in voluntary organisations is a source of various problems. In many instances they are the perpetrators of bullying (six out of 12 interviewees)¹⁵⁹, or/and they are often viewed as non-supportive by victims of bullying (nine out of 15 interviewees)¹⁶⁰.

The MC members who are not supportive are often described as weak, avoiding responsibility and uncommitted, as illustrated by Case 2. Another victim, Case 85, felt that the MC did not do anything but create work and cause problems. Ruckle (1993, p. 107) had warned that such an uninvolved and unaccountable board can endanger the survival of a voluntary organisation (see also Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7). In addition, Cases 85, 44 and 2 said that the MC members do not necessarily have the skills, knowledge and experience to manage voluntary organisations. This supports the contention made earlier in the previous chapters that voluntary management committees are usually selected from constituencies or stakeholders of other organisations. Since their primary allegiance is to their initial organisations, they may have little understanding of the management of the voluntary organisations. This can create the impression that, as claimed by Case 85, “they didn’t really know what they were talking about” (see also Leat, 1993, pp. 26-27; Walker, 1998, pp. 6-7). Consequently, it is not surprising that some MCs resort to becoming over-controlling/over-managing due to the sudden temptation of power (as reported by

¹⁵⁹ Cases 85, 83, 44, 79, 33 and 86.

¹⁶⁰ Cases 152, 85, 83, 2, 7, 44, 79, 33 and 86.

Cases 7 and 44). Ancillary to this, there are also claims that the voluntary sector is characterised by insecure and stressed-out leadership which is either constantly, resisting new management styles or being resisted by the workforce when they (leadership) try and introduce new styles of management.

In general, findings from this section (on social guardianship) indicate the need for management training. The importance of human resource management/personnel management in the voluntary sector has not been neglected, and there have been numerous articles published on, for instance, skills in managing the voluntary workforce (refer Shin & Kleiner, 2003; Wilson & Pimm, 1996). Nonetheless, what seems to be crucial, but has been rather ineffectively dealt with or neglected, is the training of managers with appropriate personnel management skills. The present finding is consistent with other reports: previously, Amos-Wilson (1996, p. 15) indicated that management training is not a priority in the voluntary sector, as only one UK journal article which the author reviewed was concerned specifically with management training in this sector. Similarly, Woolf (2001) reported that the biggest skill shortage facing the voluntary sector is management skills, and that the available training has not addressed this problem. It should be noted that at the time the current research was carried out, a report by Palmer (2003, 'Training' section) stated that voluntary organisations have begun to emphasise the need for management training. Despite this awareness, Hailey and James (2004, pp. 344-345) found that there is only a small body of research which investigates the leadership quality in voluntary organisations, and they emphasised that in order for leadership development/training programmes to be effective, they need to take into consideration the context/environment in which leaders work and the expectations of the people they

work with (Hailey and James, 2004, p. 350). The present thesis fills this existing gap by addressing one specific aspect of leadership in voluntary organisations; namely, it investigates the characteristics of the voluntary sector management and the context in which they work in and how these contribute towards workplace bullying in this sector. Based on the findings, specific recommendations are made in respect to the training needs of the management (see part four of this chapter).

The Personality Factor

Although, RAT does not take personality factor into consideration and is based solely on situational perspective, the importance of this element (personality) in explaining workplace bullying cannot be denied. It has been documented in the literature that victims of workplace bullying are often more introverted, conscientious, neurotic and submissive (Coyne et al., 2000, p. 344).¹⁶¹ A particular personality trait which characterises the voluntary sector workforce and that is of interest in the current study is conscientiousness.¹⁶² This trait was recurrent in the interview findings and was observed to be associated with the occurrence of bullying in the voluntary sector. The forth-coming discussion will explore the relationship between conscientiousness and dispute-related bullying.

It is a common notion that the voluntary sector workforce tend to be motivated intrinsically. As reported by Ruckle (1993, pp. 102-103), the workforce involvement in the voluntary sector is often because they identified with its philosophy and mission, they found personal meaning in the affiliation and the organisation was doing

¹⁶¹ Refer to the section on 'Personal Determinants/Individual Level Theories' in the present thesis.

¹⁶² A conscientious individual is hard-working, competent, dutiful, orderly/organised, responsible, and persistent (Encyclopaedia Wikipedia, 2007).

tasks which they believed should be done.¹⁶³ In addition, Huang and Cappelli (2007) indicated that conscientious workers are willing to work harder for the same rates of pay, are less inclined to shirk their responsibilities, and can perform with less monitoring, oversight and performance-related incentives.¹⁶⁴ Nonetheless, conscientiousness or in this case, a conscientious workforce as characterised by the voluntary sector has its limitation. Ryan and Deci (2000, p. 70) suggested that the maintenance and enhancement of intrinsic motivation requires supportive conditions, since it can be disrupted or diminished by various non-supportive conditions. These supportive conditions or ‘psychic’ rewards as referred to by Ruckle (1993), as in the context of the voluntary sector, are characterised by independent decision-making, informality and flexibility, and opportunity for self-expression and self-fulfilment play an important role in compensating employees (Ruckle, 1993, p. 115). Similarly, Ryan and Deci’s (2000, p. 70) report further supports that optimal challenges, freedom from demeaning evaluation, choice, acknowledgement of feelings, and opportunities for self-direction were found to enhance intrinsic motivation because they allow people a greater feeling of autonomy. In contrast, threats, deadlines, directives, pressured evaluation, imposed goals diminish intrinsic motivation. Unfortunately, the introduction of contract culture as argued at the outset of this thesis implicates a greater control of the workforce by funding bodies (refer to discussion on funding bodies) and even by superiors in general (refer to discussion on constructive leadership climate). This results in less opportunity for staff to experience the traditional rewards associated with employment in the sector such as variety and autonomy (see also Cunningham, 2001, pp. 228-229). Hence, it is easy to conceive

¹⁶³ This is consistent with the literature on intrinsic motivation which defines it as “the inherent tendency to seek out novelty and challenges, to extend and exercise one’s capacities, to explore, and to learn (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 70).”

¹⁶⁴ Referring to intrinsic motivation.

that such a development may upset/dissatisfy a conscientious workforce and can easily lead to conflicts, conflict escalation and dispute-related bullying. Consistently, a number interviewees have claimed that lack of work control results in psychological trauma and can be considered as workplace bullying.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the resistance towards change into a new management style by the workforce¹⁶⁶ and the accusation made by some employees¹⁶⁷ that the disciplinary procedure itself is a form of bullying, may ultimately be a resistance towards the over-controlling environment in this sector (see also Cunningham, 2001, p. 237). What is more, a conscientious individual who is honest, punctual, accurate and perfectionist (or as referred to as fast-paced in the

Qualitative Results Chapter in the current thesis) may annoy or patronise fellow colleagues and lead to the conscientious individual being bullied (see Coyne et al., 2000, p. 346). These data fit with Brodsky's (1976, p. 89) qualitative observations which indicated that conscientious individuals are inclined to be bullied because they are overachievers who have unrealistic view of themselves and tend to believe they are ideal workers. As a result, they have troubles adjusting to the imperfection of the situation and may annoy fellow workers.

Having elaborated on the relationship between conscientiousness and dispute-related workplace bullying, the discussion now turns to predatory bullying. It should be noted that extremely conscientious individual may also be regarded as dull, boring and unimaginative (Encyclopaedia Wikipedia, 2007), perhaps because they are more rule-abiding, moralistic, traditional and rigid (refer to Coyne et al., 2000, pp. 340, 346). This picture closely matches one of the interviewee's descriptions (Case 47), which

¹⁶⁵ Cases 49, 7, 5, and 50.

¹⁶⁶ Cases 2, 86 and 83.

¹⁶⁷ This observation was made by Case 22.

suggested that the voluntary sector attracts a certain type of person who is slow-paced, and who has stayed in the sector for so long that they are fixed in their ways.¹⁶⁸ They may become isolated because they follow organisational norms but not informal group norms that are against formal rules (Coyne et al., 2000, p. 346). For instance, according to Case 47, such individuals refuse to change their ways to become more business minded, be more professional, and enter full force into the business world. Hence, the weakness portrayed by being overly conscientious makes them become an easy target or vulnerable towards predatory-bullying since they are not seen to join others and seem secluded and as a result lack social support network to support them or deter the perpetrator (see Coyne et al., 2000, 346).

In sum, although this study focuses in the situational perspective of bullying, on no account it claims that a situational perspective in itself is sufficient. In fact, the above finding reveals that personality factor plays an important role and should be taken into consideration in order to obtain a more holistic picture of bullying in the voluntary sector. The following part highlights the implications drawn from the preceding discussions.

Part 4: Antecedents of Bullying and the Implications Towards the Voluntary Sector

A routine activities approach was specified to explain workplace bullying in the voluntary organisations, and thus achieve the second purpose of this study. By laying out this framework, the study was able to assess the importance of suitable target and capable guardianship components in predicting bullying in voluntary organisations, to determine the distinct features of the voluntary sector that may contribute towards

¹⁶⁸ The weak and unskilled MC may also contribute to this (Cases 2, 86, 85, 7, 83, 5, and 44).

workplace bullying, and to examine the extent to which RAT is applicable in explaining a phenomenon other than direct-contact predatory crime.

The set of suitable target and capable guardianship variables accounted for 37% of the variance explained in workplace bullying. The organisational measures of social guardianship (perpetrator status and constructive leadership climate) and the interaction effect ‘confronting by perpetrator status’ were found to be the strongest predictors of bullying in voluntary organisations. When respondents are in groups characterised by a constructive management climate with non-abusive supervisors, social guardianship is provided either directly from the superiors where they intervene to thwart the negative behaviours of the perpetrator, or indirectly where respondents feel more confident to serve as their own guardians (to resist bullying) on the basis that they have the support of their superiors (see also De Coster et al., 1999, pp. 25-26). At the onset of the thesis it was suggested that the management as a whole and particularly the voluntary management committee (MC) of the voluntary sector possess some distinct features that may contribute towards workplace bullying. Findings from this study reveal that of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied, 12 of them said that the perpetrator(s) were the authority/superior (supervisor, line manager, manager, chairman, management committee). Furthermore, seven of the 15 interviewees who reported being bullied emphasised that they were in an environment where the management was unsupportive and that there was an absence of a constructive leadership climate when the victim tried to seek help/support. In line with this, a limited understanding of managing voluntary organisations and a limited sense of responsibility towards the sector were the mainly cited complaints from the interviewees regarding the leadership of the voluntary sector, and especially the

voluntary management committee. Hence, there are training needs for the voluntary management committee in particular and the management as a whole. First, since trustees (MC) are often key players in most voluntary organisations (Courtney, 1994, p. 35), they should be provided training to familiarise them with the needs of the sector and the changes that it is going through, and they should be provided with a clear idea of their roles in the management of the voluntary organisations. Second, in addition to the above, the management as a whole should be trained to be more aware of how their behaviours may lead to bullying, and they should be provided skills in conflict resolution as an early intervention resource for disputes and defusing aggression, or even as mediators when the conflict has escalated to severe bullying. Third, since the superiors are the strongest predictors of bullying in the voluntary sector, there should be alternative channels for complaints such as a third party which comes into the voluntary organisation occasionally to assess the situation (see also Hoel & Cooper, 2000a, pp. 113-114). The current interview results show that out of 22 interviewees, three reported that such facilities (external supervision and external consultant) are available and useful (Cases 7 and 44). Fourth, the leadership should be equipped with appropriate skills in introducing changes, particularly because evidence suggest a degree of resistance and dissatisfaction among staff in response to changes to employee relations policies (see also Cunningham, 2001, p. 237), thereby making management of change a sensitive issue in this sector (Palmer, 2003, 'Organisational Culture and Power Relation' section, para. 1).

The latter point deserves special attention, since it was a recurrent theme in the interviews and was found to be associated with incidents of workplace bullying in this sector. Resistance towards change was prevalent on the part of the workforce, as they

are constantly complaining that the management was over-controlling them in their endeavours. This may be due to the additional pressure from the funding bodies so that voluntary organisations introduce formal HR policies in exchange for funding (see also Cunningham, 2001, p. 233; Parry et al., 2005, p. 592). Additionally, apart from the overwhelming pressure of the managerial role (Hailey & James, 2004, p. 344; Parry et al., 2005, p. 590) which is accompanied by the dissatisfaction due to the incompatible reinforcement/salary (Parry et al., 2005, p. 595) as mentioned in Chapter 1, the present study reveals that the managerial staff who are increasingly recruited from private industries may introduce a commercial management culture which is not yet familiar with and to the workforce (see also Palmer, 2003, 'the Third Sector and the Professionalisation of Management' section), and so can be perceived as bullying. In fact, Sheehan (1996) found that superiors often use inappropriate coercive management style in times of organisational restructuring and rationalise their arguably cruel behaviours under the rhetoric of restructuring (pp. 77-82). In addition, resistance towards change was not only experienced by employees, but also, the voluntary sector's leadership/management itself was reported to have resisted change and become insecure and stressed-out, consequently. Hence, in order to devise a successful prevention programme, it is important to closely examine the types of changes that are most significantly related to workplace bullying in this sector (though preliminary findings may point towards 'budget cuts' due to the increased competition arising from the introduction of contract culture; 'change of management', 'organisational restructuring' and 'reengineering' due to newly recruited managers from private sectors; and 'employee monitoring' enforced by funding agencies).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Baron and Neuman (1996), listed a range of changes in the work setting (downsizing, layoffs, budget cuts, technological change, increased diversity, affirmative action, employee monitoring, change in management, organizational restructuring, reengineering, pay cuts, use of part-timers, job sharing), and examined the relationship with workplace aggression (see also Hoel and Cooper, 2000).

Moreover, the current study acknowledges the fact that the for-profit and voluntary sectors have a lot to learn from each other, a notion famously echoed by researchers such as Drucker (1990) and supported by Leat (1993). Nonetheless, this thesis also emphasises that rather than merely mimicking for-profit practices, systematic studies in adopting or implementing hard management or commercial techniques from the for-profit sector into the voluntary sector, should be emphasised, so as to preserve its unique culture of innovation, participation and autonomy.

Although the variable ‘confronting the perpetrator’ was not tested to its fullest capacity, several implications can be drawn from the current findings, especially implications towards the much promoted and vaunted equal opportunities ethos of the voluntary sector, and also implications towards the conflict management literature. Initially, it was predicted that in a job sector which promotes an ethos of equal opportunities more than other sectors do (refer to Leat, 1993, p. 38), the workforce would be more aware of bullying. The management was expected to have conveyed the information regarding workplace bullying, conveyed information regarding the rights of the victim/perpetrator, equip the workforce with skills to prevent it, and made clear the negative implications towards the perpetrator. Hence, in such an environment it is presumed that confronting the perpetrator of negative behaviours at the right situation would prevent the conflict from escalating to workplace bullying. Contrary to the hypothesis proposed, respondents who confronted the perpetrator reported being bullied. Having said that, confronting alone (the main effect) was not a strong predictor of bullying in the voluntary organisations; rather, its effect becomes more obvious depending upon the perpetrator status (interaction effect). Confronting then increases the possibility of being bullied especially when the perpetrator is the

superior (existence of power imbalance). In line with this, the interview finding shows that ‘confronting’ or other active strategies were successfully applied in cases where the power imbalance element was missing: in such situations the victims often do not feel inferior or fear that they will lose anything by confronting the perpetrator, the victims hold a superior position in the organisation or gradually develop an upper-hand in the process, and the perpetrator is otherwise perceived as a supportive person who is easy to discuss with in daily dealings. Other pertinent factors generated from the interviews are related to the phase of the conflict and the type of conflict issues. Active strategies such as confrontation were useful when applied in the early phases of conflict (refer Figure 2) and when the conflict issue is related to job tasks and has not become personal. Consistent with Ellis’ (1997, ‘The Caring Organisation’ section, para. 5-6) view that confronting could be an effective prevention technique provided that the workforce is trained with necessary assertiveness skills, this thesis recommends that the voluntary sector’s workforce should be provided with the necessary assertiveness training.¹⁷⁰ It is suggested that the voluntary sector should promote its equal opportunity ethos by providing the workforce with assertiveness training in dealing with different types of perpetrators and different phases of bullying. Ellis (1997) stated that, “Many victims of workplace bullying do not lack the assertiveness to confront their perpetrators, they simply do not possess the skills to do so effectively” (‘The Caring Organisation’ section, para. 5-6). Nevertheless, the present study mirrors Zapf and Gross’s (2001) finding, in that it supports the view that “bullying in an advanced stage is often a non-control situation for the victim” (p. 515). Hence, in cases where the respondents are not trained in assertive skills or when the perpetrator is superior than the victim (power imbalance) or when the conflict has

¹⁷⁰ Keashly and Nowell (2001, p. 517) mentioned that conflict management strategies should not be totally disregarded.

escalated to severe bullying (boundary between Phase 2 and 3 as shown in Figure 2), it is suggested that rather than solely relying on ‘confronting’, a preferred method of response is to bring in a third-party or mediator intervention (bring the matter to the attention of a supportive authority). In this respect, it is imperative for the voluntary sector to have trained managers or hire trained consultants, who are knowledgeable about the various intervention techniques suitable at different levels of bullying or conflict.¹⁷¹ For instance, assuming that escalated bullying conflict can be located between phase 2 and phase 3/ or at stages 6 and 7 (refer Figure 2) (Zapf & Gross, 2001, pp. 502, 517), arbitration award and power intervention¹⁷² are most appropriate (Zapf & Gross, 2001, p. 517). On the other hand, if the conflict is still at stage 1, the third party can take a minimal and conciliation approach so as to “facilitate a clear and open communication” between the conflict parties (Keashly & Nowell, 2003, p. 352).”

There are also lessons to be drawn from the non-significant predictors. First, with regards to the physical guardianship or availability of bullying policy, it was anticipated earlier that the voluntary sector would have policies in place to curb workplace bullying due to its emphasis on the egalitarian ethos (see Leat, 1993, p. 38) and due to the additional pressure from the funding bodies so that voluntary organisations introduce formal HR policies in exchange for funding (Cunningham, 2001, p. 233; Parry et al., 2005, p. 592). Unfortunately, the majority of the voluntary organisations (81% of respondents) at present do not have a clear anti-bullying policy,

¹⁷¹ The current interview results show that out of 22 interviewees, only three reported that such facilities (external supervision and external consultant) are available and useful (Cases 7 and 44).

¹⁷² “The third party functions as peacekeepers by forcefully setting norms, defining unacceptable violence and isolating parties when necessary. In the workplace, these types of activities include zero-tolerance policies, moving parties to separate departments and behavioural contracts handled through Personnel (Keashly & Nowell, 2003, p. 350).”

and the available equal opportunity policy is not effective in preventing bullying. In particular, the effectiveness of the current equal opportunity policy or the grievance procedures is more appropriate in dealing with personal harassment rather than other forms of bullying behaviours. Nonetheless, although the physical guardianship (availability of policy) component is not a good predictor of bullying in voluntary organisations, this does not mean that the presence of a bullying policy is useless in preventing bullying. Rather, the interview findings revealed that an important prerequisite for informational support (availability of bullying policy or physical guardianship) is the instrumental support from the management (social guardianship). Many interviewees expressed that their management is not serious enough in supporting and implementing even the available equal opportunity policy or grievance procedures. Since negative leadership characteristics (social guardianship) have been identified as strongly associated with bullying in the voluntary sector, any programme aimed at preventing bullying should begin with the support of the management (see also Hoel et al., 1999, p. 211). Therefore, the thesis strongly suggests that, in order to have a successful policy, the leadership should first and foremost accept that there is a problem to be managed and controlled (Leather, Beale, Lawrence, Brady, & Cox, 1999, p. 10). It further recommends that the voluntary sector management should demonstrate its commitment to the eradication of bullying through regular and clearly communicated policy statements¹⁷³, it should provide training for the workforce on the details of the policy, and how to report incidents of bullying and obtain support (see also Richards & Daley, 2003). In addition, the effectiveness of these strategies should

¹⁷³ “The equal opportunities and anti-harassment policy should make clear what the warning signs of bully/victim relationship are so that employees will recognise them before the situation festers (Ellis, 1997, ‘Training and Support of Employees’ section, para. 2).”

be monitored in order to ensure that workplace bullying is not allowed to continue unchecked (Richards & Daley, 2003, p. 257).

Second, although workload was not found to be an important predictor of bullying in the voluntary organisations, this finding cannot be overlooked since there are other important implications arising from it. The majority of the victims said that work overload is a normal phenomenon in the voluntary organisation which they have to get accustomed to. Yet, further probing revealed that another factor, namely 'lack of work control', may be more significantly associated with bullying in the voluntary sector than work overload. The current research found that 22% of the voluntary sectors' human resources is exposed to negative behaviour relating to a lack of work control. In fact, it was found that excessive demands from the funders is one of the major sources of lack of work control in the voluntary sector, a phenomenon many interviewees refer to as a form of bullying. While the professionals and knowledge workers are often prepared to work for lower extrinsic rewards due to the voluntary sector's public benefit mission, they are quite concerned with the organisations' working policies and procedures, and the workforce expects to be involved in the decision making process (Cunningham, 2001, p. 227; Leat, 1993, pp. 38-39; Parry et al., 2005, pp. 590, 595). Cunningham (2001, p. 229) stated that greater controls by funding bodies have limited the opportunity for staff to be as autonomous as they

traditionally would have been. So when these expectations are not met, it is likely that the workforce experiences a lack of work control, which may in turn facilitate conflict escalation between parties who are not satisfied, leading to bullying incidents.

Although further research should be carried out to confirm that a lack of work control is an important predictor of workplace bullying in voluntary organisations, the current research was useful in identifying that the lack of work control is an important source of complaint, that the funding agencies are partly responsible for this, and that some interviewees do consider this as a form of bullying. Given the high prevalence of the absence of work control among the highly qualified workforce in the sector and the association of the absence of work control with bullying, the voluntary sector management should address the issue of work control more extensively. Efforts should be made in managing and retaining the commitment of a highly conscientious and professional workforce in this sector, in the midst of organisational changes. Special attention should also be directed to the relationship between the voluntary sector workforce and the funding agencies (see also Cunningham, 2001, p. 236-237).¹⁷⁴ Preliminary suggestions by the interviewees that the situation could be improved if the voluntary sector and the funding agencies were to have improved consultation, understanding and trust between each other (Refer to cases 2, 5, and 49), should also be explored. Along with lack of work control, two other factors namely, role conflict and role ambiguity were found to be prevalent in this sector, and perhaps associated with workplace bullying. As such, future studies in the voluntary sector should emphasise in investigating the extent to which role conflict and role ambiguity

¹⁷⁴ Cunningham (2001) emphasised the need to investigate the extent to which the funding bodies influence the employee relations environment of the voluntary sector. Findings from the current study revealing that funding bodies may be a source of bullying, further extends the need to explore the dynamics between funding bodies and the voluntary sector.

are associated with bullying, in pin-pointing the sources and in reducing the negative effects.

Part 5: Implications of this Study Towards RAT

Having reviewed the importance of the various variables representing the components of RAT and the implications upon the voluntary sector, the following section summaries the implications of these findings towards RAT. The routine activities approach to victimisation suggests that motivated offenders, suitable targets and an absence of capable guardians are necessary conditions for victimisation to occur (Cohen & Felson, 1979, pp. 588-589). Overall, the support for the routine activity theory is weak (partial) in this study. Only two of the main effect hypotheses underling the social guardianship component (perpetrator status and constructive leadership climate) and one interaction effect (confronted by perpetrator status) were supported in the logistic regression. Nevertheless, the current findings from the logistic regression and interviews indicate that the phenomenon of workplace bullying in the voluntary sector is associated with certain distinguishing characteristics and activities in this sector (as mentioned in the above discussions). Hence, it is premature to reject the basic premise of routine activities theory that explains victimisation as a function of the routine or daily activities of victims that places them at risk (see Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589). Furthermore, the Nagelkerke R Sq. measures indicate that the model with both suitable target and guardianship components is better at predicting bullying than if only either one of the components is included. Findings from the logistic regression show that while the 'suitable target' component accounted for 16% of the variance explained in workplace bullying, the addition of the 'capable guardianship' component further increased the explained variance to 30%. Hence, if

one component of RAT is missing –in this case the lack of social guardianship component –workplace bullying may be less likely to occur. Nonetheless, since the support for a routine activities framework of workplace bullying is only partial, it is suggested that if more appropriate measures of job status, work control and assertiveness were used, a better model may emerge in predicting bullying in the voluntary sector—a point that will be discussed in the limitation section.

An additional limitation of RAT lies in its ability to fully explain dispute-related bullying. As indicated in the Theory chapter, RAT is often used to explain direct-contact predatory crime types such as burglary, where the perpetrator may visit an area of a town or city, finds a suitable target that is not guarded and commit the crime, usually without any prior contact with the victim. Workplace bullying often comprises two types of aggression: predatory¹⁷⁵ and/or dispute-related¹⁷⁶ (see Einarsen, 1999, pp. 22-23; Einarsen et al., 2003, pp. 18-19; Felson & Tedeschi, 1993, pp. 3-4). According to Felson and Tedeschi (1993, p. 4), most bullying cases are typically predatory in nature. Further support for this is derived from Einarsen et al. (2003, p. 25), who suggested that predatory bullying may be particularly prevalent in the UK, where there is a stronger tendency in bullying by managers compared to Scandinavian countries and Germany, where workplace bullying is more dispute-related (see also Einarsen et al., 1994). Consistent with this view, the majority of the bullying cases reported in the current study were illustrative of predatory bullying. Similar to direct-contact predatory crime such as burglary, it is inferred that in cases

¹⁷⁵ “Predatory bullying refers to cases where the victim personally has done nothing provocative that may reasonably justify the behaviour of the bully. The victim is accidentally in a situation where a perpetrator is either demonstrating power or is trying to exploit an accidental victim into compliance (Einarsen, 1999, pp. 22-23; Einarsen et al., 2003, pp. 18-19; Felson & Tedeschi, 1993, pp. 3-4).”

¹⁷⁶ “Dispute-related bullying develops out of grievances and involves social control reactions to perceived wrong-doing (Einarsen, 1999, pp. 22-23; Einarsen et al., 2003, pp. 18-19; Felson & Tedeschi, 1993, pp. 3-4).”

where bullying is predatory in nature, RAT may be adequate in determining the situational factors conducive to workplace bullying.

Nevertheless, findings generated from the interviews reveal that there are a number of cases that tend to be a combination of both (predatory and dispute-related). The relationship between the victim and perpetrator tend to be more complex in dispute-related bullying than for predatory bullying. There are two opinions regarding the applicability of RAT in explaining dispute-related and predatory aggression. First, despite the initial focus on predatory crimes or violence, Tedeschi and Felson (1994) noted that RAT may be relevant to dispute-related violence as well (p. 146). Conversely, there is another view which mentioned that dispute-related bullying may be explained by a different set of antecedents than predatory bullying (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993, p. 4; see also Keashly & Jagatic, 2003, p. 47). The present study draws insight from both comments. The environment conducive for workplace bullying as described by RAT may provide basic ground for dispute-related bullying, but other than being a basic framework in understanding dispute-related bullying, it is felt that RAT alone is not adequate to understand this phenomenon. Hence, the present study suggests that for dispute-related bullying to occur, an additional trigger is required that can be explained by the social interactionist perspective.¹⁷⁷ This perspective pays particular attention to the social interchange or interaction between perpetrator and victim that may lead to conflict or abuse (Lawrence & Leather, 1999, p. 34). The following section elaborates on social interactionist theory and how it complements RAT in explaining workplace bullying in the voluntary sector.

¹⁷⁷ Hopkins (2002) used a similar framework for understanding patterns of abuse and violence against businesses.

The social interactionist perspective of aggression suggests that aggression is triggered when a rule or norm is violated. Norms are essential ingredients of everyday life that are often unwritten rules that regulate behaviour. For example, norms govern how one conducts a conversation, interacts with strangers, behaves in an interview, queues for a bus and so on. DeRidder, Schruijer, and Tripathi (1992, pp. 22-23) describe them as “if-then statements”. People have expectations about what actors should or should not do in particular situations in the workplace. ‘If’ a particular situation occurs, ‘then’ the actor should (or should not) perform certain actions. For example, if a superior finds that the subordinate has made a mistake, then the superior is expected to discuss this issue privately with the subordinate and not shout at him in front of other staff. When the person (in this case the superior) either does not perform the prescribed action or performs a proscribed action, the norm is being violated.

Grievances¹⁷⁸ and social control reactions (asserting claims and punishments) towards the perceived wrongdoing (norm violation), in particular, lead to the development of dispute-related aggression (Felson & Tedeschi, 1993, p. 3; Tedeschi & Nesler, 1993, pp. 13-47). Furthermore, when norm violations are punished, the way in which the punishment is viewed may determine the likelihood of retaliation. The recipient of social control reactions (punishment) may perceive the action as unjustified or excessive, blame the grievant, and form a grievance of his or her own and retaliate. Subsequently, the situation tends to escalate when the other party perceives this reaction as a further norm violation. The party that acquires a disadvantageous position in this struggle may become the victim of dispute-related bullying (Bjorkqvist

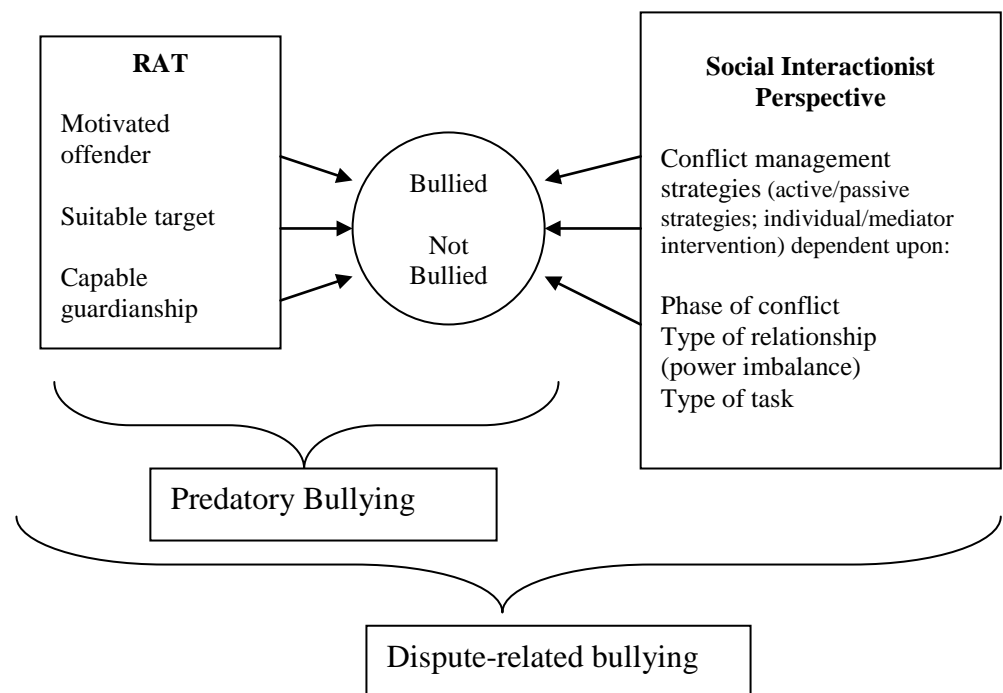
¹⁷⁸ “Grievance is a judgement that another social agent has performed an unjust or unfair or norm-violating action (Tedeschi & Nesler, 1993, p. 14).”

et al., 1994b, p. 173; Zapf, 1999). This process is facilitated when there is a power imbalance, or when one of the parties exploits his /her power (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 19), making the other party unable to defend itself and hence become the victim of bullying. The findings from the current research consistently revealed that confronting a superior who has perpetrated the negative behaviour is more likely to lead to the victim being bullied than when a non-superior is confronted.

Although, results generated from the interviews are limited because they are mostly based on the victims' rather than the perpetrators' experience and perception, this research was able to obtain pertinent information regarding dispute-related bullying in the voluntary sector. As indicated earlier, the majority (15) of the interviewees who were bullied reported negative experiences illustrative of predatory bullying. Among them, 11 interviewees in particular revealed negative experiences that can be categorised as dispute-related bullying (although they started off as predatory bullying, the experience gradually evolved into dispute). The most common reasons for disputes or norm violating behaviours in the voluntary organisations (at least as perceived by the victims) are: being accused, humiliated and shouted at (Case 33), work practise questioned everyday in front staff (Case 44), being threatened (Case 83) and refusal to conform (Case 50). This study investigates grievance and social control reaction towards these norm violating behaviours in terms of conflict management strategies. It is suggested that the escalation of conflicts into severe dispute-related bullying or the de-escalation of conflicts from developing into bullying depend on the types of conflict management strategies used and the conditions where these strategies are applied. Figure 3, is a theoretical construct proposed by the researcher in the current thesis in order to explain both predatory and dispute-related bullying. In

addition, to RAT which is used to explain predatory bullying, the theoretical construct shows that the applicability of RAT in predicting dispute-related workplace bullying can be increased by including the social interactionist component which can escalate or de-escalate conflicts from developing into severe dispute-related bullying. Effort to build models for predatory and dispute-related workplace bullying has implications for prevention and intervention. For example, to the extent that bullying is predatory in nature, prevention work would require training the leadership to develop a constructive leadership climate, and providing a bullying policy. Additionally, more dispute-related bullying would also require ensuring fair procedures, anger management training, mediator/third party intervention and assertiveness skills training.

Figure 3: Situational Construct in Explaining Workplace Bullying



Part 6: Limitations and Recommendations

Although, the study provides crucial information regarding workplace bullying in the voluntary sector, it does possess some limitations that deserve comment.

One of the most significant limitations concerns the sampling. Since this study was not able to recruit participants randomly and had to rely on the accidental sampling technique, the subjects in this study may not be representative of the voluntary sector workforce. Specifically, it is likely that the sample consists of respondents who are interested in and experientially know about bullying or harassment in the voluntary sector. Hence, future studies involving a probability random sampling will be necessary. Furthermore, the descriptive analysis of the sample details (refer Table 2 in Methodology chapter) shows that women (70%) are over-represented compared to men (30%), employees (72%) are over-represented compared to volunteers (28%), and approximately half of the respondents (57%) have served for at least 2 years, while only 3.6 % have served for more than 12 years. While, this perhaps reflects the composition of most voluntary organisations, it is suggested that future research should try to obtain a more normally distributed sample in order to facilitate a better comparison.

Second, the process of gaining access into voluntary organisations was complicated despite the wide networking and good rapport (with voluntary organisations) on the part of the researcher. It is felt that improving the quality of the questionnaire may facilitate gaining access into organisations and increase the response rate. In the actual questionnaire the use of the terms ‘bullying’, ‘harassment’ ‘aggression’ or

‘violence’ were reduced, in line with the recommendation of Rayner et al. (1999, p. 14) and Glomb (2002, p. 25) who suggested that a more subtle approach should be applied by not using these words. Thus, instead of using the word ‘workplace bullying’, the present study was introduced as ‘a study of negative behaviours’ in the cover letter to the questionnaire. Despite this, however, the author feels that further improvement is necessary by introducing the survey as a general study about the workplace or work environment or job environment instead of ‘a study of negative behaviours’. Additionally, the existing NAQ that consists of negative acts should be combined with positive acts. According to Lutgen-Sandvik et al. (2004, p. 13), readers are more likely to perceive the survey as face-neutral if a wider range of workplace experience is included.

A third critical issue is the time frame of measurement. Contrary to many past studies that used a duration of six months, this study mainly used a duration of one year and five years. As a result, the number of studies that the current findings can be compared with was limited (making it difficult to compare findings across studies). Hence, future research should also include the duration of six months.

Fourth, the current research did not provide a particular definition of workplace bullying in the questionnaire with the intention of exploring the perceptions and awareness of the voluntary sector’s workforce directly through the interview. The findings suggest that the voluntary sector’s workforce is generally aware of this phenomenon, and their definition of workplace bullying is generally consistent with the widely accepted definition. Nonetheless, the results of the current study can be

further verified in future research by providing a standard definition for the respondents.

Fifth, methodological differences in the phrasing of questions might also effect different self-reports of behaviour. In this study, respondents were only required to report if they were being bullied on a nominal (categorical) scale: 'yes' and 'no'. This approach makes it possible that those who experienced a low level of bullying may just consider 'no' as an answer. Future research should include more answer options on a Likert scale because although bullying reported at low or moderate levels may not be 'statistically significant' and necessarily problematic, it is likely to be a normative experience to some degree. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to explore low level bullying from an empirical perspective.

Sixth, the modification and addition of items and dimensions in the previously factor analysed questionnaire (NAQ), places doubt on the validity of the current constructs measured. Although, most of the items and dimensions were adapted from questionnaires with well established construct validity, and these additions (such as the use of items measuring sexual harassment and overt harassment) were deemed necessary due to the exploratory nature of the study, it is emphasised that future studies using the current questionnaire should first conduct a factor analysis and establish the validity.

Seventh, sufficient measures have not been utilised in order to evaluate the key components of RAT. Further improvement should be made on some of the predictor variables as they were found to be incomplete or flawed. For instance, it is felt that

Farrell et al's proposition was not tested to its fullest capacity in the present study.¹⁷⁹

This research has focused on confrontation rather than other response methods on the assumption that confrontation is the earliest response techniques that the respondents could apply before the negative behaviour escalates into bullying. Other effective prevention strategies apart from confrontation should be considered, such as taking the issue to the superior and various assertive skills. Moreover, further research should also incorporate more explicit measures of 'constructive leadership climate' and 'workload'. In the present study these predictors are measured using the items in the NAQ; items 17 to 24 measure the constructive leadership climate, and items 19 to 20 measure the workload (refer Appendix A). Hence, research using alternative measures is needed to provide a stronger test.

Finally, it will be especially important for future research to examine predictors that may have more direct relevance to workplace bullying in voluntary organisations. Other than 'perpetrator status', 'constructive leadership climate' and the interrelation effect 'perpetrator status by confronting', the current study has revealed that other factors may be important predictors for bullying in the voluntary sector and should be investigated, such as work control, role conflict, role ambiguity, funding agencies, voluntary management committee, assertiveness training and organisational changes.

These limitations notwithstanding, the present study does appear to add to our knowledge of workplace bullying. The major contributions of the study are highlighted in the next chapter.

¹⁷⁹ According to Farrell et al. (1995, p. 8), one of the reasons why repeat victimisation occurs is due to the victim's failure to respond to the initial offences.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In sum, this thesis contributes to the discussion on workplace bullying by studying the phenomenon in voluntary organisations. Although, other studies have provided a thorough base of knowledge regarding bullying behaviour in other sectors and organisations, the voluntary sector has been totally neglected. In light of this limitation, the current study acts as the first exploratory and in-depth study of bullying in the voluntary sector. A combination of different methods of data collection or method triangulation adds to the strength of this study. Results from the 22 interviews and 178 questionnaires are compatible and provide support for both previous and new information. In particular, the thematic analyses of the qualitative data generated from the face-to-face interviews using Critical Incident Technique, provides material on new insights regarding the nature and antecedents of bullying in the voluntary sector. The application of RAT, a situational approach drawn from criminological studies, further expands the theoretical repertoire of the situational perspective available for understanding workplace bullying. It also expands RAT's usage by statistically examining its applicability in explaining a wider variety of aggressive behaviours such as workplace bullying. Consequently, the study proposed a situational perspective in explaining the antecedents of bullying which combines both RAT and Social Interactionist perspective. It is hoped that the research findings on bullying behaviour and its correlates in this study can be used to guide empirical approaches aimed at reducing the problems, and improving the quality of the work environment in voluntary organisations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Questionnaire

I would be grateful if you would take a few minutes to complete this questionnaire, which is part of a research programme being undertaken at the University of Leicester. We are trying to get a better feel of the actual levels of negative behaviours experienced by staff/volunteers and to establish why the incidents occur and what can be done to prevent them in future.

This questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. You are not asked to put your name on the questionnaire and your responses will not be associated with you in any way. I assure you that the results will be treated in strict confidence and no individual will be identified.

I sincerely hope that you will personally assist in this attempt to try and identify how we can make your job safer. Participation is completely voluntary but I would be grateful if you would take a few minutes to complete this.

Thank you in anticipation of your help and assistance.

If you wish to ask me any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me or contact me:

Tel: 0116 2522832 (Shariffah Dawood)

e-mail: srsd1@le.ac.uk

Are you:

☐ Male

☐ Female

How old are you? _____

☐ below 15

☐ 16-20

☐ 21-25

☐ 26-30

☐ 31-35

☐ 36-40

☐ 41-45

☐ 46years

and above

Are you:

☐ An employee

☐ Volunteer

Duration of service: _____

What is your job title? (*optional*)_____

Could you briefly describe what you do? (*optional*)_____

Please indicate whether or not (how often) you have **experienced** certain kinds of behaviours in your workplace in the past **1 year**. And who was most responsible for this behaviour.

	Never	Once	Occasionally	Weekly	Daily	Who was most responsible for doing this? Client (C) Subordinate (S) Co-worker (Co) Volunteer (V) Superior (Su) Others?...specify
1. Attack with weapon						
2. Intimidating behaviour (pushing/finger pointing/ shoving/hitting)						
3. Theft/damage of your personal belonging						
4. Destroying mail or messages needed by you						
5. Being shouted at						
6. Threats of physical violence						
7. Damaging/removing company property (supplies, equipment) needed by you to do your job						

	Never	Once	Occasionally	Weekly	Daily	Who was most responsible for doing this? Client (C) Subordinate (S) Co-worker (Co) Volunteer (V) Superior (Su) Others?...specify
8. Having insulting or offensive remarks made about your habits, background, your attitudes or your private life						
9. Spreading of gossip and rumours about you						
10. Subjected to excessive teasing and sarcasm						
11. Practical jokes carried out by people you don't get along with						
12. Offensive remarks or behaviour with reference to your race or ethnicity						
13. Having allegations made against you						
14. Restrict your possibility to speak by interrupting or cutting you off while speaking						

	Never	Once	Occasionally	Weekly	Daily	Who was most responsible for doing this? Client (C) Subordinate (S) Co-worker (Co) Volunteer (V) Superior (Su) Others?...specify
15. Being ignored, excluded or being 'sent to Coventry'						
16. Refusing to communicate by means of dropping hints without speaking out directly						
17. Having key areas of responsibility removed or replaced with more trivial or unpleasant tasks						
18. Being ordered to do work below competence						
19. Being given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines						
20. Being exposed to unmanageable workload						
21. Required to carry out tasks which clearly fall out side your job description e.g. private errands						

	Never	Once	Occasionally	Weekly	Daily	Who was most responsible for doing this? Client (C) Subordinate (S) Co-worker (Co) Volunteer (V) Superior (Su) Others?...specify
22. Unreasonable refusal for leave requests, promotion or training						
23. Someone withholding information which affects your performance						
24. Being moved or transferred against your will						
25. Persistent criticism of work and effort						
26. Attempts to find fault with your work						
27. Repeated reminders of your errors and mistakes						
28. Excessive monitoring of your work						
29. Having your opinion and views ignored						

	Never	Once	Occasionally	Weekly	Daily	Who was most responsible for doing this? Client (C) Subordinate (S) Co-worker (Co) Volunteer (V) Superior (Su) Others?...specify
30. Hints or signals from others that you should quit your job						
31. Told offensive sexual comments, jokes and exposure to pornographic pictures						
32. Unwanted bodily touch						
33. Victim of actual or attempted unwanted intercourse						
34. Insulting messages, telephone calls or e-mails						
Other, (please specify):						

35. Have you been bullied/harassed at work?

Over the last **1 year** ☐ YES ☐ NO

36. Have you been bullied/harassed at work?

Over the last **5 years** ☐ YES ☐ NO

37. Have you **witnessed** bullying/harassment at work over the last 5 years?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If you have answered ‘once, occasionally, weekly, daily or yes’ to **any one or more** of the above questions (including questions 1 to 37) please complete the rest of the questionnaire.

*However, if you have answered ‘never or no’ to **all** the above questions (including questions 1 to 37) please skip to question 42 and 66.*

38. Did these incidents affect your psychological/physical health? ☐ YES ☐ NO

39. Did these incidents affect the way you performed your duties? ☐ YES ☐ NO

40. Did you take sick leave because of these incidents? ☐ YES ☐ NO

41. Did these incidents affect your personal life/relationship? ☐ YES ☐ NO

42. Are you **most worried** about bullying from:

- ☐ Customer/clients
 ☐ Co-worker/colleague
☐ Subordinate
 ☐ Volunteer
☐ Superior
 ☐ Others- *please specify*; _____

If you have experienced/witnessed any of the above negative behaviour what did you do?	YES	NO
43. Confronted the perpetrator		
44. Went to the union/staff association		
45. Went to personnel/management group		
46. Discussed it with colleagues		
47. Went to occupational health		
48. Went to the welfare department		
49. Saw your doctor		
50. Discussed it with my friends/ family		
51. File a formal complaint or grievance about any of these experience		
52. Nothing		
Other, (please specify):		

Which of the following factors do you think may have contributed to any or all of the negative behaviour you have experienced/witnessed	YES	NO
53. Your gender		
54. Your race/ethnic		
55. Your age		
56. Your religion		
57. Your political beliefs		
58. Your health/illness/disability		
59. Your sexual orientation		
60. Your job level		
61. Your own behaviour		
62. The personality traits of others		
63. Office politics		
64. Your union affiliation		
65. Stress		
Other, (Please specify)		

66. Is there a policy dealing with bullying in your workplace?

- ☐ Yes, there is a policy and it is enforced *-please state title* _____
- ☐ Yes, there is a policy but is not enforced *-please state title* _____
- ☐ Don't know whether there is a policy
- ☐ No there is no special policy *-what is available?* _____

Please detach this slip from the main questionnaire to ensure confidentiality:

Whilst the questionnaire is designed to be totally confidential, it would be of invaluable assistance if you would also discuss your replies (in confidence).

Would you be willing to participate in an interview?

☐ YES

☐ NO

If yes, please give your contact details below and separate this slip from the main questionnaire when handing it in.

Name:

Office Address:

Tel:

Appendix B

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

First of all, I'd like to emphasise that all the information that you give me today is confidential though you may want to quote them anonymously in written material. I'd like to talk about your most memorable negative incident/behaviour that has occurred in your organisation in which you have been involved (or if not involved, one you have witnessed). You can relate one or two behaviours that had the most severe or had the greatest impact on you in your work experience.

1. Characteristics of the negative incident

- Could you please tell me a little about the incident.
- How long ago did the incident occur?
- Who was involved (gender, age, and position)?
- How well did you know the person?
- Could you please describe the incident. What behaviour was displayed?
- How did it start?
- How long did it last?

2. Causes

- It seems as if _____ contributed to the incident. Are there any other factors that caused it?

- What or whom do you think was to blame for the angry incident?
- Are you more afraid/worried of negative behaviour by insiders or outsiders (client) and why?

3. Consequences

- What happened as a result of the incident?

Physical health- sleepless, constant fatigue, headaches, stomach/bowel problem, nausea/vomiting, sweating, skin disorders, chest pains, diarrhoea, coughs and asthma

Psychological health- loss of confidence, loss of self-esteem, lack of motivation, anxiety, anger, depression

- How did this incident influenced the way you performed your duties?
- How did it affect your working relationship? Did the relationship deteriorate?
Did anyone apologise?
- How did it affect your personal relationship?
- Are you aware of anybody at your workplace leaving employment as a result of this incident? How many?

4. Policies and procedures

- Did you make any complaints?

If Yes- were your complaints taken seriously and acted upon?

If Not- were you given an acceptable explanation as to the reasons why?

- How does your organisation perceive incidents such as the one you described?

Are they strongly discouraged, not addressed or accepted?

- Does your employer have a specific policy to tackle workplace bullying?
- Does your organisation's policies create conditions that prevent such incidents?

- When workplace bullying has been identified to the employer has your employer provided counselling?
- How could responses be improved in the future?
- What would have helped you?

Appendix C

Letter of Permission to Conduct Study in Voluntary Organisations

Dear Mr. ...,

RESEARCHING WORKPLACE HARASSMENT IN THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

I am a Ph.D student at the University of Leicester, currently researching 'Workplace harassment/bullying in Voluntary Sector Organizations', under the supervision of Dr. Tina Skinner. This research explores the level and effects of harassment and bullying in the voluntary sector both from colleagues and from the public/clients. I wish to obtain your permission to conduct this research within your organization.

Initial research has indicated that voluntary sector workers in particular are the *most* prone of all workers to suffer stress caused by bullying and harassment. It is estimated that 18 million working days are lost per annum due to bullying alone.

Victims are twice as unproductive compared to those who are not bullied. Eventually, 75% of victims report psychological health problem while 25% decide to leave their jobs. Considering these serious effects and the tremendous *cost* to the organization, my research aims to obtain a better understanding of the actual levels and types of bullying experienced by staff in voluntary organizations. In addition I will explore *why* the incident occurs and what can be done to *prevent* them in future.

The research will involve questionnaire and interviews with staffs and managers, and a review of current policies on workplace harassment/bullying. The questionnaires will take approximately 15 minutes to complete while the interviews would take 45 min to 1 hour (these interviews would be taped and transcribed). Please note that the interview can be arranged at any other time suitable for the respondent. The results from the research will be completely confidential and anonymous. If they are published for academic purposes, your organization's name will not be mentioned. In addition I will be pleased to send you a copy of the executive summary of the findings.

This study will both benefit employees and prevent unnecessary financial strain to your organization. Thus I sincerely hope to gain your permission to conduct this survey. Thank you very much in advance for your assistance. Looking forward to hearing from you. Please feel free to contact me for further information.

Yours sincerely,

Shariffah Rahah Dawood

Tel: 2522832

E-mail: srsd1@le.ac.uk

Appendix D

Exposure to Negative Behaviours

	Never	Once	Occasionally	Weekly	Daily
1. Attack with weapon	97.8	1.7	0.6	0.0	0.0
2. Intimidating behaviour (pushing/finger pointing/ shoving/hitting)	76.4	9.6	12.4	0.6	1.1
3. Theft/damage of your personal belonging	91.0	5.6	3.4	0.0	0.0
4. Destroying mail or messages needed by you	95.5	1.7	2.2	0.0	0.6
5. Being shouted at	66.9	8.4	22.5	0.6	1.7
6. Threats of physical violence	91.0	3.4	5.1	0.6	0.0
7. Damaging/removing company property (supplies, equipment) needed by you to do your job	87.1	4.5	7.3	0.6	0.6
8. Having insulting or offensive remarks made about your habits, background, your attitudes or your private life	81.5	6.7	7.9	2.2	1.7
9. Spreading of gossip and rumours about you	80.3	6.2	9.6	1.7	2.2
10. Subjected to excessive teasing and sarcasm	87.6	2.2	7.3	1.1	1.7

Cont' Appendix D

11. Practical jokes carried out by people you don't get along with	94.9	1.1	3.9	0.0	0.0
12. Offensive remarks or behaviour with reference to your race or ethnicity	91.6	4.5	3.4	0.0	0.6
13. Having allegations made against you	81.5	9.0	7.9	1.1	0.6
14. Restrict your possibility to speak by interrupting or cutting you off while speaking	64.0	3.9	27.0	3.4	1.7
15. Being ignored, excluded or being 'sent to Coventry'	87.6	2.8	7.3	1.1	1.1
16. Refusing to communicate by means of dropping hints without speaking out directly	87.1	3.4	7.3	0.0	2.2
17. Having key areas of responsibility removed or replaced with more trivial or unpleasant tasks	88.2	3.4	6.2	0.6	1.7
18. Being ordered to do work below competence	86.0	1.1	11.8	0.6	0.6
19. Being given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines	70.8	4.5	21.3	2.8	0.6
20. Being exposed to unmanageable workload	61.2	3.4	23.6	5.6	6.2
21. Required to carry out tasks which clearly fall out side your job description e.g. private errands	79.2	2.8	13.5	2.8	1.7

Cont' Appendix D

22. Unreasonable refusal for leave requests, promotion or training	93.8	2.8	2.2	0.6	0.6
23. Someone withholding information which affects your performance	87.1	2.2	8.4	1.7	0.6
24. Being moved or transferred against your will	96.6	1.7	1.7	0.0	0.0
25. Persistent criticism of work and effort	88.2	1.7	7.9	1.7	0.6
26. Attempts to find fault with your work	79.2	3.4	14.0	2.2	1.1
27. Repeated reminders of your errors and mistakes	83.7	3.9	11.2	0.6	0.6
28. Excessive monitoring of your work	81.5	2.2	11.8	1.7	2.8
29. Having your opinion and views ignored	73.0	4.5	16.9	3.9	1.7
30. Hints or signals from others that you should quit your job	91.0	3.9	3.4	1.1	0.6
31. Told offensive sexual comments, jokes and exposure to pornographic pictures	89.9	2.8	6.7	0.0	0.6
32. Unwanted bodily touch	94.9	0.6	3.4	1.1	0.0
33. Victim of actual or attempted unwanted intercourse	99.4	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
34. Insulting messages, telephone calls or e-mails	87.1	3.4	7.3	0.6	1.7

Appendix E

Alpha for Each Category of Negative behaviour

<i>Category of negative behaviour</i>	<i>Alpha</i>	<i>No of items</i>
Overt harassment	0.760	10
Personal harassment	0.816	7
Social isolation	0.701	3
Organisational harassment	0.755	8
Work-related harassment	0.847	6
Total NAQ	0.870	5

Appendix F

Report on Logistic Regression

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Step 1</i>				<i>Step 2</i>			
	Estimate	Sig	Exp (ß)	Lower- Upper	Estimate	Sig	Exp (ß)	Lower- Upper
Workload	.465 (.203)	.022	1.592	1.070- 2.369	.298 (.216)	.168	1.347	.882- 2.056
Employed					.345 (.850)	.688	1.408	.266- 7.455
Confront					-1.346 (.482)	.005	.260	.101- .670
Perpetrator								
Support								
Policy								
Confront by perpetrator								
Scaled deviance	122.048				113.701			
Block Chi Sq.	5.399 (df=1), p<.020				8.347 (2), p<.015			
Nagelkerke	.067				.166			
Model Chi Sq.	5.399 (df=1), p<.020				13.746 (3), p<.003			

Cont' Appendix F

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Step 3</i>				<i>Step 4</i>			
	Estimate	Sig	Exp (ß)	Lower -Upper	Estimate	Sig	Exp (ß)	Lower- Upper
Workload	-.581 (.367)	.113	.559	.273- 1.147	-.573 (.367)	.119	.564	.275-1.158
Employed	.737 (1.102)	.503	2.090	.241- 18.106	.770 (1.114)	.490	2.159	.243- 19.171
Confront	-1.141 (.512)	.026	.320	.117- .872	-1.142 (.512)	.026	.319	.117-.870
Perpetrator	.217 (.536)	.685	1.243	.434- 3.556	.251 (.545)	.645	1.285	.442-3.742
Support	2.473 (.828)	.003	11.853	2.337- 60.113	2.426 (.834)	.004	11.315	2.207- 58.024
Policy					-.220 (.615)	.721	.803	.241-2.680
Confront by perpetrator								
Scaled deviance	101.690				101.565			
Block Chi Sq.	12.011 (2), p<.002				.126 (1), p=.723			
Nagelkerke	.296				.297			
Model Chi Sq	25.757 (5), p<.000				25.883 (6), p<.000			

Cont' Appendix F

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Step 5</i>			
	Estimate	Sig	Exp (ß)	Lower- Upper
Workload	-.811 (.430)	.059	.444	.191- 1.032
Employed	1.130 (1.160)	.330	3.095	.318- 30.080
Confront	.122 (.713)	.865	1.129	.279- 4.564
Perpetrator	1.581 (.781)	.043	4.860	1.051- 22.471
Support	3.090 (.992)	.002	21.980	3.144- 153.639
Policy	-.154 (.644)	.812	.858	.243- 3.033
Confront by perpetrator	-3.092 (1.263)	.014	.045	.004-.540
Scaled deviance	94.259			
Block Chi Sq.	7.305 (1), p<.007			
Nagelkerke	.370			
Model Chi Sq	33.188 (7), p<.000			

