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CONSIDERING THE "WORK" IN WORKPLACE BULLYING: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

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A dissertation submitted to the
Department of Sociology,
University of Dublin, Trinity College,
in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Emma Calvert

Summary

In recent years, bullying has come to be established as a significant issue for contemporary workplaces, in Ireland as elsewhere. Our research knowledge is largely psychologically-based, with many studies focusing on the personality characteristics of the victim or perpetrator and bullying has been viewed as an "interpersonal" conflict. However, when other characteristics are considered, research has repeatedly found that workers in the public sector are more likely to report bullying than private sector. In order to investigate this finding, the current study takes a sociological approach and focuses on the *workplace*, which is arguably shaped by its broader institutional context in terms of the labour market, with specific sectoral characteristics. Part of the rising concerns about workplace bullying can be contextualised in terms of the increasing emphasis placed on the psychological well-being of workers, with the recognition of "new risks" of stress and harassment. However, this focus on individual subjective well-being arguably obscures the collective nature of the phenomena, in terms of its association with the "changing workplace".

This thesis takes as its departure point the higher rate of workplace bullying among public sector workers. The public-private division is often the main differentiation in terms of contemporary workplaces, with regards work organisation, practices and particularly in Ireland, pay: the sectoral divide arguably shapes much of the experience of work. The current study, drawing on a nationally representative survey in Ireland conducted in 2006/7, considers how job, organisational and labour market characteristics may explain the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector. "New public management" drives may result in many workers experiencing greater levels of change and job pressures; this has been suggested as possibly translating into an increased likelihood of bullying. The different opportunities for mobility and voice in the sectors should also be considered, with the possibility that public sector workers may have greater capacity for voice and less motivation or ability to

exit, thus affecting reporting rates. These institutional characteristics may also influence the potential impacts of workplace bullying in terms of job satisfaction and well-being.

The current study suggests that while job intensification and organisational change are strongly associated with increased risks of bullying, they cannot fully account for the higher prevalence in the public sector. However, some important within-sector differences emerge, in terms of the greater likelihood of public sector workers experiencing an increasing pace of work to report bullying. On the other hand, increasing control over work only seems to reduce the risk for private sector workers, possibly owing to a higher level of overall job autonomy in the public sector. It appears that workers employed on *permanent* contracts in the public sector are much more likely than their temporary counterparts to report bullying. In general, those with higher education are more likely to report bullying, possibly relating to their higher expectations in the workplace. However, low skilled females in the public sector are as likely as their high skilled colleagues to report bullying. Formal policies on workplace bullying are much more prevalent in the public sector than the private sector, suggesting some support for the greater opportunity for voice. Public sector workers are more likely to take the issue to a trade union, while private sector workers turn to personnel. Private sector employees reporting bullying are more likely to both *consider* an exit and *actually* exit, confirming expectations with regards mobility in this sector.

Research on workplace bullying suggests a hugely detrimental effect on job satisfaction and subjective well-being. These findings support a negative relationship, however, it was found that some of the negative "effect" of workplace bullying, in terms of both job satisfaction and well-being, relates to other aspects of the "changing workplace". In addition, important differences between the public and private sector were found, suggesting that institutional characteristics not only shape the prevalence of reported bullying but also its associated outcomes.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

> In 1890, spinners literally fought each other to decide who should have the bobbins supplied by the card room...It was widely acknowledged that many piecers were badly treated by senior minders as the pace of work intensified and that considerable 'ill-feeling' existed between them.
>
> (Burgess, 1975 p.246)

This chapter opens with a quotation describing hostile and negative behaviours within the workplace which we can suppose can be generalised, to a greater or lesser extent, to many industries and places of work in nineteenth century Britain and elsewhere. Today, such behaviours may well be considered "bullying" in both public discourse and academic research and in recent years, bullying has come to be established as a significant issue for contemporary workplaces.

Psychologists have dominated the research field from the outset, with studies often adopting an interpersonal understanding of workplace bullying and also focusing on the role of personality characteristics of both victim and perpetrator. However, when broadening the focus to include the institutional characteristics of the workplace, some interesting findings emerge. For example, studies have found that the prevalence of reported bullying is often higher in the public sector than the private sector. To date, little empirical research explicitly addresses this issue. The current study takes a sociological approach, building on the existing research literature and focuses on the *workplace*, which is arguably shaped by its broader institutional context in terms of the labour market, with specific sectoral characteristics.

In this regard, this thesis attempts to fulfil the gap recently identified by Beale and Hoel (2010) for more contextualised approaches to the study of workplace bullying. Arguably, such a study demands nationally representative, bias-free data and the current research draws on a survey conducted in 2006/7 in Ireland

which allows for careful and comprehensive analysis regarding reported bullying in Irish workplaces.

1.1 Bullying: a problem in the changing workplace?

While unemployment presented the biggest challenge to many countries in Europe during the 1980s, Ireland especially (Walsh, 2004), employment growth during the 1990s and 2000s afforded increasing prominence to the detrimental consequences *of* work, rather than a lack of it, in the context of increasing economic globalisation and competitive pressures, as well as growing female labour market participation and dual earner households. For example, research has proliferated on job intensification (Burchell *et al.* 2002; Green, 2001, 2004), job insecurity (Heery & Salmon, 2000), difficulties in balancing demands of work and home (Gornick & Myers, 2003; Crompton & Lyonette, 2006) and job quality (Gallie *et al.* 2004; Gallie, 2007b). Workplace bullying has also come to receive increasing attention, in terms of both academic research and policy debates, in Ireland as well as in the rest of Europe. While studies have focused on personality characteristics as possible determinants of bullying, work environment has also been addressed, for example, role conflict and ambiguity (e.g., Einarsen *et al.* 1994). Research also draws attention to the changing nature of work, in terms of growing economic pressures impacting on the job demands of workers which could give rise to experiences of bullying in the workplace (e.g., Salin, 2003; Harvey *et al.* 2006).

Part of the rising concerns about workplace bullying can be understood in light of the increasing emphasis placed on the psychological well-being of workers, for example, the 1989 EU Framework Directive (89/391/EEC) and the growth in discourses about "new risks" of stress, depression and harassment (COM(2002)118; Cox *et al.* 2000), which are also recognised by the 2001 European Parliament resolution on harassment in the workplace (2001/2339 (INI)). Research has frequently emphasised the potential damage posed by workplace bullying to psychological health and well-being (Niedl, 1996; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002; Hansen et al. 2006), with some research even suggesting occurrences of "Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome" amongst victims of workplace bullying (Bjorkvist *et al.* 1994; Leymann & Gustaffsson, 1996; Tehrani, 2004). However research that is not based on random or

representative surveys may result in misleading conclusions. Workplace bullying has received significant, and often sensationalist, media attention in Ireland in recent years, with headlines such as "The hidden scourge of workplace bullying" (Irish Times, 19 September 2006), "Are you sick of work?" (Irish Times, 9 September 2006), "Some suicides attributed to workplace bullying (Irish Times, 9 September 2006), "Workplace bullying described as cancer in society" (Irish Times, 8th August, 2005) and "Three out of four bullying victims quit job in months" (Irish Independent, 29th September 2006) just some of the numerous media headlines.[1]

Arguably therefore both research and the media run the risk of sensationalising the topic of workplace bullying, as well as prioritising the individual over the potentially collective nature of the phenomena. Through use of a nationally representative survey and by taking account of important job, organisational and sectoral characteristics, the current study aims to contribute to the research literature on workplace bullying. While bullying has received a certain amount of policy attention in recent years, with the founding of an "Expert Group" and "Taskforce", post-Celtic Tiger Ireland has seen prioritisation of other employment issues, namely growing rates of unemployment and job losses. This changed economic climate could potentially have an impact on workplace bullying, for example, if job intensification increases, in light of wide-scale redundancies. As the current data was collected before the current financial recession, further discussion of this will be restricted to the conclusion of the thesis.

1.1.2 Bullying in the public sector

The vast majority of academic case study research conducted in Ireland has concentrated on public sector workplaces, especially the health (Seager, 2004; Cheema *et al.*, 2005; Breen O'Sullivan, 2006) and education sectors (Basquel-Fahy, 2008; Fahie & Devine, 2008). This focus on the public sector is also seen elsewhere in Europe (Salin, 2003), perhaps partly attributable to easier access to gatekeepers in the public sector. Furthermore, survey data indicates that

[1] In the UK, Gordon Brown, then Leader of the Labour Party and Prime Minister (2007-2010) was accused of bullying shortly before his election defeat. This incident involved the resignation of the Chair of the National Bullying Helpline. Before this incident, the case of bullying in (Helen) Green versus Deutsche Bank Group Services [2006] EWHC 1898 had a similarly high media profile.

public sector workers are often more likely to report bullying than in the private sector (Hoel & Cooper, 2000; Zapf *et al.* 2003; O'Connell & Williams, 2002; O'Connell *et al.* 2007). This somewhat counterintuitive finding is the departure point for the present study. The public-private division is often the main differentiation in terms of contemporary workplaces, with regards work organisation, practices and particularly in Ireland, pay: the sectoral divide arguably shapes the experience of work for many workers. It could be expected that the public sector offers relatively better "terms and conditions" even for low skilled workers (Crouch *et al.* 2001), with employee satisfaction and organisational commitment levels often higher than in the private sector (O'Connell *et al.* 2004). This leads to the question as to why survey data suggests that the prevalence of bullying is higher in the public sector? The psychological research tradition has largely focused on an "interpersonal conflict" conceptualisation of workplace bullying, and while the importance of work environment has been recognised, the present study takes a sociological approach and empirically considers the importance of the workplace and also institutional labour market characteristics which are arguably differentiated along sectoral lines.

The current study, drawing on a nationally representative survey of employees in Ireland conducted in 2006/7, considers how job, organisational and labour market characteristics may explain the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector. The public sector has undergone rapid and intense change over recent decades, under the "new public management" drives, with the result that many workers in this sector may experience greater levels of job pressures. This has been suggested as possibly translating into an increased likelihood of bullying. It is also important to take into consideration the different opportunities for mobility and voice in the sectors, with the possibility that public sector workers may have greater capacity for voice, and less motivation or ability to exit, thus affecting *reporting* rates. These institutional characteristics may also influence the potential impacts of workplace bullying – in terms of job satisfaction and well-being. This survey provides the ideal data with which to explore these issues, as it avoids the bias and lack of generalisability present in some of the existing research on workplace bullying. The present research seeks to go beyond an interpersonal conflict model of

workplace bullying and places emphasis on structural-level factors which potentially influence both the prevalence, and outcomes, of workplace bullying.

This first chapter is concerned with outlining the emergence of the workplace bullying research tradition, sketching its development and differentiation from other research fields such as bullying in schools and other types of harassment in the workplace such as sexual harassment. The legislative mechanisms which govern workplace bullying will also be considered in this chapter: the legislative landscape regarding workplace bullying is complex and varies substantially across Europe, with Ireland adopting non-legislative "codes of conduct" promoting self-regulative guidelines regarding appropriate behaviour at work, as well as mediation-based strategies for the resolution of bullying complaints. The final section will detail the overall structure, main research questions and approach of this thesis.

1.2 Establishment of a new research field: bullying in the *workplace*

In the late nineties, leading researchers in the field of workplace bullying claimed that research on the topic was sparse (Rayner & Hoel, 1997); however, the same could not be argued today, with the research field largely dominated by psychologists. The subject receives an increasing amount of international academic attention, evidenced by several special issue journals (European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology 1996, 2001; Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 1997; British Journal of Management and Decision Making 2003; British Journal of Guidance and Counselling 2004) and a definitive edited volume (Einarsen *et al.* 2003). In the literature, the terms bullying, mobbing, (moral) harassment and victimisation are largely utilised interchangeably, to denote inappropriate and unwanted behaviours that can occur in a variety of sites: schools, streets, and increasingly, the workplace. The differences in terminology are attributed to geographical research traditions rather than semantic concerns. While victimisation is largely used in the USA to describe the phenomenon (Keashly, 1998), the Scandinavian and German literature largely addresses the topic of mobbing, with bullying the preferred term in English-speaking countries. While distinctions have been drawn between these different terms (Leymann, 1996;

Zapf, 1999) there is widespread consensus that they essentially refer to the same phenomenon (Einarsen, 1999; Einarsen *et al.* 2003).[2]

Some of the earliest studies on the topic of workplace bullying were carried out by Scandinavian researchers during the 1980s (cf. Leymann, 1996), building on previous research regarding bullying in schools amongst children (Olweus, 1978; Heinemann, 1972). Research proliferated during the 1990s and 2000s, not only in Scandinavia (Appelberg *et al.* 1991; Bjorkqvist *et al.* 1994; Einarsen *et al.* 1994; Einarsen & Skogstad 1996; Leymann, 1996; Einarsen, 2000; Vartia & Hytti, 2002; Piirainen *et al.* 2003; Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Hogh *et al.* 2005) but also elsewhere in Europe such as Germany (Zapf *et al.* 1996; Zapf, 1999; Mackensen von Astfeld, 2000), Austria (Niedl, 1996) and The Netherlands (Hubert, 1996), as well as cross-national studies (Einarsen *et al.* 2003; Varhama & Bjorkqvist, 2004) including research undertaken by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions on violence and harassment in the workplace (Di Martino *et al.* 2003). In addition, workplace bullying has now been studied internationally with studies in Australia (McCarthy *et al.* 1996) and America (Keashly & Jagatic, 2003) and even India (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010).

In the UK, workplace bullying received increased attention in the 1990s, largely driven by dedicated BBC radio programmes (Lee, 2000). One of the earliest UK texts on the subject was mainly aimed at employees in terms of devising appropriate "combative" strategies (Adams & Crawford, 1992). A more recent book also focuses on practical issues, but attempts to combine theoretical and empirical aspects of the topic as well (Rayner *et al.* 2002). The mid to late 1990s saw several large-scale empirical studies of employees, carried out by trade unions and a professional body (MSF, 1994; IPD, 1996; UNISON, 1997). The BBC sponsored a survey of part-time university students (Rayner, 1997) and Quine (1999) conducted a survey of National Health Service employees. Several large-scale surveys have been conducted including a dedicated survey in 2001 (Hoel *et al.* 2001) as well as more recently, for

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[2] It has been argued that mobbing infers a group rather than a single perpetrator; however, this is not systematic throughout the literature (Einarsen *et al.* 2003). The term mobbing was first used by Konrad Lorenz in his study of the group behaviour of animals. Heinemann (1972) later borrowed the term for use in his study of bullying among children (Leymann, 1996).

example, the *Fair Treatment at Work* surveys (Grainger & Fitzner, 2007; Fevre *et al.* 2009) which explore discrimination and sexual harassment, as well as bullying in the workplace. Hoel and Beale (2010) note that workplace bullying in the UK has not only caught the attention of academics, but employers and the trade union movement as well.

Up until the early 2000s in Ireland, empirical research was relatively limited, with surveys of occupational groups carried out, for example nurses (Condell, 1995) and teachers (TUI, 1999; ASTI, 1999). The subject gained increasing recognition with the publication of Costigan's (1998) practitioner-focused text *Bullying and Harassment in the Workplace*[3] and the establishment of the Anti-Bullying Centre (ABC) in 1996 in Trinity College Dublin (Sheehan, 1999).[4] The ABC carried out an early exploratory study in 1998, utilising a self-referred sample of victims of workplace bullying in Ireland (O'Moore *et al.* 1998). The ABC's research focus is not only on workplace bullying, but also in schools (O'Moore & Minton, 2005; Connolly & O'Moore, 2003); indeed their research suggested a link between these two environments in terms of risk factors (O'Moore *et al.* 2003). Coyne *et al.* (2000) conducted a study using a sample of both bullied and non-bullied employees in two organisations in the public and private sector in Ireland.

McMahon (2000) carried out a comparative study of both Northern and Southern Ireland in the catering sector, although this study found particular problems with regards *sectarian* harassment in the North and *sexual* harassment in the South. Various small-scale studies have been conducted in recent years in the health sector (Seager 2004; Cheema *et al.* 2005; Breen O'Sullivan, 2006), with a focus on specific occupational groups, for example, McCarthy *et al.* (2006) found that bullying and harassment were particular problems for the nurses and midwives who were surveyed (although not the primary rationale of the study), while Cheema *et al.* (2005) found that nearly a third of the junior doctors surveyed reported workplace bullying. Research on

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[3] There is also a thriving "practitioner" tradition with events (often with invited academic speakers) such as the "Dignity at Work conference" (12th October 2006), "Workplace bullying - a toxic experience" (24th February 2007) as well as public meetings (Royal College of Physicians, 15th November 2007).

[4] The ABC hosted the 5th International Conference on Bullying and Harassment in the Workplace in 2006.

workplace bullying has also been carried out in the education sector (Basquel-Fahy, 2008; Fahie & Devine, 2008). Other public sector occupational groups studied include Archer's (1999) comparative study on the Fire Service in Ireland, UK and the USA. In addition, the government commissioned three large-scale national surveys (O'Moore, 2000; O'Connell & Williams, 2001; O'Connell *et al.* 2007).[5]

Two main points should be highlighted from this short introductory overview. Firstly, while the research field's legacy lies in studies of bullying amongst children, a new field of study has been firmly established focused on adult bullying in the workplace (see debate in Smith *et al.* 2003). This literature has also, in the main, distinguished itself from violence in the workplace (Chappell & Di Martino, 2002) and sexual harassment (Jones, 2006). However, some scholars problematise these divisions, suggesting that they rather lie on a "continuum of severity" (McCarthy & Mayhew, 2004). While conceptually it is useful to differentiate workplace bullying from other grievances in the workplace, such as physical violence, sexual harassment and discrimination, there is a degree of commonality, for example, the prioritisation of the alleged victim's own perception and the associated research literature exploring the impacts in terms of worker well-being, health, organisational costs and productivity. Furthermore, while researchers have distinguished between workplace bullying and other concepts such as discrimination, the boundaries between them are not always clear (Giga *et al.* 2008; Beale & Hoel, 2010). Lewis & Dunn (2007) focus on both racial discrimination and bullying in their study, recognising that distinguishing between *discrimination* based on ethnic status from *bullying* based on ethnic status is difficult (and perhaps unresolved). Nonetheless, workplace bullying has largely been considered separately not only in terms of research but also legislation (this will be discussed in a later section).

Secondly, the topic of workplace bullying has not only caught the attention of the media, but as Lee (2000) argues, large-scale surveys have been

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[5] The last nationally representative survey in Ireland, conducted in 2006/7 by the Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, serves as the primary data source for the current study. Further details will be provided in Chapter 3.

instrumental in establishing, and indeed legitimating, workplace bullying as a significant issue for contemporary workplaces. Furedi (2001) highlights how academic research, trade union policies as well as media attention aided the construction of workplace bullying as a social problem; however, Lewis (2003) argues that media attention has only a secondary role, attributing greater responsibility to colleagues within the workplace.

The financial cost to organisations has also been the focus of some research, and indeed, can be seen as part of the call for what could be termed the "legitimation of seriousness". For example, Hoel *et al.* (2003) provide an overview of some of the organisational impacts of bullying and cite absenteeism and turnover as problems repeatedly raised in the literature: estimating the cost of an eight week investigation - £28,000 sterling - they conclude that tackling bullying makes "good business sense". Rayner and Cooper (1997) developed a cost-benefit argument for organisations to adequately address the issue of bullying in their workplaces; they cite costs relating to legal expenses, staff turnover, and the financial burden of employee stress. More recent research estimates the (high) cost to the UK economy as a whole (Giga *et al.* 2008).

1.3 Types of bullying: who does what where

The literature has often distinguished between the different possible directions of the bullying, for example vertical bullying by supervisors or subordinates (downward or upward respectively) and horizontal bullying by colleagues. Zapf *et al.* (2003) note that the Scandinavian countries in general report roughly equal proportions of horizontal bullying and downward bullying, with a small amount of upward bullying (Leymann, 1990; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996); Vartia & Hyyti, 2002). However, this is in contrast to British studies which generally report a greater prevalence of vertical downward bullying, with horizontal and upward bullying accounting for a much smaller proportion (Hoel *et al,.* 2001; Rayner, 1997). Tentative suggestions to explain these differences have been offered by Einarsen (2000), drawing on the work of Hofstede (1993), who argues that the Scandinavian countries have a lower "power differential" between managers and staff than in the UK. More recent research supports this interpretation, citing the importance of the industrial

relations climate and management-employee relations, in terms of the direction of bullying when comparing the UK and Sweden (Hoel & Beale, 2010). Studies in other European countries such as Germany and Austria fall largely in between these two extremes (cf. Zapf *et al.* 2003), with Ireland presenting conflicting evidence. While O'Moore (2000) reports mostly downward bullying in Ireland, which is more in line with UK studies, O'Connell and Williams (2001) found that roughly equal percentages reported upward and horizontal bullying. Of course, these differences can potentially be attributed to different methodological approaches. However, the prevalence of bullying *by colleagues* ("horizontal") is important to highlight as workplace bullying is often perceived to be perpetrated by the stereotypical "heavy handed" manager and relatively weakly positioned employee.

Various typologies of bullying have been developed, for example, Zapf (1999) identified five main types of behaviour which constitute the most frequent and usual aspects of workplace bullying: (i) work-related bullying which may include changing work tasks, being given demeaning work tasks, withholding job related information, removal of areas of responsibility, and excessive monitoring; (ii) social isolation; (iii) personal attacks by ridicule or insult; (iv) verbal threats; (v) and spreading rumours. This recognises that bullying is often subtle and does not have to include a physical aspect, which is often reported less frequently than the above behaviours (Einarsen, 1999; Zapf, 1999). For example, Vartia and Hyyti (2002) found that gossip, spreading of rumours and devaluation of the worker's contribution to the job were some of the most common forms of bullying reported by prison officers in Finland.

Further breaking down Zapf's five main categories of behaviour, various typologies have been proposed: "direct action" such as verbal abuse versus "indirect action", e.g., spreading rumours (Einarsen *et al.* 1994; O'Moore *et al.* 1998). Drawing on the work of Felson and Tedeschi (1993), Einarsen (1999) differentiated between two different types of bullying: "predatory" and "dispute-related". The former is argued to refer to cases when the victim has not done anything to incite the attention of a bully but is victimised purely by chance or through membership of an "outsider" group. He argues that the

second relates to bullying which is a consequence, and escalation, of an interpersonal conflict at work.

1.3.1 Nothing personal: who's at risk of bullying?

As has already been highlighted, psychologists have dominated the research field from the outset. The current research tradition developed from studies on bullying in schools which largely centred on the personality characteristics of those reporting bullying and the perpetrators (Olweus, 1978; Heinemann, 1972). Further research by Olweus (1993) claimed that those who bully at school are likely to do so in later adult life, while work by Farringdon (1993) contended that there are "intergenerational continuities in bullying tendencies". Therefore, from the beginning, much of the research has emphasised the importance of personality factors in explaining incidences of bullying in the workplace. Hoel and Cooper (2000) claim that many of the early UK studies followed this approach for example, Adams and Crawford (1992) and Randall (1997). However, the tradition continues today and is not limited geographically, including research in Ireland, Norway and the USA (Baron & Neuman, 1996; Randall, 1997; Seigne *et al.* 2000; Coyne *et al.* 2000; Zapf *et al.* 1999; Aquino & Bradfield, 2000; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; GlasØ *et al.* 2007). For example, Aquino & Bradfield (2000) argue that their data provides support for the importance of certain personality factors, while Matthiesen and Einarsen's (2001) Norwegian study claims that bullied and non-bullied employees have different personality profiles, with victims tending to be suspicious and anxious. Coyne *et al.* (2000) in their study using Irish data report that victims are less independent, extroverted and stable than non-victims. A later study reported that perpetrators were likely to have difficulty coping with criticism, be easily upset, and see the world as threatening (Coyne *et al.* 2003). Among other factors, Zapf found that bullying victims had lower levels of social skills (1999). A study in the USA attempts to link episodes of childhood abuse to bullying at school as well as in the workplace (Murphy, 2005).

Heames *et al.* (2006) look to group dynamics and use "status inconsistency" theory to understand bullying in the workplace. The concept of status inconsistency implies that there is a lack of agreement between individuals in

their "status traits", creating a stressful situation, which if severe can lead to bullying behaviour. Thus their position is that bullying has its basis in stress found in groups. Einarsen (1999) has been at the forefront of identifying bullying as a gradually evolving process, with his identification of four stages: aggressive behaviour, bullying, stigmatisation and severe trauma. In addition, Einarsen argues that bullying can be explained as an interaction between the (mainly) two parties involved, thus the target is not the "passive recipient" but rather there is a pattern of "action and reaction". These accounts frame bullying as a dysfunctional interpersonal or group dynamic.

Academic research regarding the characteristics of the *perpetrators* of bullying is the so-called "black hole" in the research field (Rayner and Cooper, 2003), owing in part to methodological problems but also to the prioritisation of the victim's own perception of being bullied. There are a few studies investigating the issue of perpetrator characteristics, for example, envy has been reported as a key reason for the onset of bullying (Bjorkvist *et al.* 1994; Einarsen *et al.* 1994; Vartia, 1996; O'Moore, 2000) while Randall (2001) claims that bullies tend to have higher levels of aggression than non-bullies. Leadership has also been highlighted in the literature, with bullying related to different types of management styles, for example, excessively "authoritarian" management style, a "laisser-faire" approach or "destructive" leadership (Vartia 1996; Leymann 1996; Harvey *et al.* 2007; Hauge *et al.* 2007).

The scarcity of reliable empirical data has not hindered the burgeoning body of practitioner and management literature. Perpetrator stereotypes range from "corporate hyenas" (Steinmenn, 2007), "brutal bosses" (Hornstein 1996), "constant critics" (Namie & Namie 2000) to "toxic co-workers" (Cavaoila & Lavender, 2000), while Field (1996) lists more than fifty potential bully characteristics, ranging from "selfishness" to "spinelessness". This practitioner perspective has some commonality with those concerned with bullying in schools, with its focus also on the characteristics of the perpetrator rather than victim. Arguably, practitioner and media representations of bullying are largely predicated on an interpersonal conflict model.

While studies stressing personality factors persist, other scholars have called into serious question their reliability, citing problems regarding to measurement and the significance of other non-personality factors. Leymann (1996) was at the forefront of dismissing personality-based findings, pointing out the unreliability of personality measures in a cross-sectional research design: differential traits between bullied and non-bullied, if evident, may be the consequences rather than causes of the bullying.

Who's at risk?

In terms of non-personality factors, some studies have suggested that females are more likely to report bullying than males. However in their review of the European literature, Zapf *et al.* (2003) argue that the gender distribution of victims of bullying often mirrors the gender distribution of the original sample (Mackensen von Astfeld, 2000; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Rayner, 1997; Quine, 1999). While Hoel and Cooper's UK study (2000) found that a higher proportion of women were bullied, this difference was only statistically significant when the timeframe was increased from six months to five years. Vartia and Hyyti (2002) found no gender differences among Finnish prison officers; however, Salin (2001) found that Finnish female business professionals were more likely to report "occasional bullying". She suggests that possible reasons include: women are more subject to negative acts than men; women are less hesitant to label themselves as bullied/victims; and women are more sensitive to bullying. These studies highlight the need for nationally representative survey data in order to establish patterns regarding gender. The current analysis focuses primarily on the institutional context, specifically the public-private sector differences, but is able to take account of the role of gender. It does not suggest that a higher propensity of females *per se* to report bullying potentially "explains" the higher rate of bullying in the public sector, a female-dominated workforce in Ireland. While females may be more likely to report bullying, this may be related to occupational segregation and job characteristics rather than an essentialist interpretation of gender.

Hoel and Cooper (2001) found an interaction between gender and organisational status; while male workers and supervisors were more likely to be bullied than their female equivalents, this pattern was reversed for middle

and senior managers. Vartia and Hyyti (2002) found that females were more often bullied by co-workers whereas men were at equal risk of bullying by both by co-workers and supervisors. Again, such findings may be related to the positioning in the occupational hierarchies and work organisation, which may be gendered. Age has been considered but results appear inconsistent. While Appelberg *et al.* (1991) found that more interpersonal conflicts at work were found among the lower age groups, O'Connell and Williams (2001) reported that the 26-45 year old age group were more likely to report bullying.

Educational level has also been considered in the literature with the somewhat counterintuitive finding that those with higher educational qualifications are more likely to report bullying (Appelberg *et al.* 1991; O'Connell and Williams, 2001). This finding is surprising and possibly relates to the higher expectations of more educated workers as to appropriate workplace behaviours. The current analysis's institutional focus is interested in how such higher expectations generally may be shaped not only by education, but also by the organisational context.

Specific studies of ethnicity and workplace bullying are limited (cf. Lewis & Gunn, 2007), although Hoel and Cooper (2000) find that Asian respondents are more likely to report bullying than those identifying themselves as "white". Lewis & Gunn (2007) limit their study to a sample of public sector organisations in Wales, but find that those from "ethnic" backgrounds report a higher rate of negative behaviours in the workplace than those from a "white" background. The current study is not able to provide a systematic analysis of ethnicity and reporting bullying: this will be discussed further in the conclusion of the thesis.

Despite the focus of some research on personality and individual-level characteristics, Leymann (1996) stressed the central role of work environment from the outset, with other studies (especially Scandinavian) following this approach (Einarsen *et al.* 1994; Einarsen, 1996; Vartia, 1996; Zapf *et al.* 1996). Vartia (1996) found poor communication and lack of participatory structures important factors. Various studies found that a change in work organisation,

such as a new manager, was related to bullying (O'Moore *et al.* 1998; Hoel & Cooper, 2000).

In terms of job factors, a study reported that a significant risk factor for men was the combination of hectically paced and monotonous work (Appelberg *et al.* 1991) and low work control was also found to be important (Einarsen *et al.* 1994). O'Moore *et al.* (1998) reported that job description change was a significant factor. "Role conflict" is also considered in the psychological field (Einarsen *et al.* 1994; Vartia 1996; Hauge *et al.* 2007), often measured by questions such as "I have to work on things that should be done differently", "I work on unnecessary things", and "I do things that are apt to be accepted by one person but not accepted by others" (Rizzo *et al.* 1970).

Some research links workplace bullying to broader changes taking place, which are making themselves felt at an organisational level, such as restructuring and downsizing in response to increasing economic pressures (Hoel *et al.* 2001). Salin (2003) argues that increased pressures on resources and restructuring may influence the prevalence of bullying in an organisation, through for example, increased internal competition for management positions and "office politics". Research by Baron and Newman (1996) suggest that the higher levels of bullying behaviours in their USA study may be linked to: increased workplace diversity, creating difficulties in interpersonal communication; feelings of anxiety and anger brought on by work practices such as increased computer monitoring; feelings of unjustness and unfairness related to pay cuts and unpleasant working conditions. Harvey *et al.* (2006) explore bullying in "global organisations" and argue that the transitions and rate of change could provide "fertile ground" for bullying to occur (p.190). There is some evidence to suggest a relationship with non-standard employment however this is inconclusive (Hoel & Cooper, 2000).

1.3.2 Bullying by *or bullying* in *the organisation?*

Mapping the research field does not dichotomise neatly into two different approaches: personality factors versus job and organisational characteristics. Einarsen and Raknes (1994) report that working conditions do not completely account for workplace bullying, leaving plenty of "room" for alternative

explanations (see also Einarsen *et al.* 2003). O'Moore *et al.* (2003) found that while over half of those reporting workplace bullying had previous experience of bullying, for example, as a child, all of the victims noted that a change in their work organisation preceded the onset of bullying in their present situation. Zapf (1999) specifically investigated the relative role of organisational and personality factors and concluded that bullying should be understood in a multi-causal framework:

> [A] number of factors contributes to the likelihood of becoming a victim of mobbing. Such factors include a high level of anxiety and depression and the related behaviours of conflict avoidance; inability to recognise conflict; being shy; and showing little effort to integrate in the work group. On the other hand, it is clear from the data presented that not all victims of mobbing are low in social competencies.
>
> (Zapf, 1999 p.83)

The current body of research on workplace bullying opens up the potential for tension in terms of conceptualisations of bullying as an "interpersonal conflict" and highlights an unresolved issue pervasive in the literature: bullying *in* the workplace and bullying *by* the workplace. Despite an awareness of the importance of work environment, influential researchers such as Zapf and Einarsen argue that an organisation itself cannot bully or harass (Zapf, 1999; Einarsen *et al.* 2003). This is in some conflict with other research exploring "organisational bullying" (Liefooghe & Davey, 2001) or "structural mobbing" (Neuberger, 1999), terms intended to capture bullying in which repeated organisational practices are perceived as oppressive and demeaning.

This tension represents therefore a major conceptual division, and reflects the arguably inherent "blurriness" of differentiating between the behaviours of managers or workers which emanate from the individual and behaviours which are more directly linked to the organisational context. For example, if an organisational strategic review establishes high performance targets, staff may feel that these are unreasonable and perceive this as inappropriate. If line management have responsibility for ensuring that these goals are met, it is possible that some employees may perceive managers as being inappropriately "heavy handed" and feel pressurised, potentially feeling "bullied". Semi-autonomous team working practices may involve colleagues coordinating

efforts in order to meet certain objectives and deadlines: team members perceived to be "slacking" could potentially be on the receiving end of negative behaviours. The new pressures that team members experience from each other (colleagues monitoring or checking work, where previously a manager would have had responsibility) could be perceived as bullying.

The bulk of the research tradition takes a psychological or social psychological perspective (Hoel & Cooper, 2000) which often emphasises the individual-level. Some of the important work environment factors, such as role conflict and leadership, are rooted in the psychological tradition and arguably prioritise the individual's personal characteristics in some way. However, a notable exception is Ironside and Seifert's (2003) attempt to affirm the *collective* dimension to the bullying phenomenon, arguing that its basis lies in the employment relationship, with the purpose of "reshaping employee behaviour" (p.396). Furthermore, they argue for the consideration of workplace bullying within the industrial relations machinery, which is arguably lacking in most perspectives in the research field, perhaps given their overwhelming location in the psychological discipline.

Other more sociological perspectives, for example, the work by Randy Hodson and colleagues in the USA (Hodson, 2001; Hodson *et al.* 2006; Roscigno *et al.* 2009) draws on extensive ethnographies and focus on organisational culture, status inequalities and the idea of "relational power". This research throws up useful insights, for example, considering the organisational context in terms of bureaucratic structures and team working, as well as job security, and enables the researchers to observe *how* the bullying occurs – and its subtle and often covert forms. However, the design of the research does not allow for generalisations or outlining systematic patterns which are needed in the research field. The present study's sociological approach aims to contribute to the existing research on workplace bullying. It argues that it is important to consider the macro-level and institutional factors and how these shape public and private sector workplaces.

1.4 The rise of the psychological

Arguably, much of the attention placed on the topic of workplace bullying has been largely driven by the growing relevance of psychological issues. A major theme underpinning the psychological research tradition is the focus on the outcomes of the bullying experienced, which range from temporary elevated anxiety, depression through to "Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome" (Mikkelsen, 2002; Tehrani, 2004). Psychologists have developed a definition of bullying differentiated from "normal" stress in the workplace by emphasising that bullying must take place repeatedly, with some researchers proposing a period of at least six months (Niedl, 1996; Mackensen von Astfeld, 2000). Bullying has been identified as an "evolving" process, with four stages ending in "trauma" (Einarsen, 1999). Many studies report that victims experience higher levels of anxiety and depression than non-victims (Niedl, 1996; Hansen *et al,.* 2006), with occurrences of severe stress found (Bjorkvist, 1994; Leymann & Gustaffsson, 1996). In a longitudinal study, Hogh *et al.* (2005) found significant negative implications of bullying on psychological health (see also Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002). Another study (Traweger *et al.* 2004) reported that the experience of being a victim of workplace bullying was "particularly destructive" for the individual's well-being, with a higher rate of anti-depressant medication among bullied employees. A longitudinal study reported that victims of bullying had higher rates of medical and self-certified periods of sickness absence than other staff members (Kivimaki *et al.* 2000).

Subjective well-being is a concern for researchers from a variety of disciplines, partly contributing to the "new science of happiness" (Layard, 2005).[6] Research on happiness, life satisfaction and well-being is burgeoning (Frey & Stutzer, 2002; Clark *et al.* 2006) and a recent review by Brockman and Delhey (2010) highlights there have been a number of factors, from the molecular to personality to societal-level characteristics that are associated with happiness:

> Genetic dispositions, personality traits, health conditions, social relations, to some extent money and material living conditions, religion, and activity increase individual happiness. At the societal level, affluence, democracy, rule of law, (gender) equality, low unemployment, and social capital

[6] Further discussion of subjective measures generally will be undertaken in Chapter 3.

> (trust in particular), lift the subjective well-being of entire countries.
>
> (Brockman & Delhey, 2010 p. 2)

Within psychology, there have been numerous attempts to measure well-being, including Bradburn's (1969) *Affect Balance Scale*, a ten-item scale with five negative and five positive statements. A number of other scales have also been developed (for an overview, see Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999), with the *General Health Questionnaire* (used by the current study) developed by Goldberg in the 1970s used extensively in international research and argued to be one of the most "reliable" scales to measure "psychological distress" (cf. Argyle, 1989).

There is a well-established research tradition exploring the link between subjective well-being and unemployment, income and poverty.[7] These studies take both a macro approach, seeking out the relationships between country-level indicators such as *per capita* income or GDP and the aggregate well-being of the nation, for example Easterlin's "paradox" of decades of Western economic growth without any corresponding growth in happiness (Easterlin, 1974, 1995; see also Diener & Diener-Biswas, 2002). Research also uses indicators such as *per capita* income or levels of poverty as an objective measure of the well-being of a country, combined with broader measures of the "standard of living" (see Harris *et al.* 2009 for a review). The income distribution has been highlighted by the recent work of Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) which stresses the relationship between income *inequality* (rather than overall levels) and aggregate levels of well-being at a national level. Micro-level studies have investigated the individual determinants of well-being within a country, for example, the "psychological cost" of unemployment (Clark & Oswald, 1994; Clark *et al.* 2001), whereas peer group comparisons of income have been shown to matter more with regards happiness, rather than levels *per se* (Luttmer, 2005).

Furedi (2004) argues that it is possible to contextualise the mounting focus on psychological well-being to an emergent "therapeutic" culture, and as some of

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[7] Wilkinson & Pickett (2006) provide a review of research on income and poverty and general health outcomes.

the research cited above attests, it appears that emotional well-being is represented as the fundamental problem of health (p.110). He argues that the language of emotionalism pervades popular culture, politics, workplaces, and schools, with terms like stress, anxiety and trauma used in reference to normal episodes of daily life: "Increasingly, psychological problems to do with stress, rage, trauma, low self-esteem or addiction provide a medical label for reinterpreting virtually every human experience" (p.99-100). Furedi takes the workplace as a key site for this process, claiming that counselling has become incorporated into the normal routine of personnel management, with the therapeutic approach informing an increasing range of practices within the sphere of human resource management, seen for example, in the rising popularity of new jargon such as "emotional intelligence" (Goleman, 1995; Mayer & Geher, 1996; Jordan & Troth, 2002; Carmeli, 2003). As an example, he cites a British study carried out by the Department of Education and Skills which found workers more likely to be offered stress counselling to help cope with long working hours than assistance with basic childcare needs. Furedi argues that among the variety of reasons for this explosion in the demand for workplace-based counselling, is the decline of trade unionism, and notes that the trade union movement has generally been supportive about the provision of therapeutic supports at work.

Another recent development includes the characterisation of particular groups of employees, previously seen as unassailable, as increasingly vulnerable, for example, the military and defence forces. This can be seen in the Irish case, with recent media reports concerned with bullying and harassment in the Army and Defence Forces generally (Irish Times, 12th March 2007; Irish Times, 12th January 2009). It is possible to contextualise the growing concerns about workplace bullying in terms of these broader developments that Furedi describes. Research attempting to link bullying with Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome, akin to soldiers returning from war, is concerning, while not to underestimate the possible negative effects of bullying. However, it certainly highlights the need for careful empirical research, avoiding the use of self-referred samples and the introduction of bias through the research design.

This discussion has highlighted the growing prominence of well-being, in psychological rather than purely physical terms, in contemporary discourses about health (Carlisle & Hanlon, 2008; Ganesh & McAllum, 2010). The present study tries to be sensitive to the individualising character of the concept:

> [W]hile well-being might prove a useful discursive means of galvanizing individual's sense of responsibility or a useful base on which to build dialogue about health among various groups, we need to question whether an individualised notion of well-being is a good platform on which to build social movement organising about large-scale health inequalities.
>
> (Ganesh & McAllum, 2010 p.495)

Thus while analysis in the current study will consider both job satisfaction and well-being in terms of their relationship with workplace bullying, it is not suggested that well-being becomes an "organising principle" to establish health inequalities (Ganesh & McAllum, 2010).

Furedi also highlights the increasing formalisation of relationships, aided by professional interventions, where behaviours are regulated by "codes of conduct" in a range of institutional settings, including workplaces:

> Professional intervention has encouraged a process whereby relationships between people have become increasingly formalised and codified. The formalisation of relationships is particularly striking inside institutions – workplace, schools, universities – where codes of conduct regulate relations between people.
>
> (Furedi, 2004, p. 85)

Again, there is some resonance here with regards how workplace bullying has come to be understood in the Irish context at least, but also elsewhere. For example, McCarthy (2003) argues that the rise of bullying as a new "signifier of distress" has been accompanied by an interest in self-regulative principles such as codes of conduct and "therapeutic guidelines" for its remedy. He argues that this represents an individualising response to the issue, focusing implicitly on the "individual pathologies" of both bullied and victim. The next section will address the legislative and non-legislative framework with regards workplace bullying in Ireland but also considers the key role of the European Union (EU).

1.5 Protecting workers from/in work

Part of the mounting concern about workplace bullying can be understood in light of the increasing attention, particularly from the EU, placed on the psychological well-being of workers under the general rubric of health and safety concerns in the workplace. Health and safety has been a matter for Europe from the outset. The 1951 Treaty founding the European Coal and Steel Community provided for the collection of information to improve working conditions and standards, while the 1957 European Atomic Energy Treaty devoted a chapter to health and safety, laying down basic standards for the protection of workers with particular regard to radiation levels and exposure. However, as Eichener (1997) argues, health and safety took on a new impetus in the wake of the 1986 Single European Act (SEA) with concerns about a possible "race to the bottom", given the potential undercutting by Member States with less developed regulatory frameworks, and thus lower production costs (Teague, 1999). In addition, in the face of financial restrictions, it has been argued that the European Commission's interest in regulatory policy stems from the need to establish itself as a "political actor" (Eichener, 1997). In the context of growing economic "negative" integration concerned with increasing market liberalisation at an EU level, health and safety policies can be characterised as (low-cost) "positive" integration (Scharpf, 1996).

Health and safety policy has been a key mechanism through which employment legislation has been achieved at EU level. It is possible to distinguish a two-pronged approach to issues relating to employment policy generally: the so-called "hard" regulation, for example, legislation in the form of Directives versus "soft" regulation (Regent, 2003; Jacobsson, 2004) such as the European Employment Strategy (EES). European employment policy has been beset from the outset with legislative difficulties. As Goetschy (1999) argues, the employment-related agreements concerned with parental leave and non-standard employment of the late nineties were achieved "under the shadow of the law", that is, agreement by the social partners under threat of an eventual directive if unsuccessful. In terms of "hard" law, Hargreaves (1997) points out that the introduction by the SEA of qualified majority voting (QMV) to a range of areas previously requiring unanimity was a particularly contentious issue in the late 1980s. While the UK insisted that QMV was explicitly excluded on

issues relating to the "rights and interests of employed people", Article 118A (now Article 137 (1)) allowed for QMV in improvements in the working environment with regards to the health and safety of workers.

The Commission's understanding of health and safety was particularly comprehensive, including issues relating to work environment and organisation, as witnessed by the subsequent Working Time Directive (93/104/EC) and unsuccessful court challenge by the UK (Hargreaves, 1997). The holistic understanding of health and safety in the workplace can also be seen in the 1989 Directive (89/391/EEC) which represents a considerable expansion of the understanding of health and safety at work, referring to "every aspect related to the work", therefore encompassing technology, working conditions, the organisation of work and job content. In addition, the Directive explicitly states that employers also have a "duty of care" for their workers' psychological, as well as physical, well-being. Therefore the seemingly innocuous health and safety element in the so-called "Social Chapter" was able to bring about broader legislative change than allowed under earlier narrower understandings of workplace health and safety. Indeed, owing to the resistance of the UK to European involvement in legislation concerning work, "health and safety" has operated as a mechanism through which to bring European legislation concerning work practices and work organisation to pass.

Goetschy (1999) argues that the difficulties presented by bringing about employment legislation at a European level focused attention on alternative forms of regulation, including a strategy of "neo-voluntarism" (Streeck, 1995); relying on soft forms of regulation and exploiting the "cajoling effects" of public recommendations and "best practice". This includes the involvement of Member States in the creation of commonly defined Community guidelines and coordination of national policies. A prime example of this approach is the EES which relies on the Open Method of Coordination, involving multi-lateral surveillance, peer review and benchmarking, and can be characterised as a new regulatory tool, only marginally, if at all, based on legislation but rather *self*-regulation (De La Porte & Pochet, 2004). Regent argues that this signals the switch from "a normative approach, centred on legislation harmonisation and binding measures, to social consensus" (Regent, 2003, p.7). Health and safety

has been a focus of the EES since 2001, urging Member States to ensure a better application of existing health and safety legislation by strengthening enforcement, providing guidance, improving training and promoting measures to reduce occupational accidents in traditional high risk sectors. In contrast to the Stability and Growth Pact, the EES does not provide sanctions (Regent, 2003); rather its approach is a public "naming and shaming" (De La Porte & Pochet, 2004, p 72). The recommendations issued to Member States have no obligatory effect but rather are "symbolically powerful" (Goetschy, 2001). The European Agency for Safety and Health at Work was set up in 1994 and has responsibility for assisting the Commission with policy matters, as well as operating as a monitoring centre.

Further consolidating the extension of health and safety into the psychological domain includes the Commission's 2002 recommendations "Adapting to change in work and society: a new community strategy on health and safety at work 2002-2006' which argued for a "global" understanding of health and safety and explicitly including "new" risks of stress, depression and harassment. Therefore, we can trace the increased attention to health and safety in Europe as partly accompanying growing economic integration and allowing the bypassing of obstacles in achieving legislation through unanimous agreement.

Workplace bullying specifically came to the attention of the European Parliament on foot of the *Third European Survey on Working Conditions* carried out by the European Foundation in 2000 (Official Journal of the European Commission C077E/138; European Parliament Resolution on harassment at the workplace: 2001/2339(INI)). The resolution recognised that combating "bullying at work must be seen as an important part of the efforts to achieve higher quality and improved social relations in the workplace" and will also help combat social exclusion; this therefore explicitly establishes that workplace bullying falls under the remit of European Community initiatives and the general European social agenda. This resolution also calls on Member States to address the issue through standardisation of the definitions of bullying and reviewing legislation. However, despite the role of the EU in promoting high protection standards for workers, there are national variations with regards implementation legislation concerned with workplace bullying. As Di Martino

et al. (2003) argue European countries have a varied and constantly changing regulatory framework, ranging from specific instruments dealing with the issue to general health and safety legislation.

While EU Directives came into place with regards harassment on the grounds of gender, establishing the principle of equal treatment for men and women relating to employment/training/promotion access and working conditions (2002/73/EC), and discrimination on grounds of religion, disability, age and sexual orientation (2000/78/EC) as well as race and ethnicity (2000/43/EC) there is no specific Directive on workplace bullying or harassment generally.[8] Individual Member States have differed in terms of the introduction of legislation concerning workplace bullying. One of the earliest countries to introduce specific instruments on workplace bullying was Sweden. The 1993 Victimisation at Work ordinance expanded on the remit of the 1977 Swedish Work Environment Act, referring to psychological and physical risks in the workplace. The Netherlands introduced the Working Conditions Act in 1994, which also addressed psychological violence. "Moral harassment" was the subject of new provisions in both Labour and Penal Codes in France in 2002. However, to date, the UK's Dignity at Work Bill has come before Parliament twice but failed on both attempts.

1.5.1 The Irish context

Ireland's first Safety, Health and Welfare Act transposed the European Framework Directive in 1989 and was subsequently updated in 2005, although the basic principles remained the same: "Every employer shall ensure, so far as is reasonably practicable, the safety, health and welfare at work of his or her employees". Following the recommendations of the Taskforce on the Prevention of Bullying in the Workplace (O'Connell & Williams, 2001) that claimed that new legislation was not required, specific Codes of Practice on Workplace Bullying were introduced, provided for by statute (Industrial Relations Act 1991 and the Safety, Health and Welfare Act 1989/2005). Table 1 provides a summary of the relevant Codes of Practice. In addition, following

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[8] These Directives have all been transposed into Irish law. The 2004 Equality Act updated the existing 1998 Employment Equality Act, and the combined Employment Equality Acts 1998 & 2004 prohibit discrimination across nine grounds (gender, age, sexual orientation, disability, race, ethnicity and Traveller community member, marital status, family status).

this 2001 report, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, the Irish Business and Employers Confederation and the Construction Federation Industry launched a Dignity at Work charter which support the right to "dignity at work" and states that bullying will not be tolerated (Connolly, 2002).[9]

Table 1 Relevant Codes of Practice

Code of Practice	Effected	Issued by	Act
Prevention of Workplace Bullying	2002	Health & Safety Authority	Safety, Health & Welfare Act 1989
Replaced by			
Prevention and Resolution of Bullying at Work	2007	Health & Safety Authority	Safety, Health & Welfare Act 2005
Procedures for Addressing Bullying in the Workplace	2002	Dept. of Enterprise, Trade & Employment	Industrial Relations Act 1990
Sexual Harassment & Harassment at Work	2002	Equality Authority	Employment Equality Act 1998

A more detailed discussion of Ireland's industrial relation landscape will be provided in the next chapter. Ireland can be classified, although with some reservations, into the liberal market economy category, along with the UK and the USA (Hall & Soskice, 2001). As in the UK, Ireland's industrial relations tradition is predicated on the principle of voluntarism, unlike countries such as Germany, typical of the so-called coordinated market economies, where statutory legislation often underpins collective bargaining processes and union recognition. The resistance of the main employers' representative body, the Irish Business and Employers Confederation (IBEC), to the introduction of new legislation on workplace bullying can perhaps be understood in this context (Expert Advisory Group on Workplace Bullying, 2005). Ireland differs from other liberal market economies specifically in terms of the trade union seat at the "top table" in terms of the neo-corporatist social partnership agreements in place since the late 1980s (Wallace, 2003).

[9] The Health sector has developed a whole-sector policy with regards workplace bullying in 2004 using the terminology of "Dignity at Work". An updated version is available here http://www.hse.ie/eng/staff/HR/Policies,_Procedures_and_Guidelines/Dignity_at_work_Policy_for_the_Health_Services.pdf

Codes of Practice (COP) are intended to emphasise and encourage the adoption of "good", or at least "minimum standards" of industrial relations practice.[10] While the terms of a COP are not legally binding, a court of law or industrial relations tribunal may admit them as relevant evidence: employer ignorance of a COP does not constitute adequate defence. The Labour Court was set up in 1946 on foot of legislation (Industrial Relations Act 1946) and its main functions related to trade disputes and providing conciliation services. Since 1991, the conciliation and mediation services have been provided by the Labour Relations Commission: the Labour Court is a last resort in settling industrial relations disputes. While the Labour Court can investigate a complaint relating to a COP breach, the Labour Relations Commission must have first attempted to resolve the issue or waived the need for conciliation. However, the Labour Court is not an official court of law; after hearing the evidence, it issues "Recommendations" which are not legally binding, although both parties are expected to consider them seriously. The Labour Court's decisions are legally binding when cases relate to registered employment agreements or legislation pertaining to employment rights (e.g., Protection of Employees (Part-time Work), Protection of Employees (Fixed-Term Work) Employment Equality and Unfair Dismissals.[11]

It is worthwhile briefly commenting on the different legislative approaches in Ireland in cases of harassment. Discrimination or harassment on the nine grounds listed in the 1998 and 2004 Employment Equality Acts is prohibited under legislation (footnote 8):

> Under the Equality Act, harassment is regarded as discrimination if it relates to one of the nine grounds of discrimination. Sexual harassment is defined under the Equality Act as discrimination on the gender ground in relation to the victim's conditions of employment. Harassment and sexual harassment can include spoken words, gestures or the production, display or circulation of written words, pictures or other material but only if the action is unwelcome to the victim (that is a subjective test) and could

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[10] "Codes of Practice" 30th December 2008: http://www.siptu.ie/YourRights/TUFGuideToLabourLaw/IndustrialRelations/CodesOfPractice.

[11] "Guide to the Labour Court" Labour Court. 30th December 2008: http://www.labourcourt.ie/labour/labour.nsf/LookupPageLink/HomeSearch

> reasonably be regarded, as offensive, humiliating or intimidating to the victim (that is an objective test). An employee must establish less favourable treatment arising from the harassment on a discriminatory ground.
>
> The Equal Treatment Directive and Race Directive define harassment as direct discrimination "where unwanted conduct related to [any of the discriminatory grounds] takes place with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment".
>
> (Connolly, 2002 p.2)

The legal mechanisms dealing with contraventions of the legislation include referral to the Equality Tribunal (set up by the 1998 Act), and the claimant may in certain cases be assisted by the Equality Authority. The process may involve a mediator as well as a court hearing.

However, if harassment occurs but does not fall under these nine grounds, the legal mechanism differs. Here, the Codes of Practice set out behavioural guidelines and expectations with regards conduct in the workplace. The Health and Safety Authority's primary role is that of policy development and providing advice. If an employee wishes to take his/her case further then they must go to the Rights Commissioner (under the Labour Relations Commission) for mediation as previously outlined. As Connolly (2002) argues, the multiplicity of definitions of bullying and harassment may increase the complexity of how cases are taken forward in Ireland. Furthermore, she argues that the existence of three COPs may also complicate investigations from the beginning: "it is not clear whether the allegations involve bullying, harassment on discriminatory grounds or sexual harassment (or elements of all three)" (p. 2).

Examination of the Labour Court's records show that a search on victimisation, harassment and bullying brings up cases which quite often involve other work practices and issues, for example: [12]

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[12] Of the 116 cases that mentioned the term bullying, approximately half were public sector and half were private sector, which given the distribution of the sectors suggests some over representation of the public sector at the Labour Court. This search by the author took place in 2006 and is only indicative of an overall general pattern.

- 1998. Foodpak Ireland Ltd (Private sector). Workplace bullying was alleged but the primary issue was unfair dismissal. The Court recommended that the matter be settled by the employer increasing his offer of one week's pay in lieu of notice to two weeks' pay in full and final settlement of this case. No judgement on workplace bullying.

- 1998. Tipaza Ltd (Private sector). Unfair dismissal after allegation of workplace bullying was made *against* the claimant. The Court found that the dismissal was unfair and the claimant should be awarded £500.

- 2000. Louth Vocational Educational Committee (Public sector). Issues relating to alleged pay and job discrimination (including promotion) and allegations of workplace bullying. The Court recommended that the Department of Education be contacted in effort to resolve the dispute.

- 2000. Raidió Teilifís Éireann (Public sector). The claimant participated in a disciplinary hearing occurred over allegations of workplace bullying and then claimed that he was later passed over for promotion. The Court recommended more transparency regarding the interview selection process, however, does not find that his claim of prejudice with regards promotion was justified.

A search of the BALII database (search term *workplace bullying* only)[13] revealed similar complexity; here cases can be brought through the Irish judicial system under the 2005 Safety, Health and Welfare at Work Act. A plaintiff can claim for damages for personal *psychological* injury. For example, the case of Quigley vs Complex Tooling & Moulding Ltd ([2008] IESC 44 & [2005] IEHC 71) involved unfair dismissal and allegations of personal injury (including depression) arising from workplace bullying (this case upheld by the Rights Commission but the defendant's appeal was overturned by the Employment Appeals Tribunal[14]). Damages were awarded to the plaintiff: the

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[13] British and Irish Legal Information Institute, www.balli.org.

[14] The Employee Appeals Tribunal can deal with cases arising from the following legislation: Redundancy Payments Acts 1967-2007; Minimum Notice and Terms of Employment Acts 1973-2005; Unfair Dismissals Acts 1977-2007; Protection of Employees (Employers' Insolvency) Acts 1984-2004; Organisation of Working Time Act 1997; Payment of Wages Act

High Court found that the plaintiff had "suffered personal injury as a direct consequence of a breach of the defendant's duties as employers to prevent workplace bullying". However, the employer's appeal that there was an insufficient causal link between bullying and the psychological distress was upheld at the Supreme Court.

Another similar case seeking damages for infliction of work-related stress, Maher vs. Jabil Global Services Ltd, was heard at the High Court in 2005 ([2005] IEHC 130). The plaintiff claimed that as a result of treatment at work, falling under the general rubric of workplace bullying, he suffered "psychological harm" and sought damages. The case involved two stages, the first of work-related stress associated with promotion and changes to work practices, which led to a period of sick leave. The second stage referred to the period after sick leave, where the plaintiff alleges he was given a "non-job", which "exposed him to humiliation amongst his fellow workers to whom it would be obvious, in his case, that he had been, in practice, demoted": a psychologist called as a witness rather eloquently made the distinction between "rust out" and "burn out". Here, the Judge was convinced that the plaintiff had "suffered an injury to his mental health that goes beyond....the *ordinary* stress which many in the workplace will suffer from time to time and which does not...give rise to a claim for damages" (my emphasis).

Unlike the previous case, causation was not an issue here and the link between the experiences in the workplace and injury was not under dispute. However, the "forseeability" of the employer to anticipate that the plaintiff would suffer psychological injuries was found to be a deciding point: the Judge stated that "it does not seem to me that it has been established that the employer in this case was guilty of any breach of duty of care" and "the plaintiff's claim must therefore fail". This "hurdle of forseeability" (Bolger, 2006) arguably places a high burden of proof on the plaintiff, however Bolger cites a case where the

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1991; Terms of Employment (Information) Acts 1994 and 2001; Maternity Protection Acts 1994 and 2004; Adoptive Leave Acts 1995 and 2005 ; Protection of Young Persons (Employment) Act 1996; Parental Leave Acts 1998 and 2006; Protections for Persons Reporting Child Abuse Act 1998 ; European Communities (Protection of Employees on Transfer of Undertakings) Regulations 2003; European Communities (Protection of Employment) Regulations 2000, Carer's Leave Act 2001 ; Competition Act 2002.

plaintiff was successful: O'Byrne vs Dunnes Stores ([2003] ELR 297): in this case, the plaintiff alleged bullying *along with* changes to work organisation.

These examples (and the previous Labour Court cases) highlight the complexity of how workplace bullying is experienced, understood and dealt with in a legislative framework. Many of the alleged incidents of workplace bullying are accompanied by other grievances in the workplace and working conditions generally; for example, unfair dismissal, procedures concerning promotion, effective "demotion", the organisation of work in terms of supervision, excessive work pressures and targets. It is in this context that caution should be applied when workplace bullying is claimed not to be a "normal" industrial relations issue (Expert Advisory Group on Workplace Bullying, 2005) and represents an "interpersonal" conflict, albeit one that is linked with work factors such as abrupt organisational change and work demands among other factors (European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, 2002).

This discussion of the legislative landscape highlights a tension in terms of the conceptualisation of workplace bullying, its potential causes and how it is dealt with within an organisation. Mediation is usually the first port of call within the Irish industrial relations machinery; however, in cases of workplace bullying, the mediation process is instigated through the grievance procedure (if one is present) and may involve independent consultants or dedicated personnel within the organisation. Where the cases (as most of the above examples attest) also involve *work* issues, the appropriateness of such a mediation strategy, focused on perhaps the "interpersonal" conflict between the parties concerned is arguably problematised.

1.6 Focus and structure of thesis

The aim of this thesis is to provide a sociological study of workplace bullying, effectively considering the "work" in workplace bullying. This study takes a macro-level perspective in highlighting the important role that institutions play, in terms of the sectoral labour market differences. The public sector has been dominant in many studies of workplace bullying, in terms of often higher reported rates of bullying in this sector as well as a plethora of sectoral-specific

studies. According to studies in Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands, the education sector has a particularly high risk of bullying (Leymann, 1996; Zapf 1999; Hubert & van Veldhoven, 2001). In Finland, Piirainen *et al.* (2003) report high levels of bullying in the health and social sector. Zapf (1999) found that in a German sample of victims, employees in these sectors were seven times more likely to be bullied. Salin (2001) highlights the fact that the public sector has been more researched than the private sector and calls for more empirical studies in order to address the issue in more depth.

Establishing that the public sector has a higher rate of bullying, exploring the potential reasons for it as well as the potential implications for well-being or satisfaction demand well-designed nationally representative surveys and this study attempts to contribute to the existing body of research. This thesis takes as its departure point the somewhat counterintuitive finding that the public sector has a higher rate of reported bullying than the private sector in Ireland. The different institutional configurations of the public and private sector may also give rise to potentially important *within-sector* differences and the analysis will aim to also take account of these, where relevant.

Researchers have suggested the need to take account the extent of public sector change in recent decades in order to potentially explain the higher prevalence of reported bullying (Salin, 2001; Ironside & Seifert, 2003; Beale & Hoel, 2010) as well as the nature of public sector employment (Zapf *et. al,* 2003). The thesis will therefore empirically address the extent to which the different sectoral patterns in terms of the prevalence of reported workplace bullying relate to the rapid and extensive changes in the public sector in recent decades, for example, the increased focus on flexibility and efficiencies. The study also considers the extent to which labour market characteristics structure the opportunities for "exit" and "voice" across the sectors. Sectoral differences in terms of the prevalence of policies and grievance channels, as well as sectoral differences in terms of employee mobility, may have a direct bearing on the actions employees take if confronted with negative behaviours at work and whether they remain in their employment or leave. These "strategies" may have bearing for patterns in the prevalence of reported bullying. Given the legislative environment outlined in this chapter, one might expect that the

greater trade union density in the public sector, with greater awareness of "Dignity at Work" policies and Codes of Practice, would effectively mean that workers in this sector are more protected against inappropriate behaviours at work. However, as has been suggested by McCarthy & Mayhew (2004), the higher rate of bullying in the public sector may relate to the increased awareness in the public sector about the phenomenon through, for example, policy initiatives providing a basis for the "naming" of bullying. The establishment of such policies could lead to higher expectations as to appropriate behaviours at work. The higher expectations argument of those with higher educational qualifications will also be explored.

The previous discussion has highlighted the prominence of psychological health discourses in the contemporary period, and the consequences of workplace bullying have often been framed as an extreme example of the potential "dangers" of work, for example causing severe stress. However, such claims must be subject to careful empirical evidence using well designed surveys and in addition, the use of proper controls such as job characteristics such as working hours, job intensification and job pressures, as well as potentially important organisational factors, e.g., staff welfare programmes. The current study addresses the relationship between workplace bullying and two particular outcomes - job satisfaction and well-being - and explores this through a sectoral lens.

1.6.1 Chapter outlines

The following chapter considers the literature pertaining to the changes argued to have occurred in terms of jobs and workplaces in recent decades, with relevance for the study of workplace bullying. The chapter explicitly considers the nature of public sector change, as well as the differences between the sectors in terms of employee voice and mobility. Chapter 3 considers methodological issues including the main research traditions in the field of workplace bullying, employment studies, and approaches to sensitive research topics. This chapter specifically outlines the study's research design, methodology, data sources and instrumentation.

Chapter 4 provides a descriptive analysis of the Irish labour market, in relation to the key job, workplace and institutional characteristics that are argued to be potentially relevant to the study of workplace bullying. Chapter 5 sets out the specific expectations concerning how these sectoral patterns – regarding job and organisational change, the opportunities for mobility and relatedly, the opportunities for employee voice - relate to reporting bullying in the workplace, and seeks to empirically investigate these relationships in the Irish context. Furthermore, it allows for the full dimensionality of the bullying – for example, in terms of direction, intensity, and behaviours – to also be considered. Chapter 6 explores in greater depth the sectoral patterns in opportunities for employee exit and voice, which are argued to be a key aspect in understanding sectoral patterns in the prevalence of reported workplace bullying.

Chapter 7 considers the possible negative implications of workplace bullying in terms of job satisfaction and subjective well-being, as well as considering the implications of sectoral differences. Chapter 8 provides a conclusion to the thesis, including an overview of the main findings, limitations as well as suggestions for further consideration and research.

Chapter 2 Bullying in Context

This chapter seeks to contextualise bullying in terms of *work*, bringing into sharp focus developments in recent years in terms of jobs and workplaces, as well as emphasising the importance of institutional characteristics, in particular the public-private sectoral division. A key finding has been the higher reported rate of bullying in the public sector than the private sector, in Ireland and elsewhere. This finding is somewhat counterintuitive, given the better terms and conditions, widespread equality and diversity programmes, higher trade union density as well as greater familiarity with anti-harassment legislation; it stands in stark contrast to recent research in the UK by Pollert & Charlwood (2009) which highlights problems in the workplace faced by non-unionised, low paid workers. This finding also raises the question of how to adequately account for the higher prevalence of reported workplace bullying in Ireland's public sector.

One of the possible explanations for the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector could lie in the dramatic changes experienced by this sector in recent decades in the form of "new public management". This has included an increased focus on flexibility, efficiency and performance, with implications for the rate and speed of job and organisational change, and potentially salient therefore for workplace bullying. However, it is also important to consider further sectoral differences, specifically the two sides of the "exit/voice" coin, which could shed light on the different reporting rates in the public and private sector. For example, formal policies and grievance procedures could provide the opportunity for employee "voice", while policies and Dignity at Work charters could lead to a greater "naming" of bullying, which may raise expectations as to appropriate behaviours at work, and thus a higher rate of reported bullying. Patterns in job mobility must also be considered, in terms of occupational skills and labour market characteristics; for example, the possibility and "cost" of finding alternative employment elsewhere if

confronted by negative behaviours at work. Private sector workers may be more likely to find alternative employment if faced with inappropriate behaviour in the workplace, thus partly explaining their lower reported rate.

This chapter first provides an overview of the main debates in studies of work, outlining the recent developments argued to have taken place. In general, research has been broadly concerned with the nature and extent of *change*; shaped by concerns about growing economic globalisation and technological advances, as well as occupational and sectoral changes and the growth in female labour market participation. Key issues include organisational restructuring, increases in non-standard employment, new work practices, job intensification, and the direction of skill trends: the specificities of the Irish case will also be considered. It is argued that these factors may impact on workplace bullying. This chapter will also consider how the public sector has responded to the general thrust and imperative of "change", which may provide insights into the sectoral patterns of reported workplace bullying. Finally, research concerning exit and voice will also be considered in the present chapter, with a key focus on the public-private divide.

2.1 Times are a' changing

The contemporary period has been characterised as a time of bewildering transformation and change (Amin, 1997). These changes include rapid technological advances along with increased economic internationalisation and interdependency, as well as the intensification of competition through deregulation and liberalisation (Castells, 1996). These changes are argued to have consequences for all aspects of work:

> Technological developments, particularly computer-aided production and control, enabling the restructuring and dispersion of work, and the globalisation of production and financial systems have generated dramatic alterations to modern practices of work: its performance, its organisation, its productivity and its value.
>
> (Casey, 2000, p. 574)

Hirsch and De Soucey (2006) claim that while disciplines argue about the positive and negative aspects of organisational change, there is widespread agreement that flexibility and adaptability are key issues for organisations in

the contemporary "marketplace". Organisations have been argued to seek flexibility through organisational restructuring, for example, downsizing, outsourcing, subcontracting, mergers and acquisitions, delayering, new types of employment contracts, working practices, time and sites of work. These changes have been accompanied by the growing relevance of multinational companies with a global "web" of companies replacing the national-level firm (Edwards *et al.* 1996). Furthermore, the contemporary period has also seen dramatic sectoral and occupational shifts, with the growth in service sector and non-manual employment, as well as increasing female labour market participation.

These general developments in the workplace and labour market therefore form the context for the growing attention placed on bullying in the contemporary period. While psychological approaches focusing on the individual-level dominate, some studies on workplace bullying emphasise the importance of job characteristics and work environment, as well as highlight the negative implications of workplace bullying for job satisfaction, stress and well-being. The growing attention afforded to workplace bullying can be contextualised in terms of the rising concerns about the quality of work in recent years, not least owing to the prominent EU focus on ensuring a "competitive and knowledge-based economy" (2000 Lisbon Strategy), with the aim to create "more and better jobs" as well as various legislative developments aimed at increasing protection for temporary and part-time workers. In addition, the risks posed by the workplace on the well-being of workers have also been increasingly recognised, for example, the issue of work-related stress.

As already highlighted, Ireland is usually classified alongside the UK, in terms of Esping-Anderson's (1990) liberal welfare regime, and also with the USA, in Hall and Soskice's (2001) liberal market economy categorisation. In addition, as a small, open and "globalised" economy, we might expect to find that many of the main trends concerning the changing workplace, emerging particularly from the UK and the USA, to have salience for Ireland as well. The following sections outline the main debates before considering the extent to which Ireland fits, or diverges, from these general trends.

2.1.1 Labour market flexibility: reality or mantra?

Labour market flexibility has taken on a variety of meanings, with the literature largely falling into two main camps (Fine, 1998). The first camp refers to abstract accounts focusing on the idea that flexibility marks the transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism, and reflects fundamental changes in the nature of the economy and society (Aglietta, 1979; Lipietz, 1987). The second camp relates to more empirical observations that the labour market has become increasingly flexible or deregulated, in terms of allowing markets to function more "freely" without impediment from governments, trade unions and legislation (for example, the shift from collective bargaining agreements in the UK). However, disentangling the abstract from the empirical has arguably been one of the main preoccupations of sociologists and economists over the recent period.

The apparent transition from Fordist (characterised by mass production, stable and long-term employment relations within hierarchically-structured organisations) to Post-Fordist models (typified by niche markets, decentralised and flatter organisations, with shorter employment relations) was argued to have been brought about by economic challenges, including cheaper foreign imports, the difficulties in assuring productivity gains and thus the pressures ensuring upward growth in wages and consumption (Storper & Scott, 1992; Batt, 2005). Piore and Sabel's (1984) account of flexible specialisation stresses the need for firms to innovate and respond to the crisis of mass production in the context of increasing competition. While Fordism is associated with the routinisation or deskilling of labour (for example, the car assembly line), they argue that this crisis could herald the increasing autonomy of specialised, highly skilled workers. Thus some of the developments in the workplace are argued to bring about positive benefits for workers, in terms of increased autonomy and skills.

Labour market flexibility has come to receive increasing attention, not only in terms of academic research, but also policy debates focusing on "flexicurity", combining elements of flexibility and security (European Commission, 2007) and "employability" (see overview by Peck & Theodore, 2000) emanating from the European Employment Strategy, and taken up by the New Deal in Britain (and making its way into Ireland's social partnership agreements, e.g.,

Towards 2016). Indeed Beck (1992) argues that the growing focus on flexibility has become a political mantra, with Bauman (2001) claiming that flexibility is the "slogan of the day", meaning the end of the job "as we know it", with "work on short-term contracts, rolling contracts or no contracts, positions with no inbuilt security" but with "until further notice" clauses" (p.24). Castells (1996) also makes the claim that we are now at the "end" of the historical trend towards salaried employment and the contemporary "information economy" depends on a disposable, i.e., flexible, labour force that can be hired and fired at will. Such restructuring may not be linked to an actual economic downtown but as likely to occur in times of significant prosperity where companies use the "cushion" of profit levels to "restructure", which as Blyton and Bacon (2001) argue, not only involves job losses but also the rehiring of new staff on non-standard contracts.

The global economic pressures in the 1970s, Kalleberg (2000) claims, set the scene for this unravelling of the standard employment relationship through increased competition and uncertainty among firms, who in turn, searched for greater flexibility through restructuring. New non-standard employment relations such as part-time work, temporary employment and independent contracting can be contrasted to the "standard" work arrangement, which he argues characterised much of the twentieth century, where work was done "full-time, would continue indefinitely, and was performed at the employer's place of business under the employer's discretion" (p. 341). This latter work arrangement is associated with an internal labour market, characterised by "ports of entry" and a "ladder up" the hierarchy (Doeringer & Piore, 1971) and today, risks demolishment (Osterman & Burton, 2005) or dismantling (Grimshaw *et al.* 2001), with suggestions also of a "boundary-less career" (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996): workers are less likely to follow a set hierarchical path through an organisation but move horizontally and vertically across a number of different organisations through their life time.

However, research suggests the existence of a dual system, either within-firm or across the labour market as a whole. Atkinson's (1984) often cited "flexible firm" model, based on case study evidence, consists of core and peripheral workers and identified numerical (both external and internal), functional and

financial flexibility strategies. The core workers, employed on permanent contracts and with access to training, are associated with an internal labour market, whereas peripheral workers are employed on non-standard contracts on the basis of time-varying need. This "core and periphery" division has been extended to the labour market itself, for example, dual labour market theory suggests the increasing schism of a primary sector, consisting of high skilled jobs with good working conditions and opportunities for training and progression, and a secondary sector in which low skilled jobs, poor working conditions and unstable employment are the norm (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Dickens & Lang, 1985). As Reich *et al.* (1973) note, secondary jobs are mainly (though not exclusively) filled by minority workers, females and young people.[15] These theories then present a challenge to human capital theory which focused on supply-side factors to explain the systematic employment patterns among ethnic minorities and women, for example, where lack of human capital does not adequately explain their (disadvantaged) position in the labour market (Fevre, 1992).

Alongside this growing body of work in terms of the increasing "flexibilisation" of work in the contemporary period, there is also a burgeoning literature on changes within the so-called "core" workforce, i.e., the internal protected workers, for example work intensification and increasing job demands (Burchell *et. al.,* 2002; Green & McIntosh, 2001):

> [The] flexibility debate [has been taken] to a new stage where the effect was not just to redraw segment boundaries but to increase active competition between segments, a process that both spreads job insecurity and leads to work intensification.
>
> (Rubery, 2005 p.36)

As Cappelli (1997) argues, this poses an interesting paradox in that at a time when employers are "giving less" to employees in terms of job security, they are "asking more" in terms of job demands.

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[15] Labour market segmentation has also been expanded to higher order typologies, for example, the four segmentation typology of Gordon *et al.* (1982) with three divisions within the primary sector and one secondary sector.

Some researchers have taken issue with the "flexible" labour market, arguing that it was more prescriptive (or at least taken as such within the managerialist literature) than descriptive of actual trends. The flexible workforce is argued to be part of an ideological offensive which celebrates pliability and casualisation, and appears inevitable (Pollert, 1988): flexibility is at once a solution to problems in the labour market as well as a means of legitimising change (cf. Fine, 1998). However, as Felstead and Jewson (1999) argue, flexibility not only includes part-time and temporary employment but also freelancing, home working, flexi-time to name but a few examples. This therefore highlights a particular caveat in debates about flexibility, namely that they are argued to represent employee *demands*. Aided by technological developments, workers are no longer "corralled" into a single workplace for a set period, instead workers can "plan for themselves" using a diverse range of locations (Felstead *et al.* 2005).

2.2 The changing labour market and workplace bullying

Much research therefore suggests that the contemporary workplace has undergone significant change, in terms of flexibility, as well as growing economic pressures translating into increased job demands and pressures for workers. While some workers are argued to have benefited from the general trend of occupational upskilling as well as flexible working arrangements, other jobs are argued to be increasingly low skilled and insecure. These developments have implications for workplace bullying as particular workers may be more vulnerable to negative behaviours in the workplace - for example, marginally employed workers, those working in jobs with low levels of autonomy, or experiencing high levels of job change or pressure. However, the debates concerning the extent of the changing workplace far from reach a consensus and some areas of concern for the present study – the growth in marginal employment, increasing job intensification and the direction of skills trends – will be considered in more depth.

2.2.1 Vulnerable employees? The growth in non-standard employment

Job instability has been a central feature of many accounts of the changing workplace and labour market. However, the end of a "job for life" has come

under substantial criticism for its broad generalisations and exaggeration.[16] Analysis of tenure between 1975 and 1992 using the UK's General Household Survey found little support for the insecurity thesis, but concedes mean tenure declined for men in the lower earnings quartile, with a slight decline for men in jobs for longer than 5 years (Burgess & Rees, 1996, 1997, 1998). Analysis using the British Labour Force Survey found that while job tenure and security changed only marginally between 1973 and 1998, entry positions were increasingly unstable and low paid (Gregg & Wadsworth, 1999). Doogan (2001, 2005) takes issue with the sweeping statements of the insecurity thesis, differentiating between *temporary* employment and *part-time* employment, which may be permanent and stable: he argues long-term employment has actually increased over the nineties rather than decreased. However, Robinson (2000) criticises the use of tenure as it reflects both voluntary and involuntary separations and suggests that analysis should take account of the cost of job loss as well as flexible forms of employment. The OECD (1997) found that there was a sharp increase in the numbers of individuals perceiving job insecurity in the 1980s and 1990s, despite overall *objective* job stability remaining relatively constant, save for certain blue collar and low skilled workers. It concludes that job insecurity must be considered as both the risk of (involuntary) separation and its consequences, for example, finding a new and suitable similar job. A later OECD report (2004) also concluded that there was no direct relationship between employment protection legislation - the protection of workers against dismissal and regulation of temporary employment - and job insecurity: they did not find strong evidence to suggest that workers felt more secure about their jobs in countries where they are more protected against lay-offs.

Given the dearth of reliable empirical evidence, the widespread view of increased insecurity and demise of a "job for life" has been partly attributed to high profile media and political debates (Heery & Salmon, 2000). Such debates

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16 In addition, research has criticised the tendency to exaggerate the linearity and speed of the post-war transitions (Furlong, 2009), with young people in the 1960s also experiencing a rapid turnover of employment (Goodwin & O'Connor, 2005). Nonetheless Bradley and Devadson (2008) claim that the current period sees this churning extending well into the age of 30 plus, with young people displaying "internalised flexibility", whether or not the end of a "job for life" is empirically as widespread as some reports would suggest.

may influence perceptions, if not the risk *per se*; however it is important to consider how subjective impressions are formed as these may influence behaviour, in the labour market and elsewhere (Burchell *et al.* 2002). It is necessary to consider insecurity as multi-dimensional (Standing, 1999) encompassing: *employment* security (easy to dismiss/lay off/change contract type); *job* insecurity (changing job content/shifting from job to job); *work* insecurity (dangerous working environment); *income* insecurity (unstable earnings); working-time insecurity (irregular hours); *representation* insecurity (refusal to negotiate with trade unions); *skill reproduction* insecurity (impeded access to training); and *labour market insecurity* (low probability of securing employment). This typology goes beyond a reliance on one or two indicators but takes into account a realm of factors that make up the complex phenomena of insecurity. For example, Paugam and Zhou (2007) argue for a distinction between the *employment* relationship and *work* relationship as two separate dimensions of the job. It is the way in which these two dimensions interrelate that is crucial for how workers respond to their labour market situation: where an unfavourable employment relationship is reinforced by a poor work relationship, for instance, routine and mundane work tasks then risks of job loss resulting in social marginalisation are much greater than where insecurity is accompanied by high quality work tasks.

The job insecurity thesis has recently received renewed attention, with debates by Fevre (2007) and Conley (2008). Fevre highlights the lack of empirical evidence to warrant the claims that the contemporary period is an "age of insecurity", presenting analysis of both non-standard employment and perceptions of insecurity and finding little in the way of support of the more exaggerated assertions. However, Conley argues that disaggregation is necessary in order to uncover sectoral variations in non-standard employment, for example, in the public sector (we will come back to this in a later section). Previous research has highlighted country variation in rates of temporary employment (Conley, 2002). For example, in the UK and Ireland, employment protection legislation is relatively low (in Western terms) so that employers, particularly in the private sector, do not need to create this category of worker. Taking issue with Doogan (2001, 2005), Conley argues that long-term employment and temporary contracts are not mutually exclusive and could

suggest a growing polarisation of the workforce. Fevre's research is broadly supported by recent work undertaken by Green (2009) using various measures of job insecurity encompassing a subjective assessment of job security, ease of finding a similar job and worries about job insecurity, with little evidence of a rise in job insecurity from 1997 to 2005 across Europe. However, Green highlights the need to take account of perceptions of likely job loss within a defined period, difficulty of re-employment as well as the amount of welfare support available. While the OECD (2002, cited in Fevre, 2007) suggests that temporary workers have "considerable continuity", being in employment one year earlier and two years later, arguably insecurity is precisely generated by a lack of *certainty* about contract continuity. While research finds that temporary employment is able to function as a "bridge" to permanent employment, other findings suggest that for many workers, the reality is more of a "trap"; again there is evidence of substantial country variation (Nätti, 1993; Gash, 2008; Amuedo-Dorantes, 2001).

Another form of non-standard employment has included the growth in part-time work. As Smith *et al.* (1998) claim, two features regarding part-time employment stand out: firstly, rates of part-time employment have grown in nearly all countries, and secondly, rates of female part-time employment are higher than males. In 2007 in the EU as a whole, around 17% of jobs were part-time, with approximately 30% of females working part-time, compared to 7% men (*Source: Eurostat*). However, there is substantial country variation, for example, The Netherlands has a relatively high overall rate of part-time (around 45%), with lowest prevalence in the Eastern and Southern European countries (O'Reilly & Fagan, 1998; European Foundation, 2007). The association of part-time work and female labour market participation has given rise to considerable debate, with two broad countervailing interpretations. Firstly, the claim that that females prefer such hours of working owing to their lesser attachment to the workplace (Hakim 1995; Hakim, 2000) and a perspective that stresses the constraints, for example, relating to reconciliation policies and childcare accessibility (McRae, 2003; Ginn *et al.* 1996) that preclude females from re/entering the full-time workforce; country variation in female transitions to full-time employment, with particular obstacles for those

with young children, problematises the straightforward application of preference theory (Gash, 2008).

While Doogan (2001) argues that part-time does not *necessarily* mean contingent, this appears to be largely the case for the UK at least; in addition, the female part-time workforce is arguably an overeducated workforce (Felstead *et al.* 2000). However, not all part-time jobs are the same, with the female public sector part-time workforce representing one aspect and low paid, low status service sector employment another (Smith *et al.* 1998). Part-time work has been associated with a gender pay gap, and also penalties in terms of pension provision, although with country variation (McGinnity & McManus, 2007).[17] Occupational segregation is one of the reasons put forward to account for the persistence of the gender wage gap (Bergmann, 1989), related to gender attitudes, in terms of subject and nature of employment choice, and differences in the status of the work performed, i.e., a persistent degradation of "feminine" jobs (Reskin, 1993; Rubery & Fagan, 1995).

This section has explored the main debates relating to the growth in non-standard employment in the contemporary period. It is plausible that certain groups of workers may be experiencing increased vulnerability in terms of their employment, for example, related to low rates of trade union membership. There is also a growing body of research concerned with job insecurity and its negative impact on health and stress levels (de Witte, 1999; Sparks *et al.* 2001; Wichert, 2002). Research has found that lower skilled workers and those employed on non-standard contracts are more at risk from physical dangers at work (Benavides & Benach, 1999). Temporary employees and part-time workers are two elements of the non-standard employment model, and we might expect that these workers, owing to their relatively insecure or marginal position within the organisation, may be particularly exposed to negative or inappropriate behaviours in the workplace. However, we might expect significant sectoral variation in terms of the nature of non-standard

[17] Compared to Germany, substantial wage penalties were found to apply to female part-time work in the UK and USA. The researchers argue that this reflects weak institutional support for such forms of work. While prevalence in the two countries varies (with higher part-time working in the UK), the similarities include low pay and "dead end" jobs (McGinnity & McManus, 2007)

employment, with particular implications for the prevalence of reported workplace bullying.

2.2.2 Job demands: more for less?

Job intensification is a key aspect of the debates concerning the "changing workplace", with apparent increases in job demands and pressures (Green & McIntosh, 2001; Burchell *et. al.,* 2002). However, some researchers contest the extent of work intensification, for example, there is evidence to suggest that average working hours have decreased, rather than increased, as the intensification thesis might suggest (Green, 2001; MacInnes, 2005). Nonetheless, while contractual hours and actual hours may vary, *hours* of work may not reflect the *pace* of work or work load. Between 1995 and 2000, analysis of the European Survey of Working Conditions reveals an increase in the subjective perception of work intensity: the average percentage of hours during which employees reported working at high speeds and the average percentage of hours during which employees perceived they had to work to very short and tight deadlines both increased between the two time points (Boisard *et. al.,* 2003).

Job intensification must be contextualised in terms of its relationship with other labour market changes, for example the concentration of work in households (Gregg *et al.* 1999) and rise in dual earner households has sparked concerns about conflicts between the demands of "work" and "family" life (Gornick & Myers, 2003). While increased flexibility in terms of working arrangements is supposed to offer the opportunity to balance the demands of work and home, research suggests that policies aimed at enhancing worker flexibility, for example, autonomy over scheduling of working hours can actually amplify problems. The autonomy associated with professional jobs requires the commitment of a long working week: "thus the ability to influence start and finish times may provide insignificant relief from the other working-time demands of the job" (Fagan, 2003, p.47). Fagan and Burchell (2002) find that working long or unsocial hours and job demands increase the incidence of work-related illnesses.

These trends in job intensification are relevant for the prevalence of workplace bullying in contemporary organisations. Research has highlighted that some workers may be working longer hours and facing increased job demands. An increasingly pressurised work environment may have particular saliency for workplace bullying, with the need to meet deadlines or targets potentially creating possibilities of conflict, not only with management but also amongst co-workers. Again, research has highlighted important sectoral variations and this will be addressed later in this chapter.

2.2.3 The deskilling debates: autonomy or automation?

The direction of skills trends is a major debate in the field of employment studies and centres on the impact of technological change on sectoral shifts and occupational change. As Gallie (1994) argues, there is little contest regarding overall declines in manufacturing and agriculture and associated decline in manual jobs: "much more controversial is the significance that should be attached to such changes" (p.45). There are various interpretations of the trends, with the perspective espoused by Braverman (1974) emphasising the increasing routinisation and deskilling of both non-manual and manual jobs, representing increased management control over the labour process. However, in order to assess the extent of skill change, it is important to separate out the different aspects of the debate. Felstead *et al.* (2000) differentiate between economists who general refer to it as an attribute of the *person* and sociologists who treat it as an attribute of the *job*. Skills change can include the changing distribution of non-manual jobs and manual jobs over time as well as changes in the amount of discretion that workers have over their tasks, for example, in terms of deciding how much work to do and how fast to do it.[18]

While there is little debate surrounding the growth in non-manual jobs, classification systems make it difficult to assess the actual skill content of these jobs over time (Gallie, 1994). The extension of full-time education across most of Europe has meant that growing numbers of the workforce are increasingly well-qualified. Evidence seems to refute the suggestion of widespread deskilling, with research suggesting a general polarisation of the workforce

[18] Other measurements include qualifications, years of education and/or training, the time taken to learn the job as well as income.

where some workers benefit, through increased autonomy and discretion at work, while others are more disadvantaged (Gallie, 1994, 2007a, 2007b). However, as Felstead *et al.* (2000) point out, relying on self-reported recall measures of autonomy presents difficulties, not least because the increased "skill" might reflect increased work experience, rather than the skill content of the job *per se*. Their research using average skill content across a range of different domains suggests that the gap between full-timers and part-timers is widening, thus suggesting "pockets of cumulative disadvantage remain" in an overall context of *upskilling* (p.725).

Research has suggested that "skill-biased technical change" has favoured the highly skilled to the disadvantage of unskilled workers, which has been argued to underpin rising income inequality in the USA, at least (cf. Katz & Autor, 1999). Goos and Manning (2007) argue that evidence suggests that there has been an increase in highly paid, highly skilled jobs, as well as a concomitant rise in low paid, low skilled service employment. Partial explanations of this trend in skill polarisation include the mechanised nature of some routine jobs, which are more easily replaced by technology. Thus, while there is growth in the relative demand for skilled jobs and also for very low skilled jobs, there is a fall in demand for "middling" jobs (Autor *et al.* 2006). Goos and Manning (2007) argue that this "routinisation hypothesis" is plausible and do find evidence of job polarisation (in terms of *income*) in the UK, with the hollowing out of the middle bracket earners and thus rising income inequality; however, other research indicates that their findings do not provide a skills-related explanation for rising income inequality (Felstead *et al.* 2000).

The growth in "McJobs" (Ritzer, 1996) may result in certain workers afforded minimum levels of autonomy in terms of their day to day work tasks, with possible implications for workplace bullying. This could relate to the fact that such workers have little control over their work environment and may feel over monitored or carry out routine and monotonous work with close supervision. Furthermore, this may take the form of monitoring by computers or technology, rather than direct management, which could also influence the employee-employer relationship. Workers with considerable autonomy, on the other hand, may be able to avoid excessive or unexpected pressures, which may then

influence the extent to which they experience negative or inappropriate behaviours at work.

As Beynon *et al.* (2002) note, the account of skills degradation offered by Braverman (1974) could hardly differ more from "flexible specialisation" and other research emphasising the increased complexity and skill requirements of work required by the growth in non-manual employment (Blauner, 1964; Kerr *et al.* 1960). A body of research has developed around the apparent growth in the "high performance" workplace, focusing on the positive developments regarding skills for workers in the contemporary period.

High performance or high stress: new ways of working

The key debates concerning skills relate to the changes associated with technological advances and new types of industry, with the decline in "craft skills" and the apparent emergence of new forms of Post-Fordist production methods which have implications for the composition of skills across the workforce. These debates have also incorporated the impact of globalisation and competitive pressures on new organisational forms and the new skills demanded from the workforce (Felstead *et al.* 2000) with many accounts of so-called "high performance" workplaces or "high involvement" practices (Forth & Millward, 2004). An optimistic account of technological change and growing competitive pressures has cited the apparent rise in high involvement practices associated with positive developments for firms, including increased innovation and productivity, as well as for workers, in the form of increased autonomy, training and participative structures, not to mention wages. These practices include comprehensive employee recruitment and selection procedures, incentive schemes, performance management, extensive employee involvement and training which are argued to improve the skills of employees, increase motivation, reduce shirking, and enhance the retention of "quality" employees (Huselid, 1995). Practices include the use of sophisticated aptitude tests, performance feedback from colleagues and management, communication regarding organisational information (e.g., financial), team working including "Quality Circles", training, employee attitude surveys and participatory mechanisms.

The early waves of research were sparked by the Japanese model of production - "Toyotism" - which was found to be more efficient in terms of time and costs; attributable to the "Just in Time" organisation of work and teamwork practices (Womack *et al.* 1990). As Bauer argues (2004), high involvement practices characterise a shift from a Tayloristic organisation of work, with features such as task specialisation and hierarchical career structures to a flatter organisational structure with multi-skilled, multi-tasking employees and self-responsible teams with greater opportunity for participation in decision making for all employees:

> By expanding the skills of employees they are able to work beyond traditional occupational boundaries. This runs counter to Tayloristic forms of work organisation where workers are more isolated and are part of an extensive division of labour with a high compartmentalisation of tasks with limited movement between jobs. Flexible work organisation involves a reduction in job bands, a system of job/task rotation, a reduced division of labour and the development of multi-functional work teams.
>
> (Bacon & Storey, 1993 p.15)

As Forth and Millward (2004) argue, there is a well-established literature associating high involvement work practices with superior outcomes for the firm, for example, lower employee turnover (Huselid, 1995) and higher productivity (Appelbaum *et al.* 2001; Easton & Jarrell, 1998; Katz *et al.* 1985). However, Cappelli and Neumark (2001) argue that these claims are often made on the basis of insufficient methodological rigour, and the association between such practices and outcomes may not be causal, but reflect pre-existing differences among firms (Edwards & Wright, 2001). While their own research, a longitudinal study of the manufacturing industry in the USA, found evidence to suggest an increase in wages, it pointed to only weak evidence of an increase in productivity. In terms of the relationship with pay, it could be expected that employers award employees higher wages, either in return for higher productivity or to assist recruitment, improve morale, and desist turnover (Forth & Millward, 2004) or owing to the selection of workers with higher existing levels of skills and educational qualifications (Handle & Gittleman, 2004). Indeed, the evidence for the "high road" of high wages is far from conclusive. While there are a number of studies suggesting a wage premium

(Applebaum *et al.* 2000; Cappelli, 1996; Osterman, 2006) other research does not confirm this (Handle & Gittleman, 2004).

The implementation of such systems has been associated with increased job satisfaction and employee well-being, and as such have been characterised as a "win-win" development for both employers and employees (Bauer, 2004). In the UK context, Felstead and Gallie (2004) argue that high involvement practices are particularly beneficial to non-standard workers, for example, part-timers, in terms of skills. Bauer's (2004) European study found that while some aspects of such practices, for example, flexible working arrangements, task discretion, and communication with co-workers were associated with higher levels of job satisfaction, this was not the case for team working and job rotation. Godard (2001) found that while a moderate implementation of high involvement practices was associated with greater employee satisfaction, this relationship was reversed at higher levels of implementation. Higher job satisfaction could clearly be linked indirectly with the higher wages suggested above.

Team working has been an integral element of the focus on high involvement management. The growth during the 1990s in both quality circles and self-managed teams is noted in the USA, UK and elsewhere (Osterman, 2000; Millward *et al.* 2000). Barker *et al.* (1993) provide a "continuum" in terms of team formations from traditional work groups (lowest autonomy), quality circles, semi-autonomous work groups to self-managing and self-directing teams (highest autonomy). Batt (2004) considers how team working changes both the organisation of work and structures the division of labour, and considers the effects of team working on employees, supervisors and managers separately. Across the board, she finds that while quality circles did not influence the hierarchy or division of labour, self-managing teams were associated with greater task discretion as well as job satisfaction.

This body of research is far from reaching a consensus on the supposed benefits for workers. As Milkman (1998) outlines, many researchers argue that such systems are strategies to enhance managerial control and "allow workers to "participate" mainly in the intensification of their own exploitation" (p.93).

Parker and Slaughter (1988) succinctly summarise their findings with the term "management by stress". The growth in team working in particular has been the subject of much research, with some researchers acknowledging that while teams potentially afford workers greater control or autonomy (Townsend, 2007), team working potentially allows peer surveillance as a means of normative control (Willmott, 1993; Sewell, 1998) and can increase the pace of work as well as peer pressure and conflict (Barker *et al.* 1996; Askenazy & Caroli, 2002). Batt's (2004) positive effects for high involvement practices changed when organisational status was introduced: supervisors were found to perceive increased employment insecurity and thus lower job satisfaction. While not the significant focus of their research, Banker *et al.* (1996) found that co-worker conflict was associated with the introduction of team working, a finding corroborated elsewhere (Askenazy *et al.* 2002).

From a health and safety perspective, Brenner *et al.* (2004) find a significant relationship between various high involvement practices, specifically "Just in Time" production and quality circles, and physical trauma disorders, for example, carpal tunnel syndrome (also Askenazy, 2001). However, other research suggests a reduction in boredom, increased alertness and positive effects on occupational safety. Zacharatos *et al.* (2005) found a reduction in injury rates with high involvement practices but a limitation of their study includes their sampling frame (provided by the Association for Prevention of Accidents).

These developments have potential implications for workplace bullying. Autonomy allows workers day to day control over their work place and tasks, which could minimise the risks of negative or inappropriate behaviours from managers, for example, through over monitoring or target setting. Workers with low autonomy are potentially exposed to inappropriate behaviours from a range of sources, and may be more vulnerable to increases in work demands or monotonous pace. Workers participating in new forms of work organisation such as team working may be at risk of increased job pressures, from colleagues as well as management. New forms of conflict could potentially accompany these new work practices, for example, the pressure to meet deadlines or risk "letting down" teammates.

2.3 From collective action to individual complaints: a changed landscape for industrial relations

The spread of new forms of work, in the form of non-standard employment and work organisation, as well as debates around the direction of skill trends and job intensification, have been underpinned by changes in the industrial relations climate. As Hyman (1994) argues, while there is variation across Europe in terms of industrial relation system, for most of Europe, the 1970s represented a "high": the period afterwards saw some decline, albeit uneven and sometimes ambiguous. Various classifications within Europe have attempted to group countries in terms of these different systems. In terms of the varieties of capitalism literature, the UK (and USA) has been categorised as a liberal market economy, signifying a lack of central coordination and market dominance, while Germany and Sweden, for example, exemplify the co-ordinated market economy, with institutional support for collective bargaining and state involvement. Italy and Spain are classified as "Mediterranean" economies, with a mixture of features including a historically politicised trade union movement (Frege & Kelly, 2002; Halls & Soskice, 2001). Crouch (1993) identified pluralist, corporatist and contestational models, with some overlap with the previous typology. Ireland has often been placed alongside the UK; however, as we shall see in the later section, while it shares the UK's voluntarist tradition in respect of legislation avoidance, it has been described as a "modified corporatism", signifying a "Continental turn" with respect to the involvement of the social partners since the late 1980s.

Labour market deregulation, as Hyman (1994) argues, took on a variety of forms across countries, for example, in the UK, this included moves away from collective bargaining (Millward *et al.* 2000); Beynon *et al.* (2002) argue that this development saw an associated fall in union membership. Along with new sectoral growth, some of trade union decline has been associated with the growth in influence of human resources management (HRM) practices in terms of the management of employment relations (Katz, 2005). In particular, the implementation of practices involving a direct relationship between employees and employers such as participative and communicative structures, and the fostering of worker commitment to the organisation, which arguably leaves little room for traditional trade union involvement.

2.3.1 Individualisation: eroding the collection domain?

Some of the changes in the labour market have been associated with a general process of individualisation. This process is firstly associated with the strongly age-defined transitions linked with the institutionalisation of the welfare state and public services (Kohli, 1986), which saw the displacement of the traditional ties of family, gender and class (Beck, 1992). In theories of individualisation, the individual acts as a chief agent in shaping his or her own biography or life project (Giddens, 1991; Beck 1992) with traditional gender and class constraints receding into the background, "relative to the newly emerging "centre" of the biographical life plan" (Beck 1992, p.131). While some have highlighted the emancipatory role of choice over traditional bonds (Giddens, 1991) other accounts emphasise how the individual is compelled to choose and take responsibility for the decisions made (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995). The developments in the contemporary period, including a rapidly changing labour market, the decoupling of the education system and employment opportunities, changes in the occupational structure and "flexibilisation" including the spread of non-standard employment, are not experienced as a collective fate, but transformed into individual reflexive biographies (Beck, 1992). It has been argued that this uncertainty in the labour market has implications for the establishment of family life, with mobility and precarity acting as inhibiting factors in family, and even friendship, formation (Beck 1992; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002).[19]

Roche (2001) notes that interwoven in debates about work is the assumption of some form of "secular shift towards individualisation", with the demise of collective action in terms of industrial relations. The growth in HRM practices and increased protection for non-standard forms of employment such as temporary and part-time, increasingly underwritten by EU employment legislation, have led to suggestions that this shifted the balance to more individualised relations with employees (Bacon & Storey, 2000). The traditional understanding of the employer-employee relationship as one of

[19] While Beck's individualisation thesis is often controversially associated with the disappearance of social class (cf. Atkinson, 2007), research has argued for an interpretation of his work which recognises the stability of social inequalities but arguably manifest at the individual level rather than collectively (Woodman, 2009; Furlong 2009). The term "structured individualisation" has been suggested to better capture this tension between individual risk and social factors (Evans & Furlong, 1997).

inherent conflict has been superseded by the spread of HRM practices, which are largely aligned with the partnership ethos of "common interest" and seek to foster employee commitment to the organisation. As Rose argues (1989), in this new understanding, the individual is no longer to be emancipated *from* work, perceived as merely a task or means to an end, but to be fulfilled *in* work: work becomes a site where rights, dignity and personal realisation is enabled.

HRM practices have particular implications for the resolution and prevention of disputes at a workplace level: an arguable development has included the displacement of *collective* disputes by *individual* grievances. Bacon and Storey (1993) argue that recent management drives have de-emphasised the role of collective organisation, with a stress on achieving company ideals, rather than promoting a collective orientation to unionisation. In addition, management has encouraged the identification of employees with their *team*, rather than union, while individualised performance-related pay further removes union involvement in pay negotiation. They claim: "we are witnessing a decline in the "collective voice" role of the unions, as managers have sought to emphasise the individual voice" and the displacement of collective disputes by individual grievances (p.10).

In addition, the high performance "functional flexibility" practices are argued to have particular implication for trade union involvement on the "shopfloor":

> The reduction in job demarcations is associated with a greater assertion of management prerogative over the direction of labour and a reduced role for the unions in job design and control. This provides the scope for increased management control on the shopfloor and an erosion of shopfloor unionism.
>
> (Bacon & Storey, 1993 p.15)

Workplace bullying is arguably an example of this trend towards individual grievance or complaints in the workplace. Bullying is commonly understood as an "interpersonal" conflict often with independent consultants involved in its resolution. There are a number of implications of the changing nature of industrial relations for workplace bullying. Trade union decline and influence at the level of the workplace may expose workers to excessive job pressures

and changed work practices which workers may view as inappropriate or negative, as well as "heavy handed" management. At the same time, the growing relevance of HRM in terms of the employer-employee relationship ensures it is firmly implicated in the resolution of conflicts at work rather than the more traditional collectively-orientated industrial relations dispute resolution procedures.

2.4 Ireland: haring ahead

During the 1980s, Ireland's "basket case" economy was the focus of much attention, with high unemployment and mass emigration:

> At the end of the 1980s the future...did not look good. Economic growth was stagnant, unemployment was at a historic high and exceeded anywhere in the EU except possibly Spain, and the state was one of the most indebted in the world.
>
> (O'Hearn, 2001 p.167)

However, as has been well documented, Ireland's employment growth increased dramatically over the period of the "Celtic Tiger". Honohan and Walsh (2002), preferring the geographically more probable term "Irish hare" to imply a process of "catching up" with other developed nations, suggest that the average 10% yearly GDP growth over the period 1995 and 2000 related not only to external USA-driven Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) but also the centralised wage bargaining social partnership process in place since the late 1980s. They argue that these were "the booster rockets that were needed to lift Ireland into the higher orbit in which it travels today" (p.7).[20] From 1993 to 2004, total employment increased by 55%, with unemployment falling from 16% in 1993 to 4.4% in 2004: this period saw a fundamental transformation of the Irish labour market, with the high unemployment of the 1980s and early 1990s replaced by booming economic growth and nearly full employment (O'Connell & Russell, 2007). Furthermore the previous mass emigration was replaced by

[20] Ireland undoubtedly travels in a lower orbit at the time of writing. The crisis in the global financial market (and attendant housing crash) has had implications for economic growth, employment figures and migration stocks and flows. Since April 2009, the first time since the mid 1990s, Ireland is in a situation of net outward migration and unemployment has risen to around 15%. However, given that the current data precedes this juncture, the post-September 2008 changes are not pursued in the current study. However, the final conclusion will discuss the current economic climate and the possible implications for workplace bullying.

inward migration to the extent that migrants in the last Census (2006) represented around 8% of the workforce.

Over the course of the twentieth century, Ireland's historical reliance on agriculture was displaced, declining from about half of the total labour force in 1926 to around two fifths of the workforce in the mid-1950s, while manufacturing in the same period grew. Agriculture has continued to decline and 2007 figures indicate that it represented around 5% of the labour force (Source: *Central Statistics Office*). During the post-war period of the 1950s, growth in manufacturing outstripped services (Humphreys, 1983). However, after this point, the relative decline in manufacturing was accompanied by significant growth in service sector employment (Barry, 1999a). While in Ireland, industry increased by around 25% in the period 1997 to 2004, mostly driven by construction, service sector growth outstripped this, increasing by 37% (Source: *Quarterly National Household Survey*). While female labour market participation also grew by nearly 4% in the pre-Celtic Tiger period (O'Connell, 2000), from 1994 to 2001, female employment increased by 60% - nearly double the rate of males over the same period (McGuinness *et al.* 2009).

Part of Ireland's economic growth and attraction of inward investment has been associated with the establishment of a social partnership process, with national pay agreements in the late 1980s. The trade union movement in Ireland has therefore not suffered the same fate as their UK counterparts, where partnership has taken place against a backdrop of a contraction in collective industrial relations (Cully *et al.* 1999). However, despite presence in the tripartite negotiations at national level - "a seat at the top table" (Wallace, 2003) - trade union density decreased and also it could argued, the legitimacy of organised labour in influencing practices at the workplace level (D'Art & Turner, 1999). Along with growing employment legislation, Wallace (2003) attributes some of the demise in collective action to the procedures paralleling those in unions operated by some companies with regards grievance and disciplinary processes.

Ireland's social partnership process has been argued to represent the "competitive corporatism" model, which involves "government commitment to

maintaining social spending and minimum welfare standards that are not present in decentralised market-liberal models of wage determination" (Hardiman, 2000, p.287). This process ensured that trade unions played a role, not just in terms of industrial relations, but increasingly broader social policy issues. While criticisms of the social partnership process include querying the gains to workers (Allen, 2000) as well as allowing unelected stakeholders a prominent say in social policy over and above the employment sphere, social partnership was a key element of the industrial harmony in Ireland (Brannick *et al.* 1997). Like elsewhere in Europe, the trade union movement has a higher density in the public sector than the private sector. Ireland's particular reliance on FDI and on multinational corporations has had particular implications for the trade union penetration in these particular industries, with union recognition not underpinned by legislation as in many other European countries (D'Art & Turner, 2005). In this regard, Ireland differs from the UK, which provides statutory footing for this, allowing workers forming a substantial minority within a workplace to seek recognition.

Particular characteristics of Ireland also includes an "education revolution" (Fahey & Fitzgerald, 1997) from the introduction of free compulsory schooling in the 1960s through to the mass expansion of higher education through the 1990s and 2000s. Thus an increasing proportion of those in the workforce have a third level qualification and a declining number are without any qualification (Barrett *et al.* 1999). In general, the rapid growth in employment in Ireland has entailed a substantial increase in high skilled employment (Sexton *et al.* 1998), characterised as the upgrading of the labour force in a modernising economy (O'Connell, 2000). Nonetheless, alongside these developments, there has been growing attention on low skill and low wage occupations, with claims that the majority of employment creation has been low skill and poor quality (O'Hearn, 2001). The fastest growing occupational groups in Ireland in the 1990s included personal service and sales workers as well as managers and professionals: thus the boom saw a growing demand for both the high skilled as well as the low skilled and previously unemployed (men) (McGuinness *et al.* 2009). These trends continued into the 2000s, with the suggestion that some evidence of polarisation is evident (O'Connell & Russell, 2007).

As elsewhere, fixed-term employment grew over the 1990s; however this actually fell between 1995 and 2001 (O'Connell, 2000; O'Connell & Russell, 2007). Fixed-term employment follows a similar overall pattern to the UK, with relatively low rates compared to countries such as Germany with higher employment protection legislation. Part-time employment increased over the 1980s and 1990s, however, towards the tail end of that decade and to the present, growth in part-time work has stabilised (although in the recession, this has since increased), accounting for around 17% of employment in 2004, just under the EU average of around 20% (O'Connell & Russell, 2007). Over the 1990s, involuntary part-time employment in Ireland fell (O'Connell *et al.* 2004). Part-time work is primarily associated with female employment and as such, has generated debates as to gender inequality and the extent to which part-time jobs can be considered as low quality and low paid. Labour segmentation has been addressed in an Irish context, however, historically, as Smyth (1997) argues, assessing the extent of labour market segmentation was difficult owing to the lack of information on pay, working conditions and training across different industries and also firms and occupations. However, building on the work by Hughes and Nolan (1997) which found some support for a segmented labour market in Ireland, recent research suggested that females working part-time earned less than their full-time equivalents, even after controlling for personal characteristics: the authors conclude that differences in wages between part-time and full-time employment seem to be partly owing to their concentration in the secondary labour market, with a further penalty in terms of future security (O'Connell & Gash, 2003). This departs from a previous study in Ireland which found no wage differences between part-timers and full-timers, after taking account of education and work experience (Barrett *et al.* 1998). The persistence of a gender wage gap has been confirmed by Irish research (McGuinness *et al*, 2009; Russell *et al.* 2010). However, it has been found to be less severe in the public sector than the private sector, owing in part to the public sector's enshrined equality policies and transparent grade system, which means that the public sector's predominantly female workforce enjoy comparatively better terms and conditions, as well as pay, than their private sector equivalents.

Looking more broadly at job quality, recent research suggests that task discretion and autonomy did not change significantly between the period 1991 and 2005, using data from the European Working Conditions Surveys; national data indicates that just under a third of workers report that their decision-making and skills have increased over the previous two years. In line with other European countries which saw increases in work intensification, this increase in work effort (in terms of high speed working and tight deadlines) is also true for Ireland, using data from the European Working Conditions Survey across time points 1991, 1995 and 2001 (O'Connell & Russell, 2007).

In Ireland, "high involvement" practices have received considerable attention, both academic and policy-related, owing in part to the focus placed on "innovative" work practices capable of sustaining competitiveness by the National Centre for Partnership and Performance (now integrated into the National Economic and Social Council) as well as the emphasis on workplace partnership in the national social partnership agreements. In Ireland, the discourse on partnership covers many of the "high performance" practices, from employee decision making and consultation, flexible job design, appraisal systems and financial participation (Roche, 2007). The emphasis on the establishment of channels for employee voice, outside the traditional trade union mechanisms, has been of some concern, with research questioning the extent to which partnership heralds the onset of the "displaced activist"; however, limited evidence has been found in support of this (Geary & Roche, 2002). At the same time, such practices appear to be more widespread in (non-unionised) multinational companies (Guthrie *et al.* 2008). Indeed, differences between MNCs and indigenous firms have been debated in terms of the "non-conformance" thesis (Geary & Roche, 2001).

The extent to which Ireland has adopted high involvement practices has been the subject of some debate. McCartney and Teague (1998) use four particular practices to denote high involvement workplaces: job rotation, quality circles, Total Quality Management (TQM) and team working (as per Osterman, 1994). They find evidence to suggest a high level of overall adoption, with the majority using TQM and job rotation, while a quarter of firms use team working. Their methodology and sampling is criticised strongly by Geary

(1999); he finds a higher prevalence of team working and a lower prevalence of quality circles than in the McCartney/Teague study. Geary investigated the relationship between team working and autonomy, finding that the control of pace was vested in team members in just over half of workplaces: suggesting that in the majority of cases, management still exert control. Geary strongly cautions against assuming Ireland "leads the world" in terms of new work organisation, with particular sectors responsible for driving prevalence, for example, high technology manufacturing and financial services (also Roche & Geary, 2000). Recent research by Roche (2007), benefiting from nationally representative data, is relatively pessimistic in its conclusions, suggesting that it is hard to maintain the "high road" of optimism; despite national policy support, partnership in Irish workplaces remains more a "guiding vision than a reality". Furthermore, he finds evidence that systematic sets of partnership practices cover quite a small number of employees.

Therefore, this overview highlights that trends in skills, job quality and job intensification are as relevant for Ireland as elsewhere. The present study focuses particularly on the sectoral patterns in terms of these developments, in light of the higher rate of workplace bullying in the public sector. The following section will discuss the main contours of the new public management debates, before then highlighting the particularities of the Irish case.

2.5 New public management: the private sector (role) model

Many researchers have specifically explored the dramatic developments in the public sector in recent decades, considered under the umbrella term of "new public management" (Lane, 2000). For example, Doogan (2001) has argued that the public sector has undergone profound changes, becoming increasingly "market facing", with others focusing on the transformation of the state from a model employer to a "state of insecurity" (Conley, 2002). Lapido and Williamson (2002) argue that the "commercialisation" of the public sector is one of the chief causes of perceptions of insecurity. As well as privatisation, they note that the remaining elements or services which remain public are also exposed to the pressures of market forces.

Across Europe and elsewhere, the public sector has been the subject of significant "modernisation" and "rationalisation", at least in terms of deliberations as to its proper role and function, if not in actuality: there is significant country variation in terms of the extent of the reform agenda (OECD, 2005). In Ireland, the scale of public sector reform is hotly debated, however, the recent OECD report claims that Ireland is on a "sound trajectory of modernisation" (OECD, 2008, p.11) with recent research suggesting that there is a higher perception of organisational change among public sector workers than their private sector counterparts (O'Connell *et al.* 2004). If we are to believe the hyperbole, the public sector has become increasingly like its private sector counterpart in recent years.

As Lane (2000) argues, the umbrella term new public management (NPM) is frequently invoked to capture all the different kinds of changes in the public sector in the last few decades. These include decentralisation, privatisation, introduction of internal markets, performance and service indicators, cost units, outsourcing, public-private partnerships, performance management and performance-related pay as well as strategy and mission statements and customer charters. However, convergence around NPM is debated and arguably substantial national differences continue to exist (OECD, 2005), for example, Politt and Bouckaert (2004) differentiate between Anglo-Saxon "marketeers" and Continental "modernisers". Pollitt (2001) argues that convergence itself is often used a legitimation device for public sector reforms: while there is much evidence of discursive convergence surrounding NPM (there is more "talk" about it) there is less evidence of actual changes in terms of results or practices. Public sector change is often viewed by policy makers as necessary and inevitable to meet the multi-faceted demands of a contemporary society:

> The impetus for change came from many different sources, including the social, economic and technological developments in the latter half of the 20th century – which put pressure on all governments to adapt to new problems, new capacities and new relationships between citizens and governments.
>
> (OECD, 2005, p.18)

Fiscal pressures and growing economic globalisation have prompted many governments to focus on creating greater efficiencies and effectiveness in the public sector: the private sector is seen as a model, or partner, in achieving these aims. Ghobadian *et al.* (2004) argue that there are four main drivers for the increasing involvement of the private sector: a greater demand on the public finances (e.g., ageing populations); the emergence of neo-liberal ideology and critique of monopolisitc and bureaucratic inefficiencies; the financial strength of the private sector; and trade liberalisation. However, the involvement of the private sector in public services is nothing new: they cite historical examples of private providers in provision of public baths and also private mercenaries, transport, roads etc. However, the influence of two world wars reversed the trend somewhat and the state assumed a dominant role in public services provision and the public sector expanded generally across Europe (Ghobadian *et al.* 2004).

Edwards *et al.* (2002) argue that the concept of "entrepreneurship" has come to the fore in NPM discourses in three particular ways: as an integral element of a new political philosophy; a response to the "dead hand" of a rigid bureaucracy; and as bestowing the freedom and skills normally associated with the private sector to public sector managers. For Osborne and Gaebler (1993), the "entrepreneurial spirit" is central to achieving the necessary reforms of the public sector. For example, allowing public sector managers to act more like those in the private sector, with more control and autonomy regarding budgets, is argued to lead to greater efficiency ultimately benefiting the now interchangeable citizens/customers. Du Gay (2000) notes how anti-bureaucratic sentiments have become more prominent in recent times, with bureaucracies associated with ineffectiveness, inefficiencies, resistance to change, inflexible, and confined by red tape.

The shift towards "performance" is arguably at the heart of the modernisation and reform agenda, with an increased focus on outputs and results, and increased market orientation. Researchers have been concerned about the impact of these changes, for example, the "paradigm shift" in public sector employment and blurring of the public/private sector divide (Corby, 2000) as well as the possible erosion or mutation of the so-called "public sector ethos":

key values include impartiality, accountability, and integrity (Morgan & Allington, 2002). For example, Brereton and Temple (1999) argue that a new public *service* ethos has been established which constitutes a new "ethical environment" for government involving a synthesis of public and private ethics. Drawing on Weber, Du Gay (2000) claims that the impersonal and hierarchical nature of bureaucracy is not necessarily unethical or "morally bankrupt": there is a "bureaucratic morality" emanating from the "iron cage":

> The ethical attributes of the "good" bureaucrat – adherence to procedure, acceptance of sub- and superordination, commitment to the purposes of good office and so forth, do not therefore represent an incomplete subtraction from a "complete" or "all-round" conception of personhood. Rather they should be regarded as a positive moral and ethical achievement in their own right.
>
> (Du Gay, 2000 p.4)

The greater emphasis placed on meeting performance and service targets, with an entrepreneurial, rather than administrative or even managerialist approaches, may threaten the basis of the public sector ethos, with consequences to the values of "good office".

The nature of public employment in many OECD countries has become more like private sector employment, for example, the increasing diversity in employment contracts and performance-related pay. As Conley (2002) argues in the UK case, the state was typified as the "model employer" however this has been transformed into a "state of insecurity", with a greater proportion of temporary workers in the public sector than the private sector. The OECD (2005) claims that performance-related pay is still very much in its infancy and there is debate in the UK as to its effectiveness. For example, in their study of the Inland Revenue, Marsden and Richardson (1994) argue that the introduction of such schemes did little to improve employee motivation and performance. Grimshaw (2000) highlights the problem in testing the success of such policies and argues that there is little evidence of the impact of performance-related pay and productivity, pointing to the possible clash between the emphasis on the material principles of work and notions of a public sector ethos.

Thus it appears that the public sector has undergone a significant transformation in recent decades, with further anticipated change never far from the agenda. The NPM drive could have implications for the prevalence of workplace bullying in this sector, with workers experiencing increased levels of job demands and pace, in the form of performance reviews and efficiency goals. Furthermore, the rise in insecurity in this sector could lead to increased vulnerability of certain workers. However, as has been highlighted, evidence suggests considerable country variation and the following section considers the particular developments in the Irish public sector.

2.5.1 The Irish public sector: from Independence to Innovation?

The development of the Irish public sector, in particular its civil service, cannot be understood in isolation from its historical British roots. While Lee (1989) argues that the "British influence" can be shown to be overstated in a number of instances, he concurs with Fanning that the Irish Free State largely adhered to British models of governance (Fanning, 1983). In the aftermath of the tumultuous War of Independence and ensuing civil war in the early 1920s, scholars note the relative continuity in the organisation of the civil service, including its personnel (Fanning 1983, Lee 1989), helped by the large percentage of Irish workers already in public sector positions which "ensure[d] administrative continuity and stability" (Lee 1989, p.89). Post-Independence, the Civil Service Regulation Acts and the Civil Service Commission were attempts to disallow patronage and corruption by setting down proper procedures and transparent recruitment policies (Fanning, 1983). However, it is important to note that contemporary Ireland has been marked by considerable corruption, with complex relationships between politicians, business and the public sector (especially in terms of civil service and local authorities). This has given rise to a host of Tribunals, themselves particularly controversial in terms of public expenditure.

The public sector's role in both economic development and provision of public employment has been highly contested in Ireland from the outset. Lee (1989) argues that the newly established State did not take on a developmental role; on the contrary, the idea was to do as little as possible. Economically after Independence, agriculture was prioritised, with industry placed second. The

view taken was that "industrialisation could not be forced" (Lee 1989, p.119) and there was thus much hostility towards protectionism. Arguably, the setting up of the Shannon scheme in 1926 in order to produce electricity was a battle of civil servants, against a majority who were averse to government expenditure. The sugar beet factory in Carlow was the only other major government intervention during this period. Overall, national development was equated with agricultural development, and economic policy equated with fiscal policy: specifically reducing the budget. The role of the public sector to provide jobs was contested, for example, Lemass's proposal in the 1930s for the Office of Public Works to take on the role of employment creation was rejected (Fanning, 1983; Lee, 1989).

As Sweeney (1990) points out, the 1930s saw an increasing number of state-sponsored (semi-state) bodies established, when the state was drawn to intervene in the economy. "public enterprise has been used as an instrument of economic development" (p.2). However, he argues that this has not been "ideologically" driven, rather "the approach of Irish governments to public enterprise has always been pragmatic". This view is supported by Reeves and Palcic (2004) who argue that the state's role in economic development was largely *ad hoc*. From the establishment of the state until the 1950s, over fifteen state-sponsored bodies were set up, having both commercial and non-commercial functions, including the nationalisation of already existing private sector companies, for example, the Electricity Supply Board (1927), the Irish Sugar Company (1933), Irish Shipping (1941), Irish Life (1939), Irish Steel (1946), Aer Lingus (1936) and CIÉ (transport - 1944).

1958 is frequently cited as a turning point, with a new generation of civil servants, for example, Whitaker, in the driving seat (Fanning, 1983). The 1958 publication of *Economic Development* heralded a new role for the state and a new direction for Ireland's economy, influenced by the post-war economics of Keynes. However, despite unemployment figures showing only a small decrease during the 1960s, Humphreys (1983) argues that this decade gave rise to some optimism which was expected to continue through to the next. Despite two oil crisis in the 1970s, the public sector provided employment opportunities, reaching a high point in the early 1980s. After this point, a

recruitment embargo and voluntary redundancy in the civil service along with the corporatisation of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs into An Post and Telecom Eireann in 1984 saw employment fall (Breen *et al.* 1990). However, Sweeney (1993) argues that the semi-state companies saw greater job losses than the rest of the economy throughout the 1980s: one in four workers lost their jobs.

2.5.2 Reforms, rollbacks and remuneration: the state of welfare

The demand for change in the Irish public sector, in particular the civil service, can be traced back to the 1969 Devlin report which highlighted the lack of strategic planning, however Murray (2001) notes that there was a general lack of appetite, from politicians to the trade unions, to see all the recommendations through. A Department of Public Service was established in 1973, however, this was disbanded in 1987 and its powers returned to the Department of Finance. The reforms of the 1980s included the onus to become more "citizen friendly" and civil servants now had to disclose their names when dealing with the public. A second report in the mid 1980s also did not realise much change owing to a new government. However, the 1990s saw the launch of a number of initiatives such as the 1994 *Strategic Management Initiative* (SMI): the public sector was encouraged to play its part in national development, make more effective use of resources and provide a quality service to its customers. In practice, departments were required to develop strategies adhering to broad "best practice" guidelines. The SMI was then followed up by the 1996 *Delivering Better Government* report in which "excellent service" was an integral part of civil service reform (Boyle, 2001). A new management structure was suggested, including different approaches to human resource issues. Key issues include the reorientation to customer needs, delivery of quality and transparent services and the reduction in red tape. Local authorities were also affected by the 1996 *Better Local Government – A Programme for Change* report which stressed better corporate planning, customer service and increased efficiency in the use of resources (DEHLG, 1996). The importance of service delivery was also emphasised in the *Service Indicators in Local Authorities* report published in 2004 (DEHLG, 2004). The *Quality Customer Service Initiative,* ongoing since 1997, was extended to local government, health sector and across the public service. In addition, *Customer Service*

Charters have been in operation since 2003. Human resource management practices were also subject to change, with the introduction of "Upward Feedback" in 2002. As part of the *Delivering Better Government* plan, a Performance Management and Development System (PMDS) was rolled out. PMDS was devised as a "competency framework" to enable individuals and team members to contribute to improved performance and greater job satisfaction. The elements of the framework include: "personal effectiveness"; "problem solving"; "conceptual thinking"; "results-orientation"; and "interpersonal" skills. As well as being implemented throughout the civil service, PMDS has now been introduced into the public sector as a whole, tied into national pay agreements. Recent reports highlighted the issue of withholding pay to lower paid civil servants uncooperative with PMDS requirements (Irish Times, 18th May 2009) and there was also some opposition in the higher education sector (Irish Times, 30th January 2007).

Other important changes to the public sector include the establishment of a Public Private Partnership (PPP) programme in 1999, on the back of a report produced by a leading consultancy firm the previous year. Drivers for the adoption of PPPs include IBEC (employers' representative body) and the construction sector body CIF, with a key role for PPPs in the 2000-2006 National Development Plan. A PPP has been defined by government as a partnership between the public and private sector for the purpose of delivering a project or service which was traditionally provided by the public sector (DEHLG, 2003). It is claimed that private sector innovation and technological, financial and management expertise can be gained through using a PPP approach to work traditionally within the sphere of local authorities; PPPs are considered as a mode of "modernisation" of the public service and local government, providing greater efficiency and effectiveness and ultimately, a better quality customer service. An advantage of PPPs, according to the Policy Framework report (DEHLG, 2003), is that local authority officials can "concentrate on service planning and performance monitoring rather than balancing that regulatory role with their day to day running of infrastructure" (p.4). Hurst and Reeves (2004) argues that the principal rationales for PPPs in Ireland include the lack of infrastructure, years of under-investment and a rapidly increasing population, as well as the limitations imposed by the EU on

public spending. The initial rolling out in roads, waste, education and public transport was soon expanded (before any evaluation of the pilot programmes) to other areas.

Other notable changes include Ireland's health sector which underwent specific reforms in the last few years, most significantly in the establishment of a new Health Service Executive (HSE) in 2005, effectively replacing the old regional health boards. Practices such as finance, administration, staffing and information technology, previously regionalised, was centralised and the HSE is the largest single employer of public servants (OECD, 2008). Another major public sector reform project in recent times includes the plans for decentralisation (Humphreys & O'Connell, 2006), a highly controversial and much criticised programme. The redistribution of key departments and agencies from Dublin to the rest of the 26 counties led to widespread union opposition, with comments ranging from inefficient through to "daft" (Irish Times, 28th January 2009) given the lack of need, in terms of the small size of the island. Other issues included the lack of foresight with regards local labour market supply and the enormous implications for families, especially given the rise in dual earner households in Ireland in recent years. The process has been largely superseded by other worries; in current times, it may in fact be solved by a lack of public sector or agencies left to decentralise (e.g., the Combat Poverty Agency was reabsorbed into the Office for Social Inclusion, which then relocated from the Department of Social and Family Affairs to the Department of Community, Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs to most recently the Department of Social Protection).

Crouch *et al.* (2001) have argued that historically the public sector provided "good bad" jobs, that is, it provided jobs that may not have been well-paid but were associated with good terms and conditions, including pension entitlements, owing in part to the strong trade union presence across the public sector as a whole.[21] However, as part of Ireland's 2000-2 *Programme for Prosperity and Fairness* social partnership agreement, the Public Sector

[21] This remains largely true for the UK at the time of writing, however, the newly elected Conservative/Liberal Democrat government have indicated that the public sector's pension is under threat http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/politics/10394675.stm Last updated 23 June 2010.

Benchmarking Body was established to review public sector pay and recommended an average increase, across all grades, of around 9%. The pay awards were recommended, in so much as was possible under the terms of reference of the body, to be implemented in expectation of "outputs" in terms of "adaptability, change, flexibility and modernisation" (Public Sector Benchmarking Body, 2002, p.65). By the subsequent benchmarking round in 2007, as well as noting the "industrial harmony" ensured by the 2002 process, the report's findings suggest that Ireland's public sector provided what could be termed "good good" jobs for the majority of grades within the public sector, and recommended increases only for certain grades of senior staff. The dubiousness of the methodology employed in such benchmarking studies, in terms of job evaluation, "matching" employees, and estimating the value of non-financial benefits, such as job security and pensions, is arguably only matched by the dubiousness of the exercise itself, which clearly had a political, and arguably, short sighted dimension only now being addressed in the current tighter financial climate. The fact that Ireland's public sector *versus* private sector wage gap cannot be totally accounted for in terms of its higher educated and on average, older workforce now receives regular, and critical, media attention ("Our public sector's motto is really less work, more pay", Irish Independent, 21st September 2009) as well as academic focus (Boyle *et al.* 2001; Kelly *et al.* 2008; Kelly *et al.* 2009; Foley & O'Callaghan, 2009).[22]

Characterising the changes in the Irish public sector as uni-directional is problematic. Alongside various initiatives which seem to take their inspiration from the private sector, such as performance management, there are also reaffirmations of the central values of transparency and accountability that enshrine the public sector ethos, for example the Freedom of Information Act 1997 and the *Civil Service Code of Standards and Behaviour* 2004 which was drawn up by the Standards in Public Office.[23] The code, which stresses the traditional principles of "integrity, impartiality, equity and accountability" tries to "marry" old with new, recognising that there is a need to "restate and

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[22] A public sector pay levy was introduced in the period after the survey, in association with current fiscal pressures.

[23] The Standards in Public Office was established by an Act of the same name in 2001. It replaced the Public Offices Commission which was established by the Ethics in Public Offices Act 1995.

promote core public service values" within the modernisation programme already underway (SIPO 2004, p.5).

Furthermore, the discussion of the public sector ethos has a particular specificity in Ireland, not least owing to the role of the Catholic Church in defining and serving the public interest. While Ireland may share certain similarities to the UK, there are important differences in terms of defining the "public interest" and the Church's historic and important role in the provision of key services such as education and health.[24] Ireland's political system has been characterised as "clientelist", with TDs (members of parliament) acting as "brokers" between the citizen and the bureaucracy of the public sector (Lee, 1989, p.84). There are numerous examples where Ireland's public sector has been implicated in unethical behaviours, for example, the Central Bank's lack of regulation of non-resident bank accounts as well as local government's involvement in land rezoning (O'Toole, 2009).

Contrary to the dissenting voices often heard in the Irish media about a bloated and inefficient public sector ("Public sector: Scapegoat or dinosaur?", 4th November 2008, RTE1), the recent OECD report (2008) makes a number of interesting contributions. First, with regards public expenditure as a percentage of its GDP, Ireland ranks among the lowest in the OECD countries. Secondly, while public sector employment increased by 30% between 1995 and 2007, this was from a very low base. Given the policy to limit the numbers of non-front line service staff, the public sector workforce has actually decreased as a proportion of the labour force: approximately 16% (in terms of full-time equivalents), significantly less than much of Europe, especially Scandinavia. In terms of full-time equivalents, this represents around 370,000 jobs, with just under 40,000 of this number employed in the civil service, 50,000 in semi-state bodies, 40,000 in local authorities, around 105,000 workers in the education sector, and a further 111,000 in health. The majority of the increases in public

[24] In Ireland, the pre-war period saw the passing of the 1937 *Public Assistance Act*, which replaced the *Poor Relief Acts* and was later amended and extended in 1939, in 1946, a separate Department of Health and Department of Social Welfare was established. Nonetheless, the Catholic Church was particularly involved in running public services, for example, education, hospitals and a basic welfare system. The Church's powerful role is exemplified in the example of Noel Browne's "Mother and Child Scheme" in the 1940s, aiming to provide free health care by public authorities to mothers and children. The Church's opposition subsequently brought down the government (Fanning, 1983, p. 182).

sector employment have been driven by the education and health sector, not the civil service.[25] It is important to also note that these sectors are also responsible for most of the non-standard employment contracts in the public sector (this will be addressed in Chapter 4).

Given the rapid economic growth and population increases, including a "new" immigrant workforce, the Irish public sector has been asked to "do more with less" (OECD, 2008 p.26). There are several ways in which these changes and general structure of the public sector may have particular implications for work intensification and job quality. Effective reduction of staff numbers has the potential result of increasing work intensification, especially when accompanied by a focus on meeting performance targets. Most widespread of the reforms has been the PMDS, and in some cases its implementation has been linked to the national level pay increases. UK trade unions have argued that this system effectively creates new management reporting structures, with increased supervisory responsibility for line managers, for example. These changes, through creating ways of working and work practices could lead to situations where workers are faced with increased pressures and job demands; survey data found that Irish public sector employees score over twice that of private sector employees concerning work pressure, although just slightly higher regarding work stress. In terms of external pressures, public sector managers cited the requirement for the improved delivery of services and increased standards: the modernisation agenda was considered by the majority of respondents as an "intense pressure" (O'Connell *et al.* 2004).

Thus the expanding population was arguably not matched by an expanding public sector; the workforce in this sector has potentially experienced new, and greater, job demands in recent decades. This section has highlighted the increasing imperative for change in this sector, from flexibility and efficiency to the shift from citizen to customer implicit in much of the policy focus. Financial accountability is also a key element of the reform package, with performance another critical aspect of modernising the public sector. These

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[25] The public sector was the subject of a thorough review in 2009 (Special Group on Public Service Numbers and Expenditure Programmes, 2009). As of Spring 2009, the public sector has been subject to a recruitment embargo.

developments may have implications for how public sector workers carry out their jobs – in terms of their work practices as well as the pace and pressures of work. Flexibility in the form of non-standard work may also increase vulnerability in this sector, although one would expect that part-time workers to be relatively more protected than their private sector counterparts. Nonetheless, both actual *and* the anticipation of future change may have altered dramatically the nature of work in this sector and these changes have potential salience for sectoral patterns in the prevalence of reported workplace bullying.

2.6 Bringing bullying back in: change and conflict at work

This chapter has outlined some of the major debates in terms of the changes said to have occurred over the last few decades in terms of labour market flexibility, including job insecurity and non-standard work, as well as job intensification, the direction of skills trends and emergence of new forms of work organisation and work practices. These developments, taken place against a changed landscape of industrial relations, pose something of a double-edged sword for workers. On the one hand, workers are said to benefit from increased flexibility, in the form of flexible working hours, including working from home and other flexible scheduling, and increased autonomy at work. On the other hand, researchers have noted the potential dark underbelly of new working arrangement initiatives. For example, researchers argue that newer forms of work organisation may result in increased intensification, pressure and potential conflict (Bauer, 2004), while autonomy around the scheduling of working hours may not compensate for excessive job demands and pressure (Fagan, 2003). This chapter has highlighted that many workers are potentially experiencing changes in their work environment, in the context of a changed industrial relations climate. These developments are argued to be salient for workplace bullying. Rather than an interpersonal interpretation, as already outlined, it has been suggested that the reporting of workplace bullying may be one possible mechanism for workers to limit or resist the pressures placed on them in the workplace.

2.6.1 Resistance in the contemporary workplace

Studies of work have often looked at the mechanisms of worker resistance, for example, work-group solidarity, breaking the rules to prevent boredom, and gaining control over production and the work process (Knights & McCabe,

2000). However, Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) argue that resistance, which they define as "misbehaviour", is in danger of being written out of studies of work and rendered marginalised. Research has focused on the limitation of work (e.g., Taylor's "soldiering"), where workers would attempt to subvert the production targets set by management through "goldbricking", i.e., restricting work effort (Roy, 1954). Burawoy (1979) argued that this practice had transformed into "banking" a reserve kitty in the same plant some years later. Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) also identify studies which suggest employees engage in absenteeism, time-wasting, pilfering and theft, while other research highlights the individual and covert activities workers adopt to ensure "getting back" at management and "getting by" (Nichols & Armstrong, 1976). Beynon's (1973) study suggested conflicts along the "frontier of control" (Goodrich, 1975), with shop stewards seeking to establish control over their section's work allocation, which Beynon describes as a direct challenge to "management's right to manage" (Beynon, 1973, p.145). Thompson and Ackroyd also identify studies in the labour process tradition which identify control and resistance e.g., Edwards (1986), Burawoy (1979) and Pollert (1981), although Burawoy's main focus was on how *consent* was manufactured rather than *conflict*.

However, more recent studies, in the wake of the growing relevance of HRM, focus on how management *involves* and *includes* employees through strengthening a corporate ethos which emphasises loyalty and commitment (Willmott, 1993). Other accounts stress the technological systems of "Just in Time" which, while affording increasing autonomy, are arguably combined with surveillance (Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992). This body of research draws on the work of Foucault (1975) where power is understood not just as prohibitive, but productive: working through, rather than merely against people and constituting them as individuals (Garland, 1990). By adopting a Foucauldian framework, these accounts automatically exclude resistance; however, it is argued that accounts of resistance can be found if the researcher has the inclination to look, for example, unorganised conflict and the collusion of employees in peer reviews (Thompson & Ackroyd, 1995)

Studies of resistance are mostly rooted in the labour process tradition and relate mainly to attempts by workers to subvert production and management goals. Some of the research focuses on the degree of "collectiveness" in such resistance strategies. For example, in a study of a call centre in the UK, Mulholland (2004) argues that there is a "collective understanding of the more ostensible incidence of resistance, such as turnover and absence, pointing to specific issues of discontent, such as pressure over the targets, productivity and pay" (p.721). She argues that rather than representing an individualised response, there is evidence of *informal* collective action.

In the case of vulnerable workers in the UK, Pollert and Charlwood (2009) argue that the government's response is based on individual rights and individual resolution. However, they find a surprisingly high proportion of workers engaging in informal collective voice, which was found to be higher in particular sectors such as transport and communications and health. They claimed that the higher propensity to take action was related to the greater number of problems experienced, possibly because of the increased likelihood that these problems may be shared across the workplace. They found that while the existence of grievance procedures did not necessarily mean that the problem was solved, it *was* related to a decreased likelihood of exit, and conclude that such procedures "appeared to serve managerial interests in reducing turnover but not in achieving their purpose of assisting dispute resolution" (p. 357).

This departs somewhat from Mulholland's (2004) interpretation of turnover as a form of resistance. However, leaving employment or making use of the "exit" strategy may not always represent an act of resistance to the employer. In the case of workplace bullying, exit may actually be the intended management strategy, for example, "managing out" a problematic employee. Individual voice, underpinned by employment legislation and grievance procedures that may operate outside formal union involvement, is not conceptualised as resistance as traditionally understood, however, it does represent one mode of complaint about greater pressures at work. McCarthy (2003) suggests that reporting workplace bullying could be conceived as such an individual grievance: a "signifier of distress" used by workers contesting entitlements in a

"globalisation marked by ongoing restructuring in workplaces" (p.9). Echoing this, Lee suggests (2000) that employees, in situations where they are unable to complain in other ways, may attempt to "widen the boundaries" in limiting the scale of pressures exerted by management. Workplace bullying can therefore be understood as a mechanism of *complaint* by employees in the contemporary period, who while protected by various legislative instruments as to their employment rights and discriminatory practices if falling under the relevant grounds, have less of a "voice" when it comes to job pressures and new work organisation; especially in the context of trade union decline. However, research by Bryant (2003) indicates some of the negative consequences of using voice in the workplace as a response to organisational change, with "silence" often the best route for career advancement. Furthermore, research highlights the negative consequences of "whistle blowing" while those making a complaint are more likely to be rated poorly in performance reviews afterwards (Lewin & Peterson, 1999).

2.7 Getting heard or getting out? Exit and voice in the workplace

Survey data has helped establish the reporting of bullying as a legitimate grievance or complaint in the workplace (Lee, 2000), with workplace bullying often a specific element of an organisation's grievance procedures. Workplace bullying has therefore been established a "real" issue facing organisations in the contemporary period. Research has found that many Irish organisations, in both the public and private sector, incorporate complaints about workplace bullying into the formal grievance policy (O'Connell *et al.* 2007). Workplace bullying is often considered as breeching the employee's "right" to "dignity at work", increasing underwritten in employment contracts, including freedom from harassment.

This study argues that voice and exit are critical components of understanding reported workplace bullying, and that the opportunities structuring the ability for workers to use voice and exit "strategies" must be considered not only in terms of the individual workplace but also at the institutional level in terms of the labour market. The adoption of voice or exit strategies will depend on individual and organisational characteristics but also on unemployment rates and wage levels, and the potential for occupational mobility relating to skills.

In addition, the increased attention placed on codes of conduct in the workplace – for example, "Dignity at Work" charters and opportunities for employee voice - may raise expectations as to what constitutes appropriate behaviour at work and this may potentially also impact on the prevalence of reported bullying in the workplace.

The term strategy has generated debates with its associations with rational and conscious planning (Crow, 1989). While it may imply a simple "choice", some researchers use the term strategy to precisely stress the importance of constraints over choice. Morgan (1989) develops "strategy" as a sociological tool which can assess outcomes and resources – and argues that such an approach explicitly recognises the "presence of powerful constraints". When using the term strategy, either with reference to voice or exit, it is recognised that constraints are present, in terms of individual, household and labour market characteristics.

Table 2 Forms of Employee Voice

	Proactive Voice	Reactive Voice
Collective	Worker-centred teams Collective bargaining Works councils	Union grievance procedure, including arbitration & mediation
Individual	Supervisor-centred teams Committees appointed by management Favouritism	Non-union grievance procedures • Managerial review • Ombudsman • Arbitration • Peer review

Source: Kaminski (1999)

Employee "voice" typically includes consultative mechanisms and employee participation systems which give employees influence over decision-making (Dundon *et al.* 2002; Doherty, 2008). However, grievances have also been considered as an aspect of employee voice in the workplace. According to Kaminski (1999)[26] a formal grievance is essentially a complaint that a worker's contractual rights and/or the organisation's best practices have been violated. Kaminski (1999) differentiates between the *reactive* voice of a grievance complaint that is usually a reaction to some managerial action, to the *proactive* voice of self-governing team working or participative structures. As Table 2.1

[26] It is worth recognising that the literature on grievance filing is perhaps most well-developed in the USA and usually specifically makes a distinction between unionised and non-unionised firms.

illustrates, Kaminski further discriminates between individual and collective types of voice. Dowding *et al.* (2000) also make a distinction between *individual* voice, whereby the intention of the individual in acting is to bring about the desired effect solely through that action, whereas in the case of *collective* voice, the individual contributes *to* the desired effect.

Bacharach and Bamberger (2004) identify a three-way typology to categorise the research on grievances: studies which explore individual, workplace and labour market characteristics. They argue that many early studies were largely descriptive and mainly provided demographic information with regards grievance filing (Gordon & Miller, 1984). Workplace characteristics include the supervisory role, leadership style and job conditions, including technology, monitoring and working hours. While long working hours has been found to increase grievance filing rates, the research on monitoring is mixed as excessive monitoring could potentially aggravate workers (thus increasing grievance filing) or protect them in dangerous working environments (decreasing the likelihood of a potential grievance to occur). Likewise the relationship between technology and grievances is far from reaching a consensus, despite its long legacy dating back to the 1950s. Sayles's (1958) study argued that grievance rates are related to technology owing to the "social system" erected by the technology, rather than because technology makes certain jobs unpleasant or repetitive (Sayle 1958, cited in Nelson, 1979). However, as Bacharach and Bamberger (2004) argue, the results of other studies exploring the relationship between grievance activity and technology are mixed, for example, a study carried out by Bemmels *et al.* (1991) found little support for the presumed negative relationship. As has been noted repeatedly in the literature, this field of research has been open to criticism with regards the generalisability of studies (Bemmels & Foley, 1996)

A key contribution is provided by Cappelli and Chauvin (1991) whose study extended the analytical framework to include labour market characteristics, arguing that workers faced with poor alternative job opportunities (or high wages) are more likely to use the organisation's grievance procedures than use so-called withdrawal mechanisms including absenteeism and shirking, when faced with problems in the workplace. This provides a framework for the

current study and as Cappelli and Chauvin highlight, the relationship between voice and exit must be considered.

2.7.1 Exit strategies

Job turnover or job "separations" has been addressed by research on job matching in the economics literature, building on Becker's (1962) theory which suggests that turnover occurs because of a process of matching jobs and is especially likely to occur at younger ages: over time, human capital develops and so workers are less likely to leave. However, some researchers have explicitly drawn on the influential conceptual work of Hirschman (1970). His concepts can be summarised as follows: *exit*: leaving the organisation when dissatisfied; *voice*: expressing dissatisfaction directly to management; *loyalty*: the reluctance to exit in spite of disagreement. As Dowding *et al.* (2000) argue, when focusing on the actions of employees, Hirschman's concepts have been largely applied straightforwardly: "Exit is the decision to quit a job when an employee is dissatisfied; voice is the ability to articulate grievances through a trade union" (p.483-4). Several studies make use of these conceptual tools and in general, the findings suggest that employee loyalty is negatively related to grievance initiation and intention to quit, and making a complaint is positively related to intention to leave (Boroff & Lewin, 1997; Rees 1991). Batt *et al.* (2002) do not find a relationship between resolution procedures and quits but report that trade union members are less likely to leave (also, Freeman & Medoff, 1984). As the departure point for their study, Bender and Sloane (1998) take the frequent finding that dissatisfaction levels among unionised workers are often higher than their non-unionised counterparts. Using the exit-voice hypothesis, they find that in Britain, dissatisfied non-union workers tend to use the exit strategy (i.e., leave) whereas dissatisfied union workers remain in their jobs and use the voice options (i.e., complain) through their trade union; this allows them to account for the counterintuitive finding of disgruntled and dissatisfied union workers. Clearly, trying to account for the actions of employees confronted with a problem at work is a challenging research problem. While exit may be more straightforward in the case of a customer response to a decline in quality, in terms of an employee leaving an organisation, one would expect the situation to be more complex. There are a range of circumstances which would prevent an employee from leaving an

organisation when confronted with a problem, such as financial obligations and the likelihood of securing alternative employment elsewhere.[27]

2.7.2 Quibbles and quits in the public sector

This study argues that it is important to consider how institutional characteristics shape experiences of work within the public and private sector. Notwithstanding the public sector "reform" agenda, there are arguably still substantial differences between how the public and private sector labour markets operate. Research has problematised the continuation of internal labour markets in the contemporary period in large private sector firms (Grimshaw *et al.* 2001) and the demolishment of the internal labour market (cf. Osterman & Burton, 2005). However, the public sector, to a certain extent, could still be partly characterised according to Doeringer and Piore (1971)'s formulation of an internal labour market, with an identifiable career progression structure throughout the organisation as well as rules regarding the allocation of work and job-specific skill development. The traditional model of the public sector, represented by permanent contracts, longer tenure and potentially occupationally specific skills, and the benefits in terms of both current income as well as future income in retirement may influence the extent to which a worker takes the exit route.

Research in Ireland attests to fact that public sector workers are less mobile than their private sector counterparts (Bergin, 2009). In addition, the recent OECD (2008) report argues that the centralised HRM processes and conditions do not enable the mobility of staff across the public sector as a whole: "in practice, mobility of generalist public servants is limited" (p.27). Furthermore, the "agencification" of the public sector has lead to a plethora of management systems for different types of employee, and there is only limited opportunity for movement between bodies and the private sector: effectively creating rigidities and small labour markets. Private sector workers on the other hand may either have a decreased likelihood of opportunities for voice and perhaps a greater propensity to choose the "exit" option if confronted with inappropriate behaviour.

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[27] D'Cruz and Noronha (2010) explore the strategies of Indian call centre employees experiencing bullying, and detail how exit is tightly constrained for this sector.

Research has documented that familiarity with legislation on workplace bullying, trade union density, and the likelihood of having both informal and formal policies regarding workplace bullying is greater in the public sector (Wallace, 2003; O'Connell *et al.* 2007). For example, well over three quarters of public sector organisations have a system of grievance and disciplinary procedures; the comparable figure for the private sector is around two fifths. Likewise, the vast majority of public sector organisations are familiar with the relevant Codes of Practice, compared to about two fifths in the private sector. Only 6% of public sector managers are unfamiliar with Codes of Practices, while around a fifth of private sector managers are unfamiliar (O'Connell *et al.* 2007). This clearly highlights that there are different levels of awareness and knowledge about workplace bullying in the public and private sector. We could expect that these factors could possibly raise expectations about acceptable behaviours at work. This greater awareness, through formal and informal policies, and increased access to channels whereby workers can complain about workplace bullying may thus increase perceptions of both what *constitutes* acceptable/unacceptable behaviour at work and perceptions of *experiencing* bullying. The establishment of formal policies and procedures may influence the extent to which bullying is recognised as a genuine grievance (McCarthy & Mayhew, 2004) and also contribute to higher expectations as to appropriate workplace behaviours.

2.8 Conclusion

According to the literature, change has been an endemic feature of the contemporary workplace - in both the public and private sector. In Ireland, the most obvious development has been the growing numbers at work since the early 1990s, with the "Celtic Tiger" displacing the previous high unemployment, high emigration characterisation of the Irish economy. Thus research conducted during the "boom years" in Ireland afforded prominence to the many of the debates widespread in the rest of Europe and elsewhere concerned with employment (rather than a lack of it), including issues around job quality and job intensification, work-life conflict and "high performance" work practices. Increasingly, workplace bullying has also come to the fore in terms of academic, and public, attention, and this thesis argues that it is

imperative to situate this work-based conflict in terms of the broader debates concerned with the "changing workplace". Furthermore, this study adopts a macro-level institutional perspective, stressing the importance of the public-private sector divide in terms of contemporary experiences of work.

An optimistic account of changes within the workplace over the past few decades can be broadly sketched, with technological change associated with general workforce upskilling, and relatedly, increased autonomy at work. Increased employment legislation has improved the rights of workers, irrespective of the hours of work, contract type, gender and so on. "High performance" work practices offer workers the chance to use their skills, autonomy and discretion, participate in decision making structures through various team working arrangements as well as offering financial participation. Furthermore such practices have been linked to increased wages, as well as job satisfaction. Partly in response to the growing female labour market participation, "family-friendly" policies and flexible employment allow workers to effectively manage the balance between home life, caring responsibilities and work. Indeed the working environment has become so pleasant that Hothschild's (1989) influential account of the "second shift" argues that many workers actually *prefer* work to home. However, a more pessimistic account can also be provided, with Schor's (1993) "Overworked American" offering a symbolic characterisation. Organisations, and workers, are incited to increase their flexibility and adaptability in order to meet the escalating demands of contemporary societies and ensure competitiveness in a global economy. These changes have been accompanied by growing concerns as to increasing job intensification, longer working hours, and work-related stress. Technological change is linked to a process of deskilling, or skill polarisation, with implications for the autonomy of workers. Furthermore, the growth in non-standard employment is associated not just with wage penalties but also implications for well-being, while the employment legislation designed to protect such workers is argued to prioritise the individual worker over the collective.

Thus, the key debates concerning labour market change can be broadly considered in two main thrusts, an optimistic account of the workplace as a

haven, whereby workers are afforded increased autonomy and opportunities for "self fulfilment" and to have their "dignity" realised in the workplace, or a more pessimistic account where more flexible forms of work is represented as posing an increasing health risk to workers, with for example, increasing job intensification, and implications for well-being and stress levels, as well as impacting on caring responsibilities outside the workplace. Studies of workplace bullying increasingly highlight the importance of job and organisational factors, for example, citing the growing competitive pressures and job demands as possible reasons for reporting bullying. Organisational change and greater job demands could lead to increased pressure at work, potentially resulting in negative behaviours in the workplace, while new forms of working such as team working could increase potential for worker conflict. Non-standard employment, or a lack of autonomy at work, could lead to a situation of increased vulnerability and exposure to negative behaviours. This chapter has considered the specific changes that have taken place in the public sector in Ireland as this may have particular saliency for the higher prevalence in this sector. Additionally, the chapter has considered further sectoral differences in terms of "exit/voice" which could shed light into the differential reporting rate in the public and private sector. It is possible that increasing expectations as to what constitutes appropriate behaviours at work, through Dignity at Work charters and Codes of Practice means that certain workers could be less likely to tolerate "negative" behaviours in the workplace.

Chapter 3 Researching Workplace Bullying: surveying the field

Bullying is either a hugely pressing problem facing many workers across a vast range of workplaces or a rarity, affecting only a minority of employees overall; depending on the research, bullying can therefore be headline news or relegated to the back page. While a study in the USA found that an astonishing 2 out of every 5 workers experienced bullying within the previous 12 months (Schat *et al.* 2006), only 2% of Danish workers reported bullying within a similar timeframe (Hogh & Dofradottir, 2001). Even within the same country, reported prevalence in Ireland ranges from under one in ten to nearly a quarter of the working population (O'Moore *et. al.* 2003; O'Connell *et al.* 2007). Disentangling these research findings is no easy task. While there are possible substantive explanations for inter-country differences, it is also important to consider methodological issues, for example, the sampling frame, how bullying is measured, and the timeframe specified. Before considering the main methodological approaches in the field of workplace bullying research, this chapter contextualises the current study within the broad tradition of employment studies as well as highlighting approaches to researching sensitive topics. Finally, the chapter outlines the research design, data sources and instrumentation.

3.1 Approaches to employment research

Around the turn of the millennia, it was declared that there was a "dearth of detailed studies of work" (Barley & Kunda, 2001 p.76). However, it was conceded that this was not always the case, as earlier studies were marked by the meticulous descriptions of the organisation of work and work practices, such as Taylor's (1911) concerns to enhance efficiencies and improve productivity. However, as Scott argues (2004), these technocratic studies were largely prescriptive and were subject to later challenge. For example, the infamous Hawthorne studies (Roethlisberger *et al.* 1939) revealed more complex processes at play in the workplace than purely rational, instrumental

behaviour with "unofficial, informal patterns of cooperation, shared norms, and conflicts between and among managers and workers" (Scott, 2004 p.2). The classic industrial sociology of the 1950s also provided rich empirical studies of specific "blue collar" workplaces such as car factories (Walker & Guest, 1952), while Blau investigated "white collar" bureaucracy (Blau, 1955). Case studies, often of manual workers and the factory floor, continued to proliferate over the next few decades and were an established approach in employment research, with a number of well-known studies (Beynon, 1973; Braverman, 1974; Burawoy, 1979; Pollert, 1981); while these latter relied predominantly on qualitative research strategies including documentary analysis, ethnography and interviews, Goldthorpe *et al.*'s (1968) case study of three firms in the Luton area (UK) was based on survey data

As Barley and Kunda note (2001), qualitative research began to fall out of favour during the 1970s, with advances in technology making possible large-scale surveys and quantitative analysis. While they argue that qualitative methods have seen some resurgence in recent years, they claim that a reliance on research methods other than observation have implications for studying highly contexualised practices such as work: "people often cannot articulate how they do what they do, unless they are in the process of doing it" (p.81). In addition, they stress the need for comparative designs and the ineffectiveness of single occupation studies. In this regard, it could be argued that in order to provide a comprehensive overview of contemporary work practices and the organisation of work, quantitative approaches have a valuable role in employment research. Large-scale surveys, both national-level and cross-country, provide an excellent source of information with regards incidence and patterns of a variety of aspects of work. While detailed studies on particular organisations or occupations such as "knowledge workers" or "high performance" workplace practices can illuminate new orientations to work, they risk overstating the prevalence of such new developments in the general working population. As Millward *et al.* (2000) argue, the field of industrial relations has benefited from large-scale nationally representative surveys which allow the effective mapping of organisational practices and policies, as well as charting changes over time. For example, national-level studies include the UK's regular Workplace Employment Relations Surveys (previously the

Workplace Industrial Relations Survey), an excellent source of information not least because it has "matched" employer and employee data. Comparative research is enabled by the academically-driven European Social Survey and the European Working Conditions Survey. Surveys are an established tool for students of work and employment practices and complement the in-depth case study approach based on qualitative strategies.

3.1.1 Approaches to researching sensitive topics

While many research topics concerning work, such as union participation or employee attitudes, are potentially sensitive, the study of workplace bullying presents particular difficulties to the researcher. For example, recruiting a sample of employees for interview to discuss their experiences of bullying may not meet ethical standards with regards anonymity. Clearly, the participant observation called for by Barley and Kunda (2001) is problematic however, some innovative studies have been carried out in the field, for example, Liefooghe (2003) uses focus groups. While qualitative research is often characterised as preferential when dealing with sensitive research topics through the creation of trusting relationships between the interviewer and interviewee, the potential of surveys for tackling potentially sensitive issues was harnessed by the early Kinsey studies on sexual behaviour (Lee, 1993). However, just as Kinsey's studies were criticised for sample bias (oversampling the male prison population) and selection (participants keen to discuss taboo topics would be more likely to participate) surveys of workplace bullying are also open to similar criticisms. Face to face and telephone interviewing, as opposed to self-administered questionnaires, have advantages and disadvantages in terms of responses to sensitive issues. While some researchers argue that the physical presence of an interviewer might inhibit respondents from disclosing sensitive information, others argue that an interviewer's presence may encourage the respondent to feel relaxed and thus more forthcoming (Lee, 1993). However, research comparing these strategies has not been conclusive (Sykes & Hoinville, 1985) and often practical necessities dictate the strategy employed. However, a study dating from the late seventies found that face to face interviewing depressed reports of socially undesirable behaviour more so than telephone interviewing (Bradburn & Sudman, 1979). As Lee (1993) points out, researchers have invested

considerable effort into devising ways of asking sensitive questions through, for example, asking long rather than short questions and using familiar words

3.2 Methodological traditions in the study of workplace bullying

It is unsurprising that the study of workplace bullying, owing to its sensitive nature, as well as reliance on subjective perceptions, gives rise to significant methodological debate. Cowie *et al.* (2002) distinguish three methodological approaches: "inside" perspectives of bullying (including questionnaires, diary keeping, interviews, focus groups); "outside" perspectives (including observational methods and peer nominations); and "multi-method" approaches which attempt to integrate both inside and outside methods. The vast majority of research falls under the first heading: the self-reporting of the respondent. External verification, owing to the sensitive nature of bullying, is obviously difficult, from both a practical and ethical perspective.

The reliance on subjective indicators has been the focus of a growing body of research literature. As Fahey and Smyth (2004) argue, there is considerable scepticism in the research community regarding the use of subjective indicators, with claims that subjective assessments based on self-perception are likely to be an inaccurate reflection of the respondents "real" circumstances. Subjective indicators, for instance, happiness or life satisfaction, have been remarkably constant over time and the amount of variation at an individual level within countries appears only weakly related to "objective" conditions. Thus the reliance in the workplace bullying research field on self-reports is open to criticism. However while some scholars in the field of workplace bullying argue that there must be "intent to cause harm" on the behalf of the perpetrator (Bjorkquist *et al.* 1994), others note the difficulty in ascertaining this (Hoel *et al.* 1999) and in general, the definitional core of workplace bullying is centred on the individual's own perception or experience, as opposed to, for example, the alleged perpetrator's (or any other "non-subjective" account).

Partly owing to the research traditions in the psychological discipline, surveys have been the main tool of data collection in most countries to date. Surveys have been conducted using nationally representative samples (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996), representative samples of occupational groups such as the

Fire Service (Archer, 1999), business professionals (Salin, 2001) and also specific organisations, thus allowing a comparison between the bullied and non-bullied employees within the same company (Agervold & Mikkelson, 2004). There are many studies of single sectors or single occupations, predominately in the public sector (cf. Salin, 2001) which could partly be attributed to this sector's relatively more "open" gate keeping mechanisms. These studies have often found a high prevalence of bullying in this sector, for example: the South African health sector (21%; Steinman, 2003); Lithuanian teachers (23%; Malinauskiene *et. al.* 2005), Finnish prison officers (20%; Vartia & Hyyti, 2002); and Austrian hospital employees (27%; Niedl, 1996). However, some of this research is not based on nationally representative data and is therefore limited with regards the potential to explore who is more likely to report bullying in the general working population: a key research question for the current study.

Self-referred samples have also been utilised, with questionnaires (Seager, 2004) and qualitative interviews (O'Moore *et al.* 1998). These samples have been drawn in various ways, from notices in the media to clients presenting to a dedicated centre or service. Self-referred samples are particularly problematic in that they often contain respondents who have been most impacted by the bullying (in that they have actually sought help or felt strongly enough to contact the researchers) and may therefore represent the extreme cases. Rayner and Hoel (1997) problematise the self-selecting nature of Brodsky's (1976) case studies and the validity of the findings and conclusions drawn. However, surveys require careful design in order to avoid biasing the results through non-random non-response: respondents who have experienced bullying may be more likely to agree to participate in research about bullying than those who have never experienced such behaviours in the workplace. It has been argued that *observed* bullying is often higher than reported levels of bullying (Vartia & Hytti, 2002), thus Zapf *et al.* (2003) argue that this suggests a *lack* of exaggeration: they claim that there are strong reasons for underestimation of the phenomenon, given the sensitive nature of the issue.

There are a number of different survey instruments employed, ranging in complexity and scope. Respondents may simply be asked whether they have

experienced workplace bullying (Lewis, 1999). Alternatively, a definition of workplace bullying may be offered and respondents are then asked to confirm if they have experienced bullying, as defined (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). Leymann (1990) was at the forefront of developing the measurement of bullying using a list of negative behaviours and established *Leymann's Inventory of Psychological Terror* (LIPT). In order to identify bullying, Leymann applied strict criteria of at least one behaviour weekly for at least 6 months. The LIPT has subsequently been revised (Zapf *et al.* 1996). Einarsen and Raknes (1997) developed the *Negative Acts Questionnaire* (NAQ) which contains a list of items. The latter makes no reference to terms such as bullying or harassment (Cowie *et al.* 2002). Bjorkqvist *et al.* (1994) administered a questionnaire using a *Work Harassment Scale* (WHS) and applied a fixed cut-off point, above which respondents are classified as victims of bullying. These scales have been adapted and tested by many other researchers in the field (Niedl, 1996; Hogh & Doffadotir, 2001; Fevre *et al.* 2009).

Given the subjective nature of the bullying experience, Hoel *et al.* (2001) argue that while cut-off criteria on the basis of the number and frequency of negative behaviours is useful for comparative purposes, they prefer a labelling approach:

> Thus, any experience which the target perceives as being in line with a given definition, emphasising the persistent and long-term nature of the experience which in our view is the essence of the bullying concept, should be considered valid.
> (Hoel *et al.* 2001 p.444)

Salin (2001) reports that different prevalence rates are achieved through the utilisation of different methodologies in her study of Finnish business professionals (see also Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001 and Agervold, 2007). In Salin's study, almost three times as many respondents indicated that they had experienced at least one of the negative acts at least weekly (using a revised version of the *Negative Acts Questionnaire*) than those who confirmed that they had experienced bullying in the last 12 months on the basis of a definition. However, she reports that there was consistency between the two strategies given that those who confirmed that they had been bullied also reported higher exposure rates to the negative acts in the questionnaire (a recent study by

Nielsen *et al.* 2009 also explored differences in prevalence between self-labelling and negative behaviours).

There is a general consensus amongst researchers that workplace bullying must encompass a dual time dimension. First, the behaviour must be a repeated rather than an isolated event; however, it has been noted that certain types of behaviour, e.g., spreading rumours do not "fit" this time related criteria. Following Leymann (1996) some researchers prefer to indicate duration of at least 6 months in order to distinguish bullying from "normal" stress in the workplace (Niedl, 1995; Mackensen von Astfeld, 2000; Salin, 2001; O'Moore *et al.* 2003). Others (including the current data source) limit respondents to the last 6 months (Borquist *et al.* 1994; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; O'Connell & Williams, 2001; Vartia & Hytti, 2002) while some make no time limitation at all (Rayner, 1997).[28]

Einarsen *et al.* (2003), building on previous research (Einarsen & Skogstad 1996; Leymann 1996; Zapf 1999) offer a definition of bullying which other scholars have welcomed as a useful collaborative contribution to the research field (McCarthy & Mayhew, 2004):

> Bullying at work means harassing, offending, socially excluding someone or negatively affecting someone's work tasks. In order for label bullying (or mobbing) to be applied to a particular activity, interaction or process it has to occur repeatedly and regularly (e.g., weekly) and over a period of time (e.g., about six months). Bullying is an escalating process in the course of which the person confronted ends up in an inferior position and becomes the target of systematic negative social acts. A conflict cannot be called bullying if the incidence is an isolated event or if two parties of approximately equal "strength" are in conflict.
>
> (Einarsen *et al.* 2003, p.15)

Here, "equality in strength" does not refer to organisational status and allows for the possibility of bullying by colleagues. McCarthy and Mayhew (2004)

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[28] The other time consideration is the frequency of the bullying behaviour experienced. Einarsen et al. (2003) note that these two time dimensions of bullying are closely related, with those who experience bullying regularly reporting a longer duration than those reporting bullying less frequently, thus fitting in with the "conflict escalation" model proposed by researchers (Zapf & Gross, 2001; Matthiesen *et al.* 2003).

argue that this definition represents a certain amount of international convergence in recent years. However, Table 3 illustrates the range of prevalence rates reported in many of the main European studies and these rates clearly vary, at least partly according to the methodology employed and sample design. However, in the main, nationally representative surveys reveal rates of bullying from around 5% to 10% of the overall working population.

There is a certain amount of overlap between research concerning workplace bullying and other work-based harassment such as sexual harassment. In particular, with regards the challenges of measurement and prevalence. Official statistics potentially represent the most extreme cases and provides an underestimation of overall prevalence. In their review of the research field in the early 1990s, Fitzgerald and Shullman (1993) offer an overview of sexual harassment research and outline the difficulties in ascertaining prevalence and comparability. However, they still make the claim of a significantly high prevalence rate:

> Although differences in methodology make comparisons difficult, overall prevalence estimates appear fairly comparable: close to half the female workforce has been sexually harassed
>
> (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993).

Of course, the authors are aware, if not overly forthcoming, that this figure is slightly misleading, given that it reflects one-off behaviours as well as more prolonged experiences (a one-off distasteful joke is "counted" the same as an extended and systematic campaign of harassment) and there is no time frame specified so events over the entire career history is included in this figure. While not wanting to diminish the prevalence, experiences and the detrimental impact of sexual harassment, these issues must be considered in order not to sensationalise and potentially provide a misleading picture.

Table 3 Workplace bullying prevalence across Europe

Study	Methodology	Timeframe	Country	Sample	N	Prevalence Rates
Rayner 1997	No definition	No timeframe	UK	Part time students at a university	581	53%
Einarsen & Skogstad 1996	Definition	Last 6 mths	Norway	Nationally representative	7787	8.6% (1.2% reg; 7.4% occ)
Hoel *et al.* 2001	Definition	Last 6 mths	UK	Nation-wide	5288	10.6% (1.4% reg; 9.2% occ)
O'Connell & Williams 2001	Definition	Last 6 mths	Ireland	Nationally representative	5252	7.0% (2.7% reg; 4.2% occ)
O'Moore 2000	Definition	Last 12 months	Ireland	Nationally representative[29]	1009	23.1% (6.2% reg; 16.9% occ)
UNISON 1997	Definition	Last 6 months	UK	Public sector union employees	736	14%
Vartia & Hyyti 2002	Definition	Last 6 months	Finland	Prison officers	n= 896	20%
Mikkelsen & Einarsen 2001	Definition	Last 6 months	Denmark	Hospitals, manufacturing., retail	675	2-4 %
Salin 2001	Definition	Last 12 months	Finland	Business professionals	377	1.6% (plus 8.8% occ)
Piirainen *et al.* 2000	Definition	No timeframe specified	Finland	Nationally representative	1991	4.3%
Leymann 1993	Behaviour list	> 6 months	Sweden	Nationally representative[30]	n=2438	3.5%
Niedl 1996	Behaviour list	> 6 months	Austria	Hospital employees	368	26.6%
Quine 1999	Behaviour list	Last 12 months	UK	NHS Trust	1100	38%
Hogh & Dofradottir 2001	Behaviour list	Last 12 months	Denmark	Nationally representative	1857	2%

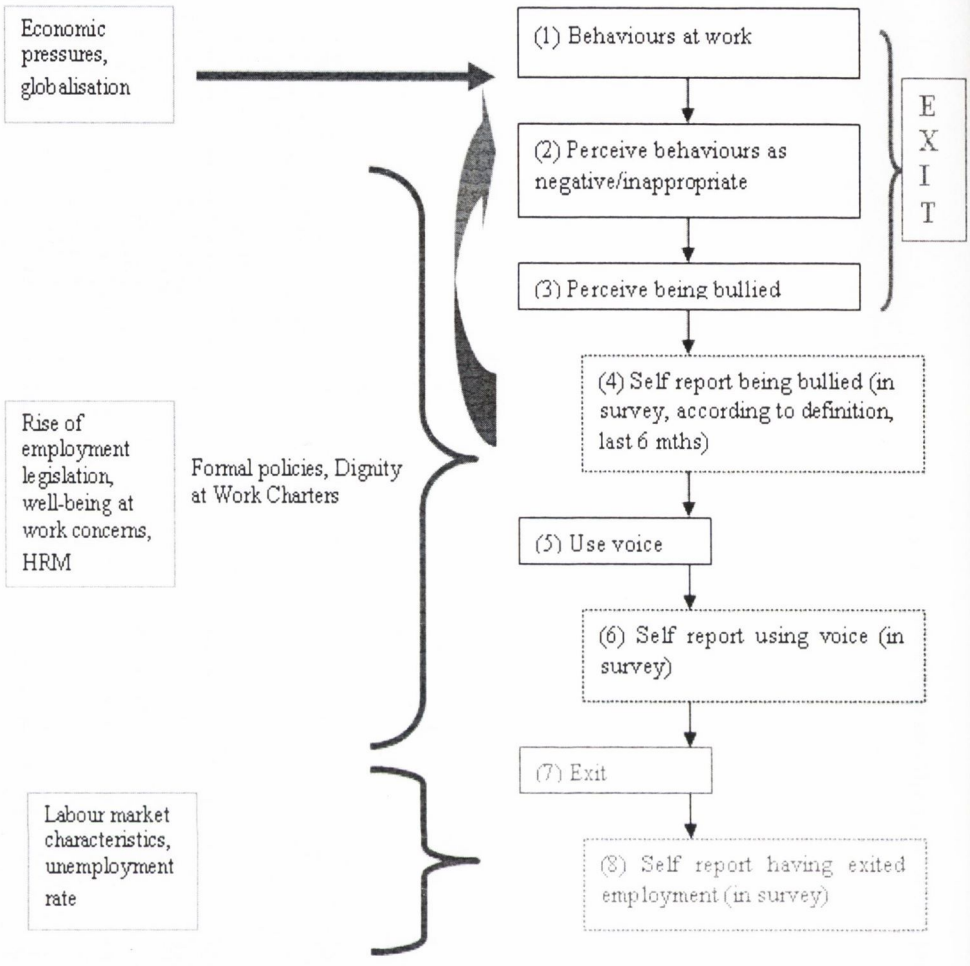
[29] Not all sectors are represented: Garda Siochana [national police force] Armed Forces and Religious orders are excluded.
[30] Excluding the self-employed.

3.3 Getting the measure of workplace bullying

Following Nichols' (1997) argument that industrial injury rates must be understood in terms of their institutional location and social production, this study recognises that the (research) knowledge of workplace bullying comes from a variety of sources including quantitative surveys, usually with definitions or negative acts, and various time frames. Thus researchers have access to self-reported incidences of "bullying" or negative behaviours experienced within the workplace and the researchers themselves then decide what "constitutes" bullying.

The present research draws on a measure of bullying based on the self-reporting of individuals as to whether they have experienced bullying, as defined, within the last six months. This definitional instrument, as opposed to the *Negative Acts Questionnaire,* is arguably predicated on the perception and labelling of the negative/inappropriate behaviour as "bullying" (Hoel *et al.* 2001). Clearly, there is no actual first hand or "independent" account of the behaviours in the workplace. This therefore opens the possibility that similar "negative" or "inappropriate" behaviours may result in different responses in a survey context using the same definition. Furthermore, depending on various factors, individuals may have different "thresholds" or "sensitivities" as to what constitutes appropriate behaviours in the workplace in the first instance. As with sexual harassment, the alleged victim's *perception* of the behaviour is stressed. However, this research is interested in maintaining this distinction (in theory, if not possible in analysis) in order to shed light on the production of research, statistics and other accounts of workplace bullying. Figure 3.1 provides an account of these stages.

Figure 3 Flow diagram for workplace bullying



The first step refers to the behaviours themselves, which are not characterised as either negative or positive (Stage 1). Economic pressures and globalisation are associated with organisational and job change, with new forms of work practices and work organisation. Increased job pressures, targets, or team working could all result in a new work environment. Stage 2 refers to the stage where workers perceive behaviours within the workplace to be negative or inappropriate, while Stage 3 refers to the stage where workers perceive themselves to be bullied. Stage 4 is the first measure of bullying that the present study draws on: based on a definition which stipulates a time frame of the previous six months.

Stage 5 refers to the "voice" actions taken by the worker perceiving to be bullied at his/her place of work: officially reporting it to management, personnel or trade unions. Stage 6 is the survey measurement of these actions. Stage 7 refers to if a respondent leaves the employment where the bullying occurs. Stage 8 refers to the self-reporting that the respondent has exited their previous employment where the bullying occurred.

An environment which promotes "positive" behaviours at work, through for example, *Dignity at Work* charters, with well-defined channels through which workers can complain about bullying (Stage 5) could effectively "feedback" to Stages 2 and 3 (as indicated by the thicker arrow pointing upwards), raising expectations and increasing the likelihood that a worker will perceive negative behaviours as bullying. This thesis argues that it is important therefore to not solely interpret prevalence as reflecting incidences of bullying *per se*, but incidents of *reported* bullying. With this differentiation in mind, we must consider occurrences of inappropriate behaviour in the workplace, as well as the mechanisms through which such behaviours end up recorded in surveys, organisational records and official statistics.

The previous chapter has outlined the research literature on exit and voice strategies that employees may adopt in the workplace (as shown in Figure 3). If the bullying has taken place within the last six months, whether or not the employee is in the same job or a new job, exit and voice are both recorded. However, if the bullying only occurred within the last twelve months (and is no longer happening, owing to the bullying ending or the employee leaving their job) then the survey will not record this incident as bullying. Crudely, it is suggested that private sector workers may be more likely to follow the exit routes as indicated in the diagram while public sector workers may be more likely to stay in the organisation and will be "picked up" by the survey. We do not have a measure of the first exit route. If a private sector worker experiences inappropriate behaviour they may leave their employment at the first opportunity and thus effectively end the incident of bullying.

3.4 Research Design

The previous sections have highlighted the particular challenges in the workplace bullying field, in terms of recruiting a random sample, guaranteeing anonymity to respondents, and approaching a potentially sensitive topic. While qualitative methodologies are often claimed to be more adept at exploring sensitive research topics, a well-designed large-scale survey is better suited for the present study's research aims that includes understanding the patterns in reported bullying across the general working population. The analysis in this study predominantly draws on the 2006/7 *Survey of Experiences in the Workplace* which is a nationally representative, cross-sectional survey of workers in Ireland conducted by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI).[31]

This survey was primarily designed to collect information on experiences of workplace bullying however information on job and organisational characteristics were also gathered, therefore providing a rich source of data ideally suited to the research focus of the present study. To provide necessary context, the analysis also draws on the *4th European Survey on Working Conditions* (2005 ESWC) conducted in 2005 and the 2003 *Changing Workplaces Survey* (2003 CWS), a national survey funded by the National Centre for Partnership and Performance. However, analysis of these data sources will be limited to Chapter 4 only. Further details will be provided about these data sources in the following sections.

3.4.1 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace

The Survey of Experiences in the Workplace (SEW) was conducted with over 3500 adults who had been employment (employed and self-employed) in the previous six months.[32] Interviewing took place in randomly selected sampling

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[31] This survey followed up a similar cross-sectional survey in 2001, however, the earlier survey did not include important measures such as job autonomy and measure of formal policy. Previous research indicates that the overall rate of reported bullying remained constant over the two time periods. Analysis for the current study concentrated on the later survey.

32 The response rate was 36%. For detailed weighting information, please see O'Connell et al. (2007). The survey was reweighted to compensate for any biases relating to sampling error, sampling frame or to differential response rates. The QNHS (Quarter 2) was used and ratio weighting was employed, taking into account the following variables: age, gender, education, principal employment status, occupation, industrial sector, part time/full time employment, family status, region and number of persons over 18 years old in the household.

points throughout the country in 2006 and 2007: however, the survey will be referred to as the "2007 SEW" for clarity herein. The data therefore dates from a period of economic growth and relatively full employment. The reference period for the survey was the six month period ending at the date of interview and the sample includes those currently employed as well as those employed within this time frame. The analysis for this study mainly concentrates on employees only and excludes the self-employed: the research is interested in the experiences of bullying amongst "typical" employees in workplaces, which is likely to potentially differ from the self-employed population, for example, sole traders or directors of companies.

The questionnaire was administered via telephone and there was no mention of the term "bullying" until background information, employment and job data, as well as measures of health and stress were recorded. This is so as to avoid the introduction of unnecessary bias where respondents who had experienced bullying may have been more likely to participate in a survey about their experiences than those who had never experienced such behaviours at work. It is important to note that for respondents who have since left the job where the bullying occurred, there are measures of previous and current conditions: these include sector, occupation, autonomy, hours of work and employment contract. However, we do not have repeat measures for all important variables, e.g., tenure is not measured for previous job and this represents a limitation of the current analysis. The number of those who reported bullying in their *previous* job is quite low (n=34); however, sensitivity analysis is conducted to ensure that these cases do not greatly alter the substantive results.

3.5 Measurement issues

3.5.1 Reported bullying

The survey utilised a definitional approach in order to measure the prevalence of bullying. The definition used in the survey, in keeping with general research consensus, stressed the repeated nature of the inappropriate behaviour experienced:

> By bullying I mean repeated inappropriate behaviour, direct or indirect, whether verbal, physical or otherwise, conducted by one or more

> persons against another or others, at the place of work and/or in the course of employment, which could reasonably be regarded as undermining the individual's right to dignity at work. An isolated incident of the behaviour described in this definition may be an affront to dignity at work but is not considered to be bullying.

The bullying had to have occurred within the previous six months. The key outcome variable is therefore the self-reporting of individuals (known as "reported bullying") as to whether they have experienced bullying, as defined, within the last six months. This variable is dichotomous, with possible "yes" or "no" responses.[33]

3.5.2 Key variables

The data also provides information on individual characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, and education. Job characteristics include employment contract type, hours of work, supervisory responsibility and tenure. The Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993) class schema was used in order to create a five way categorisation of: higher professional, lower professional, non-manual, skilled manual, semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual workers. The ISCO-88 schema was also constructed.[34] However, in the main, the analysis focuses on education as a measure to place workers along a scale of advantage/disadvantage in the occupational hierarchy as well as to explore the "higher expectations" thesis. Education is categorised as (i) lower secondary or less; (ii) upper secondary; (iii) and tertiary.

Organisational & sectoral information

Information was also collected on various organisational characteristics. Workers were asked about whether they had an appraisal system and employee assistance program (i.e., staff welfare programs): while the former might apply to the individual worker, we might expect the latter to refer to an organisational-level program.

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[33] Previous research highlighted some inconsistency with regards the bullying question and subsequent frequency of bullying. Tests for robustness of the measure were conducted and are not reported in the current analysis (please see O'Connell *et al.* 2007 for further details).

[34] Bergmann & Joye (2003) provide an overview of the main schemas in use in the social sciences.

Organisational-level information included economic sector and size (branch size, rather than the full enterprise level). Sector is also measured in terms of state sponsored (semi-state) bodies, public sector, and private sector. The present analysis collapses the public sector and semi-state organisations: working conditions and trade union membership are argued to be more similar within this broader public sector category. The main analytical strategy focuses on the public-private divide, as outlined in previous chapters.

Organisational change

Respondents were also asked if the organisation had undergone different types of organisational change: organisational restructuring, a change in ownership or the introduction of new technology. Respondents were also asked if they themselves had experienced a change in manager. These changes all must have been within the previous year and respondents could select more than one. Owing to sectoral patterns in response, restructuring and change in ownership were collapsed to indicate general and significant organisational change.

Job intensification and autonomy

The survey provides measures of job intensification and job autonomy using a Likert Scale, with values from "Almost Always", "Often", "Sometimes", "Rarely", and "Never". A job intensification scale was constructed using the mean of the following items: (i) The nature of my job has changed over the past year or so; (ii) The pace of work in my job has increased over the past year or so; (iii) The pace of my work is too intense.[35] However, this scale scored a Cronbach's alpha of 0.57: borderline in terms of acceptability. This could perhaps relate to the fact that it is only a 3-item scale (owing to the formula for calculation of the Cronbach's alpha, a higher number is achieved if there are more items in the scale). In addition, change in nature may refer to a wide variety of change not necessarily an increased intensity. However, the analysis will use individual indicators in the main, but the scale is used for simplicity if the results are found to be robust.[36]

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[35] In general, a mean is preferred to a summed score in order to maximise the number of cases for analysis. Where cases are missing on one or more of the items, the mean approach takes the average of the items for which responses are valid.

[36] Cronbach's alpha does not differ substantially by sector.

Job autonomy was measured using three items: (i) You decide how much/how fast you work during the day; (ii) Your manager decides the specific tasks you do from day to day; (iii) You need permission to take a break during the day. A scale was calculated using the mean of these three items. This scale was also quite low with a Cronbach's alpha of around 0.48. Where the results are not misleading in descriptive analysis, the scale will be used; however, sensitivity analysis will test if individual indicators should be used.[37]

Job tenure and turnover

As mentioned, job tenure is not accurately measured for respondents reporting bullying and who left their job. The number is low (n=34) but nonetheless, this represents a problem as using their current tenure will be downwardly biased (as the bullying must have occurred in the previous six months, these workers are all necessarily employed in their current jobs for less than six months). Job tenure was estimated using a Tobit model[38] restricting the sample to those who had not left their jobs. Predicted values then replaced missing values for these 34 cases. This does not reflect an ideal situation but perhaps arguably is better than using current tenure for these cases. Sensitivity analysis is carried out to ensure robustness. More sophisticated imputation procedures could be applied for future research (Kenward & Carpenter, 2007).

Tenure also presented a problem where respondents were missing on any of the month or year variables for either interview date or job start date. If missing on interview date, the values were imputed straightforwardly and minimal error as the survey took place over a few months only. If missing on job start year, the respondent was considered missing on tenure. If missing on job start month, the respondent was classified as a June start month.

Turnover in the survey was measured as a continuous variable, i.e., how many jobs have you held in the previous 3 years. It is difficult to know how respondents interpreted this question, as for some, a job refers to a specific contract (in the case of an architect) whereas for others it reflects an actual new job move. Turnover was operationalised using a dichotomous variable

[37] The Cronbach's Alpha is slightly higher for the private sector (0.51)
[38] An ordinary least squares regression was also performed and the results are similar.

measuring whether a respondent had only one job in the previous three years or more than one. The turnover variable took account of respondents who left the job where the bullying occurred (by subtracting 1 from their total number of jobs within the last three years).

Exit & Voice

Formal policy

All respondents were asked about a policy on workplace bullying: we might expect that if a respondent indicates that there is a formal policy, this would apply throughout the whole organisation. The first question relating to policies was a straightforward yes/no response as to whether the organisation where the respondent was currently working had a policy regarding workplace bullying. The follow-up question was open-ended and asked the respondent for details of this policy. This open-ended question therefore provided the opportunity for further detailed coding concerning the type of policy, whether formal or informal, for example. Attention was paid as to whether the respondent was in the same organisation where the bullying occurred (if appropriate) and if not, the values were imputed from the subsequent information provided. [39] A decision rule was decided for the post-coding of the open-ended question. If the answer was "formal" or "informal", the decision was straightforward. Some respondents answered "yes" to the presence of a policy, but then answered "don't know" or "not sure" to the open-ended question: this was then recorded. If the respondent answered "report to supervisor", this was coded as "informal". However, if the respondent answered "report to supervisor and human resources/trade union", this was coded as "formal" as it clearly indicates the presence of some sort of developed procedure with regards bullying complaints. It is important to recognise that a person experiencing bullying is potentially more likely to deliberately seek out information about organisational policies.

Exit & Voice Strategies *by those reporting bullying*

For those respondents reporting bullying only, the survey records whether they have reported the bullying through official channels in their workplace, for

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[39] All respondents who reported bullying were asked subsequently whether the organisation *where the bullying took place* had a policy regarding workplace bullying. It is therefore possible to take account of this further information when computing the new organisational policy variable.

example, initiating the grievance procedure and reporting it to a trade union, personnel or supervisor. In addition, the survey records a range of informal voice strategies, such as talking with colleagues or friends. These variables are dichotomous, with yes and no responses, and respondents can select more than one option. Exit intentions are also measured: if they are considering leaving work, getting another job, leaving work completely, seeking a transfer or are considering seeking a transfer. Respondents can select more than one option. Actual quits are also measured, as already outlined.

Job satisfaction and well-being

The analysis also investigates the relationship between reported bullying and two outcome variables: job satisfaction and subjective well-being. Job satisfaction is measured using the statement "In general, I am satisfied with my job", which is a Likert Scale with values running from 1 to 4. The item was recoded so that higher values indicate higher job satisfaction.

The survey collects comprehensive data on well-being, before any mention on bullying has taken place. Well-being is measured through the 12-item *General Health Questionnaire* (GHQ). The GHQ was developed by Goldberg as a 60-item instrument but a range of shortened versions of the questionnaire are available as 30, 28, 20 and 12 items. The shorter 12-item version has been tested and found to be valid (Goldberg & Hillier, 1979). Respondents are asked if they have experienced a range of items recently: each item is rated on a 4 point scale from more so than usual, same as usual, less than usual and much less than usual. For the purposes of the current analysis, the mean of the items was taken. Testing potential dimensions within the scale is beyond the remit of this analysis (see Hankins, 2008) however the Cronbach's alpha is over 0.8 and therefore forms a reliable scale. The individual items are:

i. Been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing
ii. Lost much sleep over worry
iii. Felt that you are playing a useful part in things
iv. Felt capable of making decisions about things
v. Felt constantly under strain
vi. Felt you couldn't overcome your difficulties

vii. Been able to enjoy your normal day to day activities
viii. Been able to face up to your problems
ix. Been feeling unhappy and depressed
x. Been losing confidence in yourself
xi. Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person
xii. Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered

Physical health was also measure in terms of self-reported assessment on a scale running from Very Good to Very Bad: the variable was subsequently dichotomised with very good or good scoring 1 and the other values scoring 0, indicating "good health". This variable was not included in the models with reported bullying as a dependent variable in Chapter 5 (this relationship would be better addressed using longitudinal data); however, it was included in Chapter 7's analysis concerning subjective well-being.

Characteristics of the bullying

Frequency

The frequency of bullying was measured in terms of (i) only occasionally; (ii) several times a month; (iii) several times a week; (iv) about daily. The first two categories and last two categories were collapsed in the analysis and a new "regular" bullying variable was constructed, scoring 1 for those reporting regular bullying and 0 for those reporting moderate bullying.

Behaviours

Information is collected on the type of negative behaviours. These are: exclusion; verbal abuse/insults; physical abuse; sexual harassment; being treated less favourably; intrusion; repeated unreasonable assignments; repeated unreasonable targets; threats (explicit and implicit); intimidation or harassment; aggression; undermining; excessive monitoring of work; humiliation; withholding work-related information; being blamed for things beyond control. Respondents were able to select multiple options.

Direction

The direction of the reported bullying is also reported, with differentiation between horizontal, upward, downward and by clients. Respondents were able

to select more than one direction.[40] While this is certainly plausible, it is not clear whether the reported bullying therefore refers to one episode of bullying by multiple perpetrators or different episodes of bullying with different perpetrators. We are unable to differentiate this in the current analysis and Chapter 5 will elucidate further when analysing the direction of the reported bullying. The conclusion to the thesis will indicate possible suggestions regarding this for future surveys. In the main, the direction is differentiated as follows: bullying by supervisors *only*; bullying by non-supervisors *only*; and bullying by a mixture of sources.

Open-ended questions

The survey collects open-ended data on the nature of the bullying, the action taken by the respondent, and what effect it had. While this is not as rich as in-depth qualitative data, it does provide some insights beyond binary variables and Likert Scales. While systematic analysis was attempted with the formal policy open-ended question, the study makes use of these other open-ended questions as quotations where relevant to the analysis. These are not "representative" comments, however, no quotation cited was unusual or idiosyncratic.

3.5.3 Other data sources

The 2005 EWCS was carried out by Gallup Europe in 2005, on behalf of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, an autonomous EU agency based in Dublin. Almost 30,000 European workers were interviewed in all EU25 Member States, plus Bulgaria, Croatia, Norway, Romania, Turkey and Switzerland. The survey provides a comprehensive and *compatible* source of information on the conditions of work across Europe.

This survey provides useful information on working conditions, including job autonomy and intensification. It also provides good information on new forms of work organisation such as team working and decision making within teams. While this survey does measure bullying or harassment, no definition of bullying is provided: the respondent is simply asked if they had experienced a

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[40] Bullying by clients is arguably different conceptually: a minimum of respondents select bullying by clients *only* (n=11) and are included in the analysis

range of events in the workplace within the previous 12 months from discrimination based on age/race/gender through to bullying or harassment in the workplace. There is a problem with regards those who have left the employment where the bullying/harassment took place. These issues make it less than an ideal data source for the analysis of workplace bullying, however, at the same time, it provides other useful information that is not possible to explore in the 2007 SEW. The analysis of the 2005 EWCS is restricted to Chapter 4 and not pursued throughout the study. In 2003, the ESRI carried out the *Changing Workplaces Survey of Employees* (and also of employers; see O'Connell *et al.* 2004) for the National Centre for Partnership and Performance.[41] Analysis of this survey is also restricted to Chapter 4 and it provides additional analysis with regards work organisation and practices not measured in the main survey.

3.5.4 Causation or association?

As a final note to this chapter, the study recognises the difference between causality and association. In general, it is recognised that the analysis, especially given the cross-sectional design of the survey, at best presents an analysis of association. As well as presenting descriptive statistics, the analysis adopts multivariate techniques. While trying to avoid definite causal statements, the terminology of "effects" is used. This is done with caution and it is realised that true "effects" may be more easily established using a longitudinal survey design.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides a context for the current study and considers the field of employment studies, approaches to sensitive research, as well as the main traditions in the field of workplace bullying. It is argued that while qualitative research is able to provide detailed information as to the processes of bullying and gain in-depth knowledge about the experiences of bullying, the present study's use of a nationally representative survey is the best approach to answer the main research questions of this thesis. This study stresses the importance of considering macro-level institutions in shaping the experiences of work in

[41] This was a random nationally representative survey of over 5000 employees and had a response rate of 46%.

contemporary workplaces, with implications for the prevalence (and outcomes) of reported workplace bullying and the survey data provides detailed information of a range of important job, organisational and sectoral characteristics. This chapter has also provided information as to the survey design and main variables used in the analysis. Limitations with regards the survey and suggestions for future research will be discussed in the conclusion.

Chapter 4 The State of Employment

A recent book prefixed *The Best of Times?* explored the impact of the boom on Ireland's economy and society (Fahey *et al.* 2007). The growing numbers at work since the early 1990s, with practically near full employment up to the very recent period, certainly represents a considerable transformation of the Irish economy. However, at the same time, researchers have been concerned to critically investigate the "miracle" and assess the type, nature and implications of the employment growth: for example, issues relating to skills, job quality and job intensification (O'Connell & Russell, 2007), work-life conflict (Fine-Davis *et al.* 2004; Russell *et al.* 2009), and "high performance" work practices (Roche, 2007). Thus the "changing workplace" has been a significant focus for research in Ireland. The current study considers how sectoral patterns in terms of job, organisational and labour market characteristics may have implications for the prevalence of reported workplace bullying. In order to provide necessary context for the study, this chapter presents descriptive analysis, drawing primarily on the 2007 SEW, on the main contours and developments in the Irish labour market. In particular, the analysis focuses on the sectoral patterns relating to organisational and job change, as well as the labour market characteristics which structure the opportunities for mobility and employee voice.

4.1 Reality and rhetoric of the "flexible" worker

In the context of rapid technological change and growing economic globalisation and competitive pressures, "flexibility" has been the focus of much research in recent decades, as outlined in Chapter 2. These debates are as relevant for Ireland as elsewhere. It is argued that job and organisational change, for example, in terms of job intensification and changes to work organisation have salience for the prevalence of workplace bullying. In addition, marginal or precariously employed workers may be more vulnerable to negative behaviours in the workplace. At the same time, this study is

concerned with addressing the sectoral patterns, in an effort to understand the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector, which may relate not only to job and organisational factors, but also to the different institutional characteristics of the public and private sector labour markets.

4.1.1 From the field to the filing cabinet: main labour market trends

The general sectoral shifts highlighted in Chapter 2 are reflected in the current dataset (Table 4.1). In 2007, industry (manufacturing and construction) made up just under 30% of the workforce, with services accounting for around two thirds and the remaining percentage represented by agriculture. We can see therefore that Ireland's predominantly agricultural economy has been replaced by a service economy. As Chapter 2 outlined, the growth in Ireland's public sector has been driven by the health and education sectors, however, this was from a very low base.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of the Irish workforce

(2007, employees and self-employed)

Economic Sector	% (weighted)
Agriculture	4.3
Traditional manufacturing	7.6
Hi-tech manufacturing	8.7
Construction	12.9
Wholesale/retail	14.4
Business services	9.4
Transport & Communications	6.1
Financial Services	4.4
Public Administration	5.4
Personal Services/other	9.6
Education	7.0
Health & Social Work	10.4
N (weighted)	3477

Concomitant with this service sector growth has been an occupational shift, specifically the growth in "white collar" work. In Ireland, taking white collar to encompass higher professional, lower professional and other non-manual, the current data indicates that white collar work made up nearly 60% of employees in 2007 (Table 4.2).[42] Ireland has seen the rapid rise in female labour market participation, from 34% in the late 1980s to nearly 55% in 2007 (Source:

[42] Unless otherwise stated, all tables and figures refer to 2007 SEW employees only herein. All percentages and cases for the descriptive analysis are weighted. Total number of cases will vary owing to missing values.

CSO).[43] The current survey indicates that females are disproportionately employed in the other non-manual category (approximately 30% females compared to 15% males) which includes jobs of a clerical nature. In terms of "blue collar" employment, females are also disproportionately employed in semi-skilled manual jobs (approximately 30% to 20%), which includes retail and sales.[44]

Table 4.2 General characteristics of Irish employees (2007) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Employment contract			
Permanent	80.2	84.6	82.5
Temporary	14.1	11.6	12.8
Casual	5.7	3.7	4.7
Hours of work			
Full-time	66.1	91.0	79.1
Part-time	33.9	9.0	20.9
Social class			
Higher Professional	9.7	17.3	13.7
Lower Professional	25.1	17.2	21.0
Other Non Manual	30.7	15.1	22.5
Skilled manual	0.9	20.3	11.1
Semi-skilled manual	29.2	19.2	24.0
Unskilled manual	4.3	11.0	7.8
Education			
Tertiary	51.6	42.4	46.8
Upper secondary	29.2	29.7	29.5
Lower secondary/less	19.2	27.9	23.7
Sector			
Private sector	63.3	74.8	69.3
Public sector	36.7	25.2	30.7
N	1434	1565	3006

Notes
1. All gender differences are statistically significant.

Females are also more likely to be employed in lower professional jobs, highlighting the "feminisation" of jobs such as nursing and teaching (mainly public sector employment). With the high percentage of the workforce

[43] This figure is based on the ILO definition of employment.
[44] Table 4.2 also shows the public/private sector ratio and the figure for public sector employment is more than the 17% reported by the OECD (2008), which drew on the CSO *Earning and Employment* series. However, these figures are based on full-time equivalents and so underestimate actual numbers in employment (but facilitate comparisons with other European countries, for example). In addition, the OECD figures represent the percentage of the total workforce, whereas the analysis here concerns employees only. Nonetheless, the CSO was contacted in relation to these estimates for public sector employment. Despite being asked in the *Quarterly National Household Survey*, the public sector employment figures are not released as they are not felt to be reliable. As a check, the NACE codes were compared against the public sector variable. As long as those reporting bullying do not *systematically* mistakenly report their sector, this should not present a major problem for the analysis.

educated to degree level, the current data reflects Ireland's "education revolution": the female workforce in particular is an educated one, with a higher proportion with a third level qualification.

4.1.2 Part-time and precarious?

"More and better jobs" has been a European policy goal since at least the 2000 Lisbon Agenda, with increasing female labour market participation a particular focus. The growth in non-standard forms of employment has been a key facilitator of increasing female employment; however, while a rising number of females increasingly leave the home and enter the labour force, Europe still differs in terms of the extent of female engagement with work. The largely male breadwinner model of Germany (with females working part-time, if at all) contrasts with the long part-time hours for both males and females in The Netherlands. While part-time work can alleviate experiences of work-life conflict and potentially contribute to a more "harmonious" balance of paid and unpaid work within the household, much research focuses on the negative implications of part-time work, in terms of precariousness, wage penalties, and over-education as outlined in Chapter 2.

Analysis of the current dataset (Table 4.2) shows that around 20% of the Irish workforce works part-time, with around a third of females engaged in part-time employment.[45] This compares well with other data sources, for example, the *Labour Force Survey/Quarterly National Household Survey*[46], which can provide information on patterns over time. This alternative data source shows that the female part-time rate was around 23% in 1997, rising to just under a third in 2007, therefore representing a significant increase over the period of one decade. As Chapter 2 has highlighted, part-time employment may not necessary indicate contingency, precarious or "unwanted" employment (Doogan, 2001). However, the current data source does indicate that part-time workers have a higher risk of being employed on non-standard contracts: nearly 40%, compared to around 12% of full-timers (Figure 4.1). This general pattern holds true for both the public and private sector (analysis not shown).

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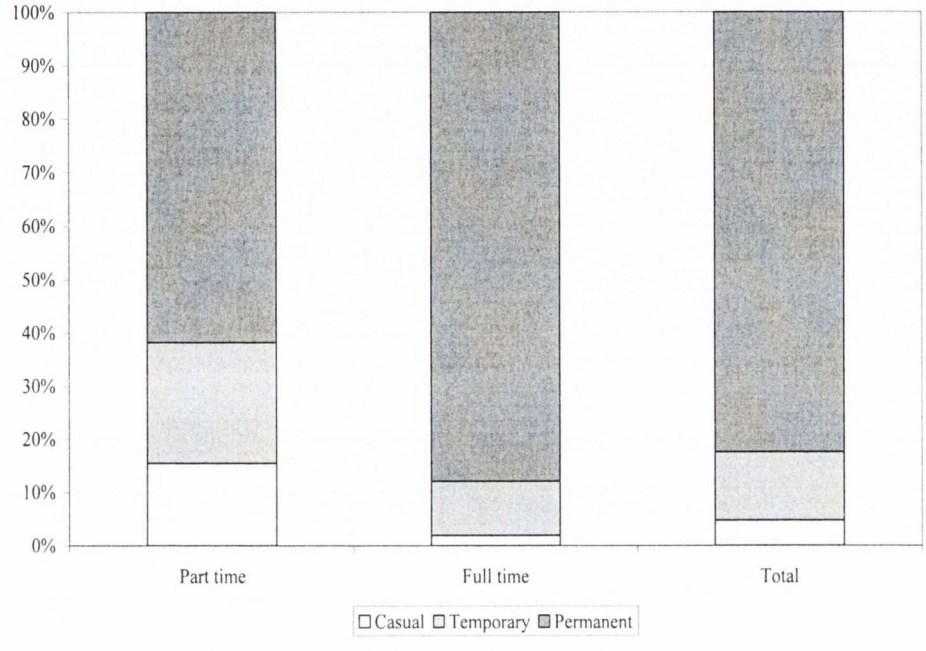
[45] Here, part-time work is defined as 30 hours or less per week.

[46] In Ireland, the *Labour Force Survey* (LFS) was replaced in 1998 by the *Quarterly National Household Survey* (QNHS). For clarity, this data source is referred to as *QNHS* when referring to Ireland (including pre-1998), and *Eurostat*, when referring to data for other European countries, as this is the point of access for allowing easy comparison with the rest of the EU.

This suggests that part-time employment does potentially reflect more vulnerable employment in terms of employment contract.

Figure 4.1 Distribution of employment contract by hours of work (%)[47]



Other aspects of the quality of part-time jobs can be explored using the indicator job satisfaction. Overall, the present dataset suggests little difference in terms of job satisfaction between part-timers and full-timers (Table 4.3). One would expect job satisfaction to strongly decline with *involuntary* part-time work; however, the current dataset does not provide a measure for this. However, overall female part-timers in Ireland seem more satisfied than male part-timers, which appears to be driven by the private sector in particular. Both female and male part-timers in the public sector have quite high job satisfaction (as seen in the public sector overall) which could relate to the better terms and conditions in this sector (Wickham *et al.* 2008). The higher job satisfaction of females relative to males has been addressed in the literature, with research suggesting lower expectations (Clark, 1997); however amongst part-timers here it may refer to involuntary male part-time employment.

[47] Unless otherwise stated, all tables and figures from this point onwards refer to *employees* only, using the 2007 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace data.

Table 4.3 Job satisfaction of part-time employees, by gender and sector (%)

'In general, I am satisfied with my job'

	Public sector		Private sector		Total	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
strongly agree	34.6	38.9	24.5	12.9	27.6	19.9
agree	60.9	47.2	64.4	73.3	63.6	66.9
disagree	3.2	11.1	10.8	13.9	8.1	12.5
strongly disagree	1.3	2.8	0.3	0.0	0.6	0.7
Total N	156	36	306	101	467	136

Notes
1 The total N may not add up exactly owing to missing values.

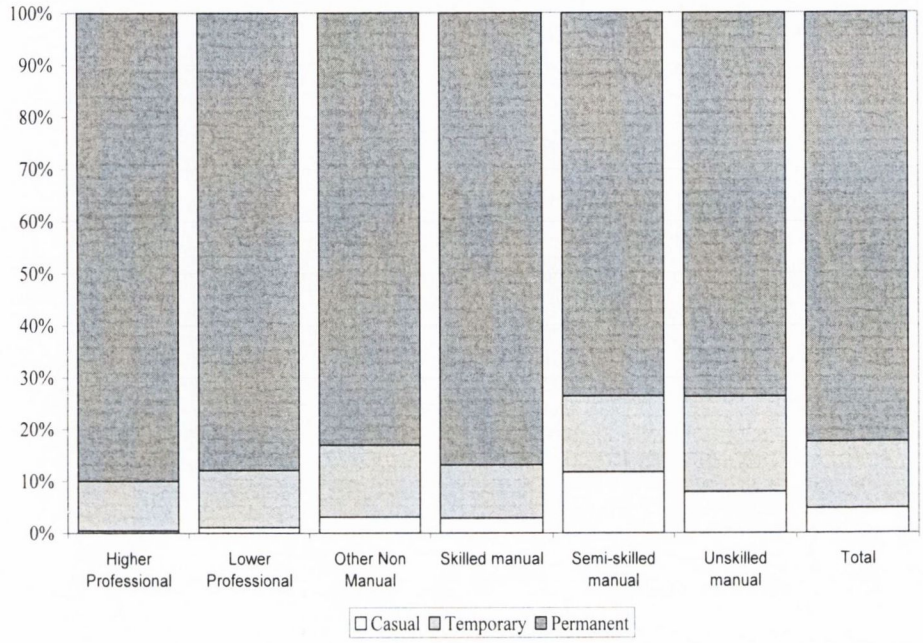
4.1.3 A state of insecurity? The prevalence of temporary employment

The QNHS suggests that in the period between 1997 and 2007, rates of temporary employment actually fell from nearly 10% to under 4%. However, in 2008, the QNHS reported that temporary employment stood at 8.5% (Source: *Central Statistics Office*. The current data source indicates a higher prevalence of fixed-term contracts owing to possible definitional issues[48] and the fact that the QNHS figures include the self-employed. Analysis of the 2003 CWS reveal a similarly high level of non-permanent employment as the current data source (not shown). As Table 4.2 indicates, 17.5% of employees are employed in non-standard employment, with females slightly more likely than males to be employed on temporary/casual contracts (20% compared to 15%: Table 4.2).

The current data source clearly shows a strong relationship between social class and the risk of non-standard employment: "blue collar" workers clearly have a higher likelihood of non-standard employment than "white collar" professionals (Figure 4.2), suggesting that workers with high levels of skill are less likely to report precarious, and potentially vulnerable, employment.

[48] The QNHS asks "Is the job a permanent one (leaving aside your own intentions)?"

Figure 4.2 Distribution of non-standard employment, by social class (%)



Younger employees are more likely to be employed on non-permanent contracts (around 22% of those aged 24 or under are employed on fixed-term contracts with around 15% employed on casual contracts: Table 4.4). While the risk falls as age increases, around 15% of 25-34 year olds are employed on non-standard contracts.[49]

We can see from the analysis presented in Table 4.4 that Ireland's public sector is not immune to the growing "informalisation" of employment (Beck, 2000). Confirming Conley's (2002) "state of insecurity" thesis for the UK, we find a similar story in Ireland, with a considerable proportion (approximately 20%) of public sector workers employed on temporary or casual contracts. However, this is partly owing to the nature of employment protection legislation in Ireland, with little need for Irish private sector employers to create this category of contract for workers, since they are relatively "disposable", unlike other countries, for example, Germany. The education and health sectors are primarily driving this higher prevalence of temporary contracts in the public sector (analysis not shown). While it is mainly younger employees employed in non-standard contracts in both sectors, around 24% of those aged between 25

[49] Some of the high levels of the younger age group may be owing to those in education and in employment, associated with the growth of "learner-earners" (McInnis, 2004).

and 34 years old working in the public sector are also employed on temporary contracts (compared to around 12% in the private sector: Table 4.4). As discussed, the literature has debated the "bridging" or "trapping" nature of temporary employment and it appears that the "bridge" in the public sector may be slightly longer than the private sector (although this is based on cross-sectional evidence only).

Table 4.4 Employment contract, by age and sector (%)

	18-24 yrs	25-34 yrs	35-44 yrs	45-54 yrs	55 plus yrs	Total
Private sector						
Permanent	65.3	88.2	88.5	89.8	87.5	83.4
Temporary	20.0	9.6	8.0	8.4	8.0	11.0
Casual	14.7	2.2	3.5	1.8	4.5	5.5
Public sector						
Permanent	55.4	76.5	81.7	84.1	90.1	80.3
Temporary	27.7	20.8	16.4	14.4	8.3	16.7
Casual	16.9	2.7	1.8	1.5	1.7	3.0
Total						
Permanent	64.2	85.1	85.9	86.9	88.7	82.4
Temporary	21.1	12.6	10.8	11.3	8.0	12.8
Casual	14.7	2.3	3.3	1.8	3.3	4.8

4.1.4 Job quality: change for the better?

Another aspect of job change and job quality concerns the impact of technological development on skills, with the focus on trends in "task discretion" (Gallie, 2007b) and autonomy at work. Respondents were directly asked the extent to which they had *more control* over their work than one year ago. This question was also asked in the previous survey wave (2001) and so we are able to see aggregate changes over time. The percentage in agreement substantially increased from the previous wave of the survey, with the proportion "strongly agreeing" nearly doubling from around 8% in 2001 to around 16% in 2007 (analysis not shown). It appears that in 2007, a higher proportion of Irish workers enjoy greater autonomy at work than in 2001, which could reflect a more educated workforce able to utilise their skills in the workplace.[50] However, this trend in job control may not be evenly distributed across the workforce. Further patterns in autonomy will be investigated using

[50] "More control" than one year ago could potentially reflect the increasing work experience of the respondent, however, the aggregate increases over time are still notable.

the task discretion index, which reflects the extent to which workers can control their daily tasks, pace and breaks.

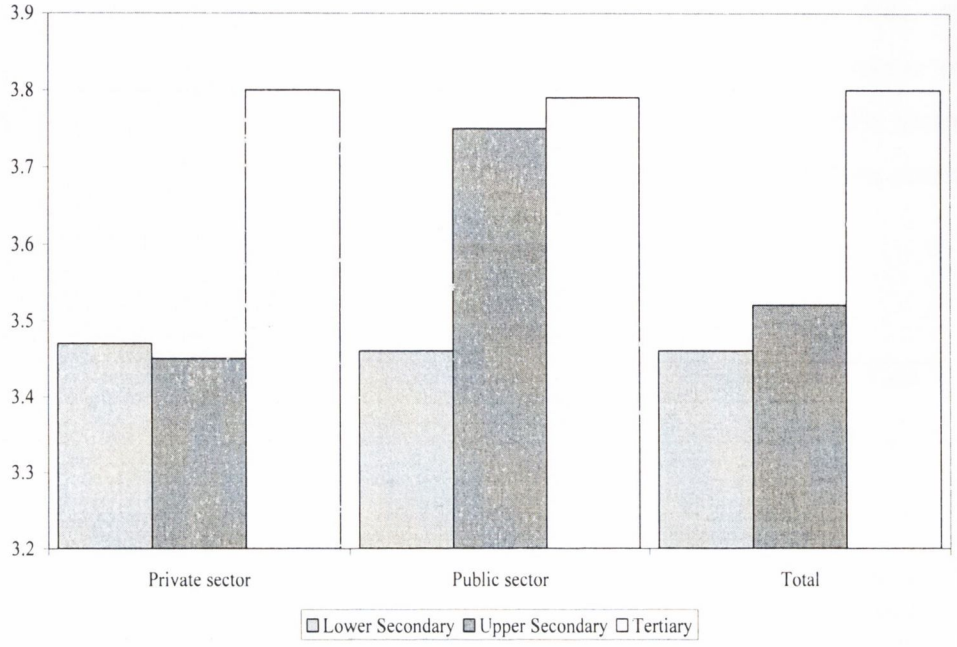
Table 4.5 Job quality indicators

	Autonomy (1-5) Mean scores
Sector	
Private sector	3.61
Public sector	3.71
Employment contract	
Permanent	3.74
Temporary/contract	3.15
Casual	3.16
Social Class	
Higher Professional	4.06
Lower Professional	3.95
Other Non Manual	3.64
Skilled manual	3.37
Semi-skilled manual	3.34
Unskilled manual	3.36
Education	
Tertiary	3.79
Upper secondary	3.52
Lower secondary/less	3.46
Total	3.64

Notes
1. Autonomy is a 3-item composite scale, with values from 1 to 5. Higher values indicate higher autonomy. For further details, please see Chapter 3.

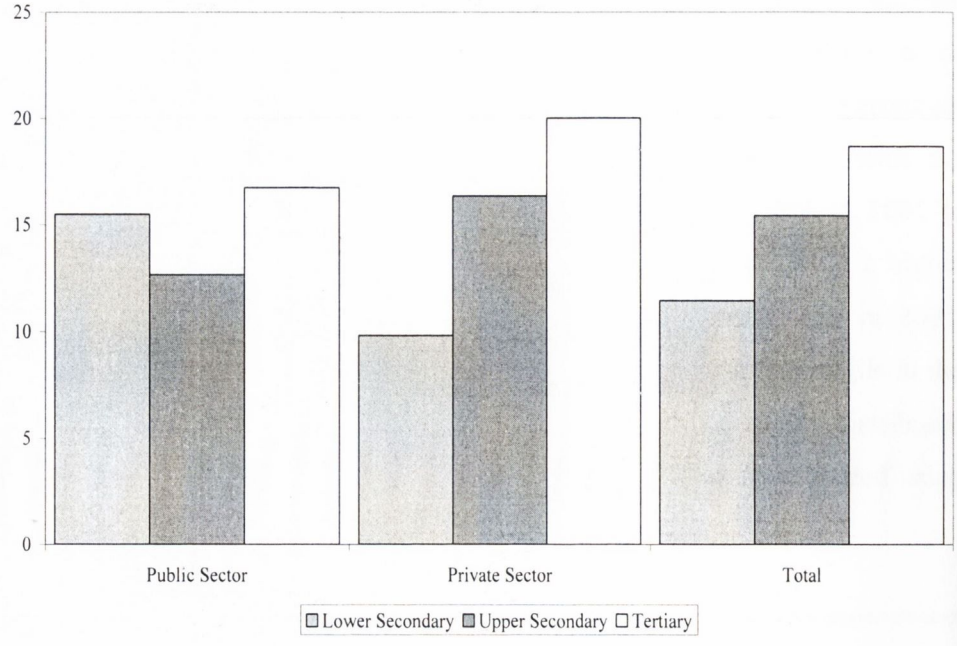
Table 4.5 illustrates clear "hierarchical" patterns, with higher and lower professionals reporting above average task discretion than non-professionals as well as task discretion strongly increasing with educational attainment. We can also see that task discretion is higher in the public sector, confirming previous research in Ireland (O'Connell *et al.* 2004). However, there are notable differences within the sectors with regards education. As Figure 4.3 illustrates, those with upper secondary qualifications in the public sector experience more autonomy (task discretion) than their counterparts in the private sector of a similar educational background, thus we can surmise that workers "in the middle" in the public sector are more privileged in terms of autonomy than those in the private sector.

Figure 4.3 Task discretion, by education and by sector (mean score)



Investigating this further using the "more control" indicator, differential patterns again emerge when the sectors are considered separately: the clear step pattern is evident only for private sector workers, whereas the difference between educational background and reporting more control over work is not statistically significant in the public sector (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Increased control over work, by education and by sector (%)
(Percentage strongly agreeing)



This section has briefly outlined the main sectoral and occupational shifts in the Irish labour market. It considered the spread of non-standard employment, as well as trends in job quality, for example job autonomy. These issues may be salient in terms of workplace bullying, for example, with marginal workers or those with low job autonomy potentially more exposed to inappropriate behaviours in the workplace. However, it appears from this descriptive analysis that public sector workers appear to be relatively more privileged in terms of job autonomy, although non-standard employment is a feature of the Irish public sector in the contemporary period: these factors will explored further in the following chapter. The apparently pressurised public sector has also been cited as a possible reason for higher rates of workplace bullying and the trend of public sector change will be investigated in the next section.

4.2 A new pressurised public sector? Assessing "new public management" in Ireland

As discussed in Chapter 2, particular changes have been implemented in the public sector, commonly discussed under the heading of "new public management". Under this agenda for reform, the public sector is incited to become more like its private sector counterpart in order to meet the needs of a contemporary society and recognise the current economic "reality" of decreasing government (and public) appetite for state expenditure. This is something of a conundrum in Irish society, as it appears that the majority also want good public services ("You get what you vote for", Fintan O'Toole, Irish Times, 14th August 2007). As already mentioned, some of the changes that are said to have occurred include the increasing diversity of contract type and growing market exposure for employees. While there is a plethora of consultancy-led research on Ireland's public sector, arguably *critical* academic debate on the subject of new public management is more silent in Ireland than the UK (e.g., Exworthy & Halford, 1999; Hebson *et al.* 2003). This silence is even starker, given the relentless media and political focus on Ireland's public sector, in the wake of the global financial crisis. As a matter of urgency, the public sector is incited to reform, downsize, and take pay cuts in a bid to decrease government spending after irresponsible private sector banking practices were brought to public attention. In this context, public sector pay has come to the forefront, as detailed in Chapter 2. These debates largely ignore the

available evidence, such as that presented by the 2008 OECD report on the status of Ireland's public sector "modernisation" project, which concludes that Ireland had implemented many key changes in recent years.

Previous research in Ireland attests that public sector workers are more likely to report organisational change than those in the private sector (O'Connell *et al.* 2004). The current data can illuminate sectoral patterns in Irish workplaces in terms of the extent of change and restructuring using more recent data: to what extent have the goals of the new public management agenda (that were nominally part of the first round of pay awards), including restructuring, reorganisation and increased flexibility, been introduced?

4.2.1 All change?

As Table 4.6 illustrates, well over a third of employees report a new manager or supervisor, and a similar proportion also report the introduction of new technology over the past year. Over a quarter of employees report reorganisation of the company they work for (breaking this down, less than 10% report a change in the ownership of their organisation, which suggests that a merger or acquisition has taken place). For many employees therefore, quite substantial workplace change has occurred over the last year. While it appears that change is a consistent feature of many Irish workplaces, the data does not show an overall increase from the previous survey in 2001 (analysis not shown).

Table 4.6 Patterns in organisational change (%)

	New manager	Reorganisation/ change in ownership	New technology
Total	33.4	27.4	33.8
Sector			
Public sector	33.3	27.9	33.0
Private sector	33.3	26.0	35.0
Economic Sectors			
Agriculture	24.6	28.0	15.8
Traditional manufacturing	33.5	35.3	40.8
Hi-tech manufacturing	39.0	31.3	45.6
Construction	17.5	18.5	15.2
Wholesale/retail	34.7	26.2	36.2
Business services	34.6	28.2	33.7
Transport & Communications	40.1	45.8	40.7
Financial Services	55.3	40.0	44.6
Public Administration	38.4	28.8	41.4
Personal Services/other	34.7	23.0	27.4
Education	25.8	17.7	28.7
Health & Social Work	30.1	25.4	29.5

However, as Table 4.6 shows, we do not see the much higher anticipated rates of organisational change in the public sector than the private sector (as one would expect, private sector workers are more likely to report a change in the ownership in the firm: analysis not shown). In terms of economic sectors, financial services and transport/communications lie at the forefront of restructuring, as well as technological change. Unsurprisingly, workers in the hi-tech manufacturing sector are most likely to report the introduction of substantial new technological change over the previous year.

The divergence from previous research may be due to the fact that the earlier period reflected a time of greater change in the public sector, which by 2007 had largely "settled down" or become "normalised" and thus no longer reported by workers. Analysis of the 2001 SEW also reveals higher rates of organisational change among public sector workers in terms of new technology and slightly higher rates of the appointment of a new manager and reorganisation/restructuring, confirming other Irish research.

Table 4.7 Patterns in job intensification

	Job intensification (1-4) Mean score
Sector	
Private sector	2.49
Public sector	2.51
Economic Sector	
Agriculture	2.31
Traditional manufacturing	2.48
Hi-tech manufacturing	2.56
Construction	2.46
Wholesale/retail	2.45
Business services	2.55
Transport & Communications	2.58
Financial Services	2.63
Public Administration	2.62
Personal Services/other	2.42
Education	2.44
Health & Social Work	2.49
Employment contract	
Permanent	2.52
Temporary/contract	2.46
Casual	2.29
Social Class	
Higher Professional	2.64
Lower Professional	2.58
Other Non Manual	2.53
Skilled manual	2.38
Semi-skilled manual	2.43
Unskilled manual	2.32
Educational	
Tertiary	2.58
Upper secondary	2.45
Lower secondary/less	2.39
Total	2.50

Notes
1. Job intensification is a 3-item composite scale, with values from 1 to 4. Higher values indicate higher intensity. For further details, please see Chapter 3.

4.2.2 Doing more with less? Patterns in job demands

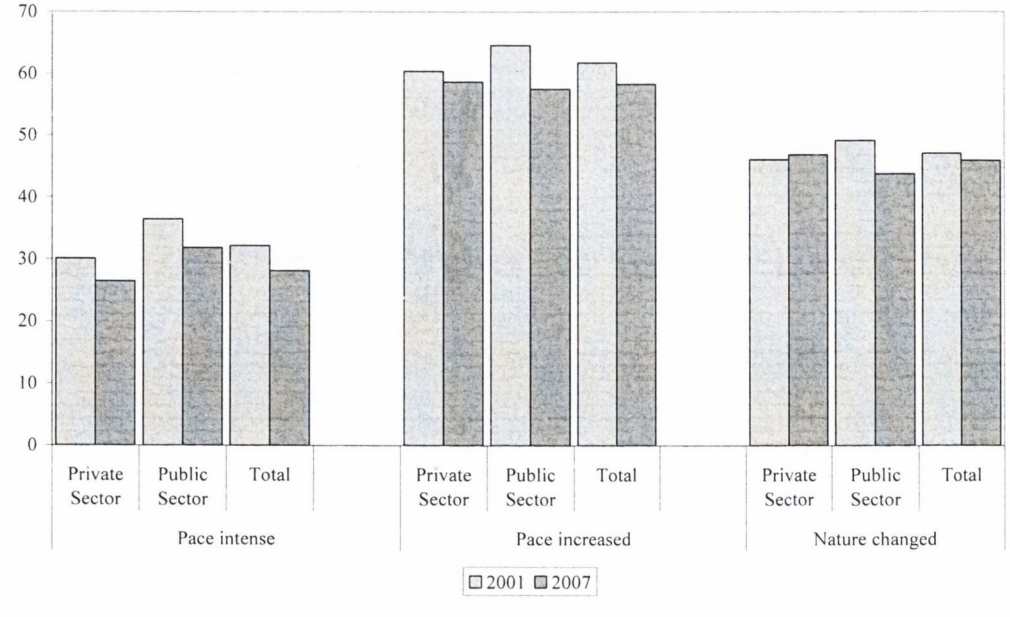
The survey also measures aspects of job demands, capturing change (an increasing pace and the changing nature of the job) as well as current intensity. As already outlined in Chapter 3, it is possible to combine the job intensification indicators into a scale, where higher values indicate greater "job intensification".[51] Table 4.7 shows the clear step patterns for educational level and experiences of job intensification: those with higher education are more likely to report higher levels of job intensification, in keeping with the greater

[51] Please see Chapter 3 for problems with this scale.

job demands of professional positions. Likewise, permanent workers are more likely to report higher levels of job intensification. The analysis is not shown here, but workers reporting organisational change also claim higher levels of job intensification, across all indicators of change measured in the survey. In 2007, around 45% of employees report that the nature of the job had changed over the previous year, with nearly 60% reporting that the pace had increased over the past year, and just under 30% reporting the pace of their current job being too intense. These figures do not differ greatly from the previous wave of the survey in 2001, suggesting that the percentage of workers reporting job intensification appears to be relatively stable over time (see also O'Connell & Russell, 2007).

The recent OECD report claimed that Irish public sector workers were effectively "doing more with less", given the high levels of immigration and rapid social change. We can see that in 2007, public sector workers score only slightly higher in terms of job intensification than private sector workers. The scale can be broken down to the constituent indicators to investigate changes over time and by sector (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 Changes in job intensification over time (2001 & 2007 employees) (%)
(Percentage agreeing/strongly agreeing)



Notes
1. Source: 2001 and 2007 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace.

Breaking down the job intensification index reveals slightly different patterns between the sectors. In 2007, public sector workers are significantly more likely to report that the pace of their job is "too intense", compared to private sector workers (32% vs. 27%; $p<0.01$). Private sector workers are slightly more likely to report that the nature of their jobs has changed over the past year (47% vs. 43%; this difference is not statistically significant: $p=0.124$); this measure best suggests job change rather than intensity *per se*, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In 2001, public sector workers reported higher levels on *all* measures. These findings could again reflect the greater extent of change around this time, with reforms creating additional job demands and pressures. However, once again, by the time of the current survey, these changes had largely subsided. However, the 2007 data does indicate that public sector workers are more likely to report the pace of their current jobs as "too intense". Furthermore, previous research has found that Irish public sector are workers are less willing to accept change which we must take into account in understanding the impact of the new work practices and work organisation (O'Connell *et al.* 2004).

4.2.3 "High performance": the private sector vanguard?

"High performance" work practices, emblematic of the efficient and erudite private sector, are argued to offer workers increased autonomy at work, opportunities for participation, including quality circles and work groups, as well as financial participation. Team working is a core aspect of the "high performance" workplace. The present survey did not set out to specifically measure the prevalence of these practices. However, information concerning a formal appraisal system is collected, which has been noted as a key feature of both the high performance workplace, as well as an integral element of the "modernisation" of the public sector, tied into the national pay agreements. Just over half of all workers report that they participate in a formal review process (Table 4.8) and this is strongly related to educational level, with workers with third level qualifications more likely to report a formal appraisal. Such practices have been linked to both increased autonomy and, at the same time, greater job intensification for workers, as detailed in Chapter 2.

Table 4.8 Appraisals in the workplace (%)

	%
Employment contract	
Permanent	55.9
Temporary	48.2
Casual	22.0
Social class	
Higher Professional	72.9
Lower Professional	58.8
Other Non Manual	60.5
Skilled manual	35.4
Semi-skilled manual	49.2
Unskilled manual	21.6
Education	
Tertiary	63.1
Upper secondary	49.9
Lower secondary	37.6
Sector	
Private sector	51.6
Public sector	57.0
Total	53.4

Just under 58% of public sector workers report having a formal appraisal system, compared to just over 51% of private sector workers. The high public sector figure is mainly driven by public administration, which has seen the nearly full roll out of PMDS. Looking across economic sectors (analysis not shown), nearly three quarters of workers in public administration are subject to some sort of formal appraisal system. Hi-tech manufacturing is equally as high (unlike traditional manufacturing, which is around 44%), along with the financial and business sectors. The construction sector has the lowest rate, with only around a quarter of workers reporting some sort of performance review.

The current data is limited in terms of the other types of practices associated with high performance work organisation. However, the 2003 CWS allows analysis of how formal appraisals correlate with other "high performance" practices.[52] As well as collecting information on performance reviews, this survey asks Irish employees whether their workplace uses a system of profit sharing/share purchases, performance-related pay as well as quality circles or work groups. We would expect these practices to be much more evident in the

[52] These measures refer to practices at the organisational-level rather than practices the individual respondent participates in. The question regarding work organisation relates to the existence of work teams, problems solving groups, project groups, quality circles, or continuous improvement programs or groups (please see O'Connell *et al.* 2004).

private sector than the public sector and the correlations between these items to be weaker in the public sector. Table 4.9 reveals this to be the case. However quality circles/work groups appear to be more prevalent in the public sector than the private sector.

Table 4.9 High performance work practices
(2003 Changing Workplaces Survey, employees only)

	Prevalence %		Correlations (with performance review)	
	Public sector	Private sector	Public sector	Private sector
Performance reviews	50.9	47.9	1.0	1.0
Profit sharing/share options	6.0	18.7	.088***	.335***
Performance related pay	10.5	28.1	.188***	.399***
Quality circles/work teams	52.5	38.6	.109***	.361***

Notes
1. Source: 2003 CWS
2. *** indicates that correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

While formal appraisals and team working are well-established in the public sector, as one would expect the private sector's "bundle" of practices (MacDuffie, 1995) also includes financial participation. Part of the high performance workplace includes the shift towards "delayering": removing layers of hierarchy in order for workers to self-manage in teams. We can explore this using the *European Working Conditions Survey* which provides valuable information relating to the dynamics of team working in contemporary workplaces.

Table 4.10 Team working in Irish workplaces (%)
(2005 European Working Conditions Survey, employees only)

	Public sector	Private sector	Total
Team working	69.8	67.3	68.2
Division of tasks decided by team	58.9	51.8	54.4
Head decided by team	34.0	34.5	34.4

Notes
1. Source: EWCS 2005

According to this source, nearly 70% of employees in Ireland report working in teams, for all or part of their work (Table 4.10). Public sector employees appear to be as likely to work in teams as their private sector counterparts, which is quite surprising in light of the apparently bureaucratic public sector. However, while a majority work in teams, only a third decide on the team leader themselves, thus suggesting that autonomy may be limited. This analysis

provides insights into contemporary work practices, and possible sectoral differences, which have potential implications for workplace bullying, in terms of the possibilities of conflict amongst co-workers and increasing job demands. However, the current survey does not provide a direct measure of team working and only records information relating to appraisals or performance reviews. This limitation will be discussed in the final conclusion to the thesis.

4.3 Worker mobility: who moves?

The current data provides a number of indicators of worker mobility. It is important to contextualise the data here in terms of the relatively full employment situation at the time of data collection: one would expect that job transitions are strongly related to the unemployment rate, which has since risen strongly. It is argued that different opportunities for mobility and sectoral differences may influence the ways in which public and private sector workers respond to inappropriate behaviour in the workplace.

Confirming other Irish research, there are different mobility patterns for public and private sector workers (Bergin, 2009). The current data source shows that a greater proportion of employees in the private sector have had more than one job in the previous three years: 33% compared to 25% in the public sector (Table 4.11). There are strong economic sectoral patterns in terms of turnover, with the most mobility in the private sector amongst personal services and construction workers. As might be expected (analysis not shown) personal characteristics are important: younger workers are more likely to have had more than one job in the last three years, while workers with children are less likely (where possible, individual characteristics will be taken into account in Chapter 6 which formally explores exit). Those with higher education levels move around more than those who have only completed secondary school.

Table 4.11 Turnover in Irish workplaces (%)

	More than 1 job in last 3 years
Sector	
Public sector	24.9
Private sector	32.5
Economic Sectors	
Agriculture	15.8
Traditional manufacturing	22.7
Hi-tech manufacturing	29.2
Construction	41.6
Wholesale/retail	33.6
Business services	39.5
Transport & Communications	22.5
Financial Services	23.7
Public Administration	13.6
Personal Services/other	37.3
Education	24.6
Health & Social Work	30.6
Employment contract	
Permanent	24.6
Temporary/contract	56.6
Casual	60.9
Education	
Tertiary	35.9
Upper secondary	28.1
Lower secondary/less	21.3
Total	30.3

Permanent workers are less likely to have had more than one job in the last three years than workers employed on temporary contracts. There are sectoral differences, with the turnover rate for permanent workers in the private sector nearly double that of their permanent counterparts in the public sector (Table 4.12). However, workers employed on temporary contracts in the public sector do not appear to differ from their private sector counterparts in terms of turnover. This suggests that temporary workers in the public sector are as mobile as their private sector counterparts.

There is also a clear difference between public and private sector employees regarding the length of tenure. On average, private sector workers have a shorter tenure than public sector workers: 7 years compared to 10 years (Table 4.12). This differential is maintained throughout the age distribution, although as would be expected, is minimised for younger workers: 5.4 years compared to 4.8 years for workers aged between 26 and 35 (analysis not shown).

Table 4.12 Mobility patterns (2007 employees)

	Public sector	Private sector	Total
Tenure (yrs)	10.6	7.0	8.1
More than one 1 job in last 3 yrs	%	%	%
Permanent	16.7	27.8	24.6
Temporary/casual	58.1	57.7	57.7

Notes
1. Temporary and casual categories have been collapsed owing to low cell count in the public sector.

The data provides information about other types of "mobility", namely, promotion, demotion and transfer. Interestingly, there is no statistically significant relationship between these indicators and sector: private sector workers are not more likely to report being promoted, demoted or involuntarily transferred than their public sector counterparts (analysis not shown).[53] It is important to note that public sector workers are not more likely to be transferred than private sector workers, as this may have been one mechanism to "exit" the workplace, with less of a negative impact on accrued benefits (although the transfer measure here refers to *involuntary* moves). Exit will be considered in more depth in Chapter 6.

4.3.1 Occupational glue: skills and opportunities for movement

The extent to which employees have organisationally versus occupationally specific skills may also potentially influence their ability to move jobs. The present data source does not provide a measure of occupationally specific skills, however, it is possible to draw on the 2003 CWS survey which collects information on training within the past two years: this is not ideal but provides an indication of how "mobile" respondents perceive the training to be, in terms of usefulness of current job and in getting another job with another employer.

Public sector workers are overall more likely to receive training than private sector workers (Table 4.13). However, we can also see from Table 4.13 that of those who received training within last two years, public sector workers are much more likely to report that it is useful in their *current* job only. This

[53] These relationships will not be formally tested in Chapter 5 as they may have happened before or after the onset of the bullying and longitudinal data would be necessary to unpick this relationship. Promotion, demotion and transfer will be explored in Chapter 7 which addresses the outcomes of workplace bullying as these may partly contribute to the negative associations of bullying and job satisfaction/subjective well-being.

perceived lack of transferable skills therefore presents a possible explanation for the apparent rigidity expressed by the recent OECD report in terms of the public sector labour market. This provides another dimension to consider when addressing mobility in addition to job characteristics. such as job security, pension provision and pay. Unfortunately, since this measure of occupational mobility is not measured in the 2007 SEW, the expectation cannot be tested: this will be taken up again in the conclusion to the study.

Table 4.13 Training prevalence (%)

(2003 Changing Workplaces Survey, employees only)

	Public sector	Private sector	Total
Received training	59.4	44.5	47.9
Of use in current job only	31.2	16.4	20.6
Of use in getting another job	68.8	83.6	79.4

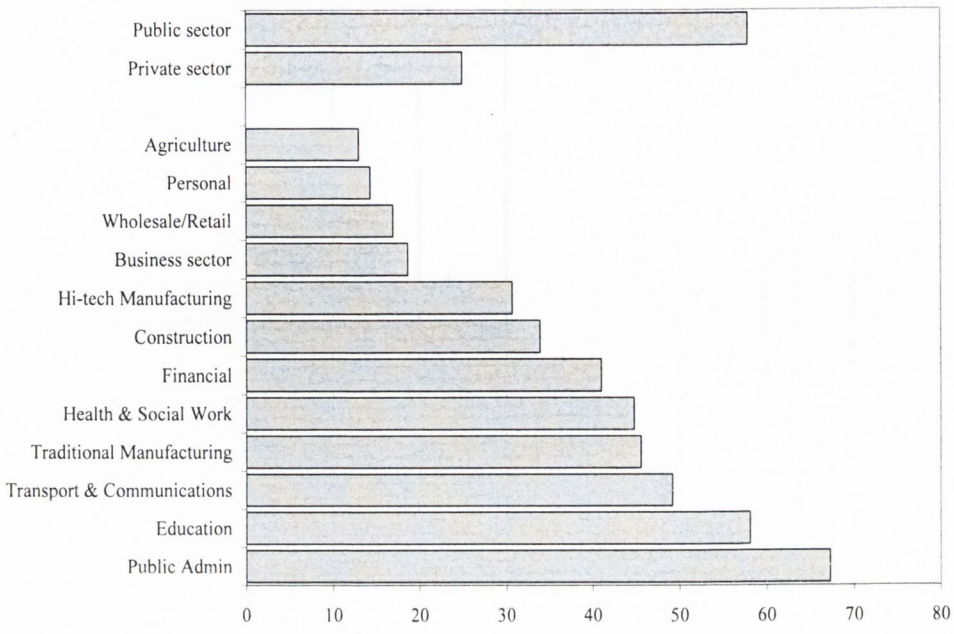
Notes

1. Source: 2003 Changing Workplaces Survey

4.4 Workplaces of discontent: the role of employee voice

Employee voice has been linked to trade union recognition and density within a sector or workplace. Analysis of the current dataset reveals a notable difference between the sectors in terms of trade union membership (Figure 4.6). Well over half of public sector employees a member of a trade union, compared to under a quarter of private sector workers: the average private sector rate masks large disparities by contract type, with only 6% of casual workers this sector reporting trade union membership (analysis not shown). Patterns in trade union membership are reflected in terms of the changes in sectoral distribution, as visible in Ireland as elsewhere, with membership higher in the "older" sectors such as transport and communications as well as traditional manufacturing and particularly low representation in the "newer" retail and personal services sectors. Thus, while the trade unions have enjoyed a seat at the "top table", this has not translated into membership at workplace level except in the public sector. Trade union density is associated with the greater prevalence of family-friendly policies, equality policies as well as grievance policies, characterised in Chapter 2 as a form of employee voice.

Figure 4.6 Trade union membership, by sector (%)



The previous chapter outlined the literature concerning strategies for dealing with conflict at work, and specifically addressed earlier studies on employee voice, particularly grievances policies and the opportunities for workers to articulate their grievances and complaints within the organisation. The current data collects information regarding the existence of a formal policy on harassment. As might be expected, there is a strong association with organisation size, with larger organisations much more likely to have a formal policy on harassment (analysis not shown). This is likely owing to larger organisations having dedicated personnel/human resources functions. Previous research in Ireland has attested to the greater familiarity with legislation on workplace bullying and Codes of Practice, as well as the higher prevalence of anti-harassment policies in the public sector than the private sector (O'Connell *et al.* 2007). More generally, research has indicated that there is greater policy "weight" concerning respect at work and equality in the public sector than the private sector (O'Connell *et al.* 2004).

4.4.1 Airing grievances: opportunities to complain

There are differences between the sectors in terms of policies on harassment: while the vast majority of public sector workplaces have such a policy (nearly 90%), under 60% of private sector workers report the same (Table 4.14). There is some variation across the economic sectors, with construction,

wholesale/retail and personal services sectors lower than the private sector average (analysis not shown).

Table 4.14 Workplace bullying policies in Irish workplaces (%)

	Public sector	Private sector	Total
Policy on bullying	87.3	59.2	68.0
By employment contract			
Permanent employees	89.9	62.0	70.4
Temporary/casual	76.3	44.6	56.3

There are some differences between contract type and a formal policy: in both sectors, permanent employees are more likely to report having a formal policy than temporary employees. This could reflect the shorter term engagement of temporary employment, confirmed by a strong association with tenure as well (those with shorter tenure are less likely to report a harassment policy; analysis not shown). This could suggest that workers with shorter tenure, non-permanent contracts are less likely to *know about* such policies or that organisations with higher turnovers are less inclined to establish harassment policies.

The data provides the opportunity to further explore the different types of organisational policies owing to an open-ended question regarding the nature of the policy in the respondent's organisation. This open-ended question, plus the previous question, was recoded to form a new policy indicator, with formal and informal policies, as well as those who indicated there was a policy, but didn't know any details, those who didn't know at all, and those who answered that there was no policy. Breaking this down further (analysis not shown), public sector workers are more likely than private sector workers (68%, compared to 41%) to report an *explicit* formal policy with details (rather than responding "don't know" or indicating that the policy was actually "informal"). Further analysis will investigate the relationship between policies and reported bullying, exploring the expectation that such policies are associated with a higher awareness or sensitivity to bullying in the workplace (Chapter 5). It is possible that the increased attention placed on codes of conduct in the (public sector) workplace, for example through formal policies and charters, may raise expectations as to what constitutes appropriate behaviour at work and this may potentially also impact on the prevalence of reported bullying in the workplace.

However, organisations with problems regarding workplace bullying may also be more likely to establish formal policies and procedures in an effort to combat the issue.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined some of the main changes in the Irish labour market, with a focus on sectoral and occupational shifts, as well as the growth in non-standard "flexible" employment, which has been shown to have a strong gender dimension. Ireland's booming employment has given rise to concerns that face other European countries, such as job quality, job intensification and work-life conflict; the issue of workplace bullying also came to receive increasing attention as a particular type of conflict in the workplace. The key debates concerning labour market change can be broadly considered in two main thrusts, an optimistic account of the workplace as a haven, whereby workers are afforded increased autonomy, "self-fulfilment" and "dignity" or a more pessimistic account where more flexible forms of work are represented as creating greater job pressures and posing an increasing health risk to workers, particularly their well-being and stress. This study argues that it is important to consider the changing workplace from a sectoral perspective in order to unpick the key, yet somewhat counterintuitive finding, that rates of reported bullying are higher in the public sector than in the private sector.

As outlined, a number of different processes could underpin the official reported bullying rates, from increasing expectations as to what constitutes appropriate behaviour at work, opportunities for voice, mobility within the labour market, as well as the changing nature of work, with new organisational forms and ways of working, which could potentially relate to job intensification and work-related stress, opening up new forms of work-based conflicts. In the main, public sector workers do not appear significantly more likely to be experiencing organisational change but are slightly more likely to report that the pace of their job is "too intense". It is well-known that, in general, public sector employment is associated with greater benefits such as pensions and family-friendly policies (although this chapter has highlighted the relatively high rate of temporary employment in this sector as well). In addition, Ireland's public sector workers are relatively well paid. As the previous chapter

has outlined, the Irish public sector has benefited from wage increases under the social partnership agreement which, along with secure jobs and pension entitlements, could lead to a situation whereby workers are reluctant to leave their job when confronted with inappropriate behaviour in the workplace, unlike their private sector counterparts who may be more likely to seek alternative employment elsewhere. In addition, their occupational mobility is such that a greater proportion of public sector employees perceive themselves to be relatively more "stuck" than their private sector counterparts. Finally, it is possible that public sector organisations have a greater familiarity and awareness of legislation, higher prevalence of grievance procedures, a greater adoption of Dignity at Work charters etc, and significantly, more routes to complain about negative behaviours at work. The following chapter will explore the relationship between the factors explored in this chapter and reported bullying.

Chapter 5 The high cost of public sector employment: workplace bullying?

> "I was assigned tasks which were unreasonable and not part of my job specification"
>
> "I had threats of dismissal, excessive working hours, and they refused to pay overtime on issue payslips"
>
> "There were unreasonable deadlines, shouting, and I was expected to work late at short notice"
>
> "There was undermining of my position, criticism and non co-operation"[54]

Job description and overtime disputes, excessive and unsocial working hours: these issues represent some of the behaviours cited by the survey respondents when asked about their experiences of workplace bullying. As already outlined in Chapter 1, much research to date has focused on the interpersonal dimension of workplace bullying however, as these quotations highlight, bullying is often intrinsically linked to work practices. Furthermore, we might expect that the behaviours cited above to be more prevalent in the private sector than the public sector. However as previously outlined, research in Ireland has found that workers in the public sector are more likely to report bullying than in the private sector. This study stresses the importance of sectoral patterns in terms of organisational and job characteristics, as well as the opportunities for mobility and employee voice. The priority of the current chapter is to empirically explore the relationship between these factors and reported workplace bullying, as well as consider the multidimensionality of the bullying, for example, the direction (e.g., by supervisors or by non-supervisors) and frequency and nature of the bullying. The first section considers descriptive patterns with regards reported workplace bullying, with a particular focus on sectoral patterns, while the second section proceeds to model these

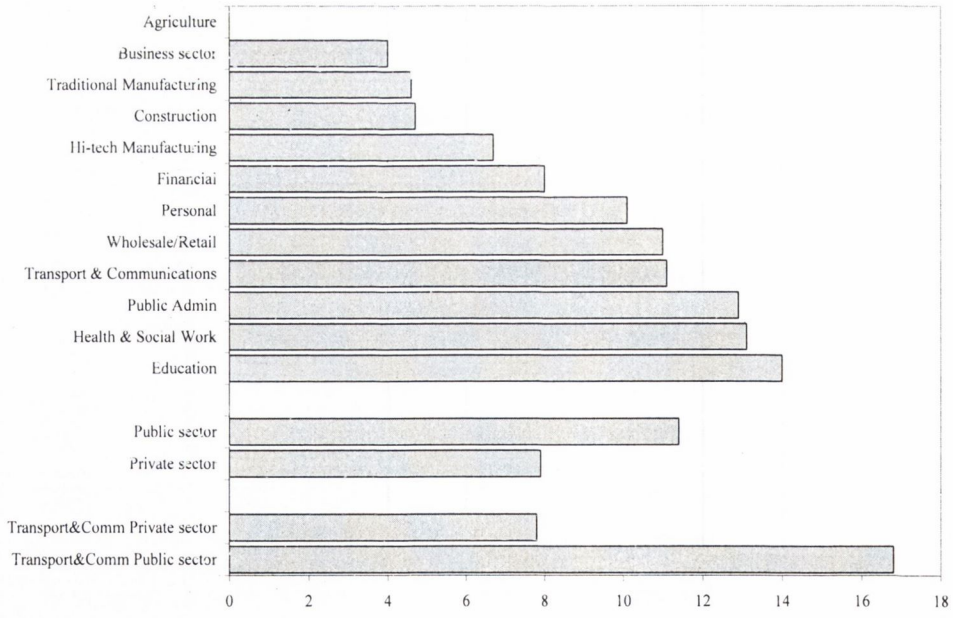
[54] Source: Nature of bullying experienced (open-ended question), 2007 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace.

relationships formally. The directionality of bullying reported is then considered, followed by the duration and severity. Finally, the analysis takes into account the behaviours associated with bullying.

5.1 A public or private matter? Sectoral patterns in workplace bullying

As already highlighted, analysis of the 2007 survey finds a statistically significant higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector than the private sector (over 11%, compared to around 8%); this general pattern was confirmed in an earlier wave of the survey in 2001 (O'Connell & Williams, 2001). Figure 5.1 illustrates the pattern by economic sector and it can be clearly observed from the graph that the highest rates of reported bullying are found in the education, health and public administration sectors: (mostly) public sector employees. Rates of reported bullying are also high for workers in the transport and communication sector, where there is a mix of public and private sector workers: analysis reveals that rates of reported bullying are roughly double for public sector workers than private sector workers within this economic sector.

Figure 5.1 Sectoral patterns in reported workplace bullying[55]



[55] Unless otherwise indicated, all tables and figures refer to 2007 employees. Later sections explicitly concentrate on those *reporting bullying only*: this will be indicated. All numbers of cases and percentages in the descriptive analysis are weighted.

Further descriptive analysis (Table 5.1) breaks down the rate of reported bullying by general employee characteristics. Considering the third column of Table 5.1, we can see that overall, female employees are more likely than males to report bullying at work (around 11% compared to 7%). While the gender pattern is preserved in the private sector, with nearly double the rate of females reporting bullying than males ($p<0.01$), gender differences in the public sector are not statistically significant. This relationship will be further explored in the subsequent multivariate analysis. Looking at the total column of Table 5.1, we can see that in terms of social class, lower professionals and semi-skilled manual workers are more likely to report bullying: there does not appear to be a strong "hierarchical" relationship. The unskilled manual group are at a particularly low risk of reporting bullying in the workplace. There are some notable sectoral differences: while levels in the public sector are uniformly high (apart from the unskilled manual category) there are statistically significant differences in the private sector ($p<0.01$) – with peaks for lower professionals and semi-skilled manuals, which are actually equivalent to the public sector rates for this category of workers. We can expand the analysis and also look at patterns for occupational group risk factors for reported bullying. In terms of occupations, sales workers are at the highest risk of reporting bullying at work while craft workers are the least likely to report bullying. In terms of sectoral differences, public sector professionals report over double the rate of reported bullying than professionals in the private sector. Clerical and personal/protective occupational groups in the public sector also report higher rates than their private sector counterparts. The highest rate in terms of occupational group in the private sector is sales workers. We might expect that some of this variation relates to the job characteristics of these occupational groups (for example, job demands or task discretion). While in the main, the multivariate analysis will focus on education as an indicator of relative hierarchy within the occupational distribution, the possible relationship between social class and occupation with reported workplace bullying will also be addressed.

In terms of education, there is a strong "hierarchical" relationship in terms of overall reporting rates of bullying (third column). The likelihood of reporting bullying increases with the level of educational qualification. This seems

counterintuitive owing to third level graduate's relatively privileged position in the occupational hierarchy. Potentially, the job intensification associated with such jobs may be higher and so these employees may be facing greater job demands and pressures, potentially leading to increased exposure to negative behaviours (although we have just seen that the relationship is not straightforward in terms of social class patterns). The higher rate of reported bullying amongst the most educated could potentially reflect higher expectations as to rights and entitlements in the workplace and the multivariate analysis will take account of both education and job characteristics in order to disentangle these relationships.

There are sectoral differences with regards education and reported bullying, with the clear step pattern most visible for private sector workers. A slight step pattern is visible for the public sector, with the risk of reporting bullying increasing with higher educational attainment, however, this difference is beyond the borderline of conventional statistical significance ($p=0.196$).

There does not appear to be any clear pattern relating to age, with peaks for both the under 25s and those aged between 45 and 54 years old. However, while those under 25 in the public sector have the lowest risk of reporting bullying, we can see that this pattern is not confirmed in the private sector: this could reflect the particular vulnerability of young workers in this sector, owing to shorter tenure and non-standard employment (although Chapter 4 has highlighted that non-standard employment is prevalent in *public sector* workplaces). Overall, full-timers are more likely to report bullying than part-timers. However, in the private sector, different hours of work and reported bullying is not statistically significant, with roughly equal proportions of part-timers and full-timers reporting bullying, whereas in the public sector, the risk for reporting bullying is higher for full-timers than part-timers. It seems that part-time work may not be associated with a higher likelihood of reporting bullying and as such may not reflect the "vulnerable" employment previously suggested, at least in relation to a greater propensity to report bullying. This may also relate to the lower job demands experienced by part-time workers.

Table 5.1 Prevalence of reporting bullying by general characteristics, by sector

		Public sector	Private sector	Total
		%	%	%
	Total	11.4	7.9	8.9
Gender	Male	10.4	5.6	6.8
	Female	12.2	10.9	11.1
Social Class	Higher Professional	10.1	5.0	6.3
	Lower Professional	11.3	10.8	11.1
	Other Non Manual	14.0	7.2	9.6
	Skilled manual	11.5	4.6	5.9
	Semi-skilled manual	11.6	11.7	11.7
	Unskilled manual	4.3	2.5	3.0
Occupation	Managers & Administrators	8.4	8.5	8.4
	Professionals	14.0	5.5	10.3
	Associate Professionals	7.2	8.3	8.2
	Clerical	15.3	8.4	11.0
	Personal & Protective	15.1	9.3	11.8
	Sales	-	13.3	13.1
	Craft and related	-	3.6	3.3
	Plant & Machine operators	-	8.7	10.0
	Other	3.3	2.2	2.6
Education	Tertiary	12.8	9.4	10.6
	Upper secondary	11.2	9.0	9.3
	Lower secondary/less	8.0	3.8	4.9
Supervisory	No supervisory responsibility	10.3	8.2	8.8
role	Supervisory responsibility	13.0	7.6	9.3
Age (in years)	18-24	3.9	11.2	9.7
	25-34	10.4	8.0	8.5
	35-44	11.2	7.1	8.7
	45-54	13.6	7.1	10
	55 plus	12.5	4.0	7.2
Hours of work	Part-time (under 30 hours)	7.8	7.1	7.3
	Full-time	12.5	8.2	9.5
Employment	Permanent	12.1	6.9	8.5
contract	Temporary	9.6	10.5	10.3
	Casual	-	18.6	15.0
Turnover	More than 1 job in last 3 years	10.7	10.1	10.2
	1 job in last 3 years	11.1	6.5	8.1
Trade union	Trade union member	13.3	9.4	11.5
	Not member of trade union	8.6	7.5	7.7
Average tenure	Reported bullying	11.1 years	6.4 years	8.2 years
(years)	Not reported bullying	10.5 years	7.1 years	8.2 years
Policy	Policy on workplace bullying	10.6	5.8	7.8
	No policy on workplace bullying	17.4	10.9	11.7
Policy	No policy	17.1	10.9	11.7
breakdown	Formal policy	10.3	7.6	8.9
	Informal	17.9	1.1	4.0
	Don't know	11.0	3.7	6.0
	Total N	895	2021	3003

Notes

1. In general, a hyphen indicates a low total cell count, i.e., under 40. There is a low cell count for the public sector informal category of policy breakdown (n=28) however, these have been reported for comparative purposes. Five of the 28 workers reporting an informal policy in the public sector also report workplace bullying.
2. The total N differs slightly from before owing to missing values on different variables. The actual N used to calculate each percentage will slightly differ owing to missing values.

Employees with managerial or supervisory responsibilities seem slightly more likely to report bullying than those without responsibilities for members of staff, however, this difference is not noteworthy. The difference is most evident in the public sector, however it is beyond conventional levels of statistical significance ($p=0.127$).

Considering employment contract type, there appears to be strong "step pattern", with casual workers most at risk of reporting bullying at work, followed by temporary/fixed-term workers, followed by permanent workers, who in terms of overall reporting, are the least likely to report bullying at work (third column, Table 5.1). This could suggest that those employed on temporary contracts potentially represent more vulnerable to inappropriate behaviours at work. However, once again, there are notable sectoral differences, with only statistically significant differences in the private sector ($p<0.01$), which echo this overall pattern, whereas in the public sector, permanent workers are more likely to report bullying than temporary workers. Casual workers in this sector are very low in number ($n=26$) and have not been reported in the table although the percentage of public sector casual workers reporting bullying is actually zero.

Thus, we can see that there is a strong "hierarchical" relationship between employment contract and reported bullying, largely driven by the private sector, with the risk of reporting bullying rising with increasing precarity; however, this is not true for the public sector, where permanent workers are more likely to report bullying than those not employed on such contracts. Therefore we are confronted with the possibility of two different underlying processes. Firstly, in the private sector, the most vulnerable employees, i.e., those employed on non-standard contracts appear more likely to report bullying at work. However, in the public sector, *permanent* employees are more likely to report bullying; it is important to note that this refers to reported bullying, not the risk *per se*, as the argument is that permanent employees in the public sector, with secure jobs and pensions and possibly more limited in terms of skills mobility, are less likely to leave their job if confronted with negative behaviours at work. These

relationships will be further teased out in the multivariate analysis, where possible.

5.1.1 The importance of change? Organisational change and job quality

As discussed in Chapter 2, research on workplace bullying has increasingly focused on the importance of job and organisational factors: studies have found that bullying is more likely to be reported by employees working in organisations undergoing change (O'Moore *et al.* 1998; Hoel & Salin, 2003; O'Connell & Williams, 2002; Harvey *et al.* 2006) as well as highlighting the importance of job characteristics such as role conflict and job demands (Einarsen *et al.* 1994; Vartia 1996; Hauge *et al.* 2007). The contemporary period is marked by growing economic globalisation and rapid technological change, and the attenuating competitive pressures are increasingly experienced at an organisational level, from restructuring, downsizing, outsourcing "peripheral" functions and so on. While exposure to market pressures may not represent a significant development for the private sector, although arguably these pressures have intensified under greater EU economic integration and the internationalisation of financial markets, the public sector has been incited to reform and modernise over the last few decades in order to become more "flexible" and "efficient". These changes include decentralisation, privatisation, deregulation, introduction of internal markets, outsourcing, and public-private partnerships.

Moving away from an interpersonal conflict explanation, a key question is *why* these factors may be related to an increased risk of reporting workplace bullying. Organisational restructuring may take on various guises but can involve redundancy and redeployment, retraining in new skills and new terms and conditions: (remaining) workers may experience these changes in terms of increased job intensification. Workers may need to adapt to new roles, job tasks and working practices. There may potentially be increased pressures for *managers* to achieve specified targets: manager's actions in this regard could potentially be conceived as inappropriate or "heavy handed". Workers may perceive these increased demands as bullying and indeed, as Lee argues (2000), potentially utilise the term in order to limit the extent of management, and other, workplace pressures. We might therefore expect to see higher levels of

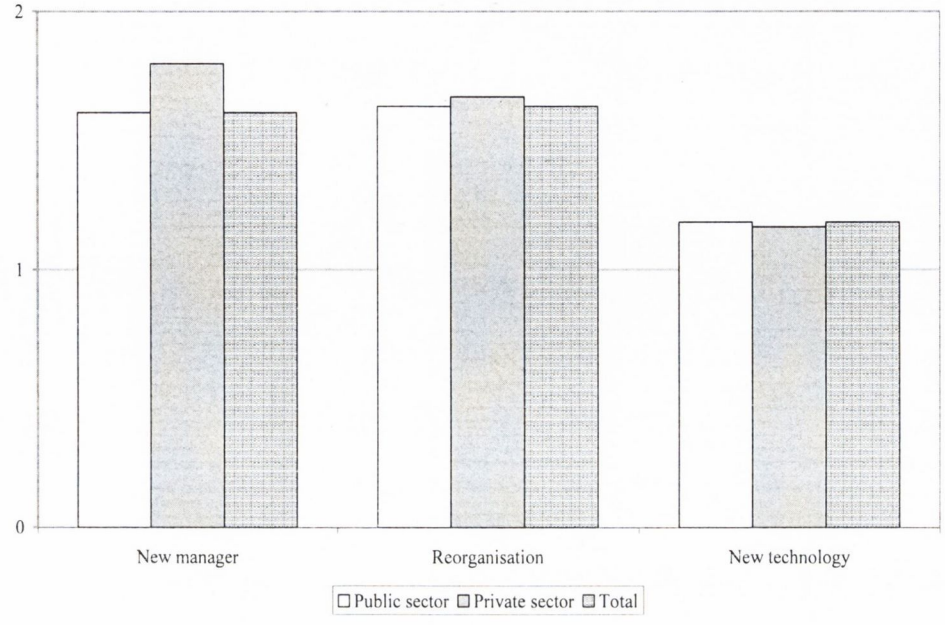
reported bullying among workers reporting job intensification and organisational change.

Job change has also been linked to new forms of work organisation with the removal of bureaucratic hierarchies in "flattened" organisations, with team work affording workers greater autonomy. This has been documented by the research literature on "high performance" work processes, as discussed in Chapter 2. Team working, from semi-autonomous to self-organising, could create new levels of accountability in terms of meeting performance targets. New work organisation could create pressurised and demanding relationships between colleagues hitherto informal and independent and lead to situations where workers perceive "horizontal" bullying. Drawing on Du Gay (2000), it is possible to construct bureaucracy as a protection against the sort of unregulated and unexpected pressures that characterise new types of working practices.[56]

Analysis reveals that in both sectors, workers reporting any kind of organisational change are more likely to report bullying. Figure 5.2 displays the relative risk of reported bullying *with* organisational change compared to *no* organisational change. Thus a relative risk of around and including 1 indicates that the risk of reporting bullying does not differ substantially according to the presence or absence of organisational change. Therefore, we can see from Figure 5.2 that the relative risk for all types of organisational change is greater than 1, indicating that the risk of reporting bullying is increased when there is *any* type of organisational change taken place in the respondent's organisation within the previous twelve months.

[56] The analysis is currently focusing on "any" reported bullying, however, the direction will be considered later. The analysis is limited as there is no direct measure of team working, which may have been especially insightful in relation to the direction of bullying.

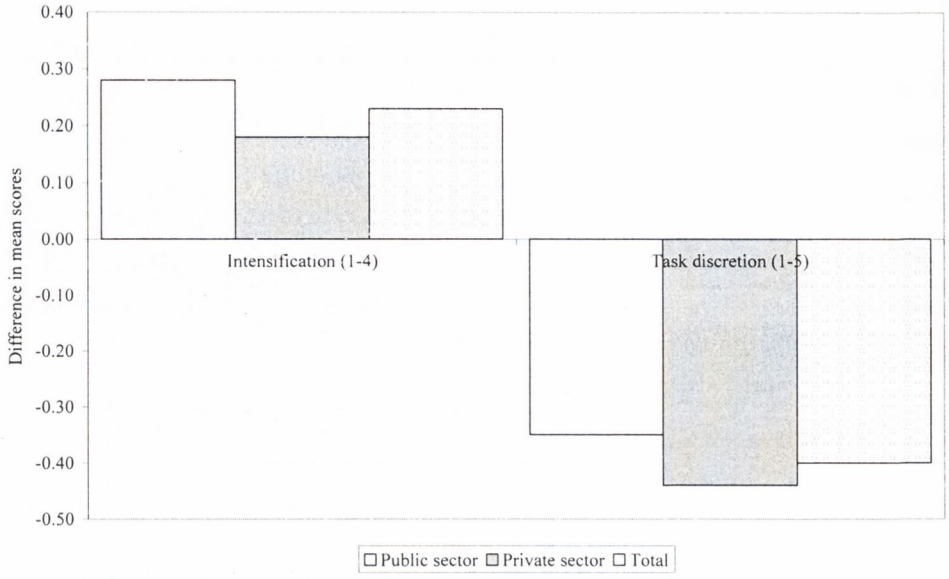
Figure 5.2 Relative risks in reported bullying by organisational change



Notes
1. A relative risk of 1 means that the percentage of respondents reporting bullying does not differ according to the type of organisational change.

The introduction of new technology does not appear to be significantly related to reported bullying, with an overall relative risk of 1.2. This echoes research that did not find a negative relationship between technological change and job satisfaction in the UK (for example, Daniel & Hogarth, 1990) as well as the debates concerning technological change and grievance filing, discussed in Chapter 2. However, both the appointment of a new manager and restructuring/ownership change, are related to an increased risk of reporting bullying at work, in both the public and private sector. While the relative risks are similar in both sectors for restructuring/ownership change, the risk is actually slightly greater in the private sector than the public sector with regards the appointment of a new manager.

Figure 5.3 Differences in job quality, by sector
(Differences in mean scores, comparing those reporting bullying to those not reporting bullying)



Notes
1. Task discretion is measured here using a scale consisting of 3 items concerning control over tasks/pace and breaks (See Chapter 3). Job intensification is also measured using a 3 item scale: the general pattern is conveyed here.

The previous chapters considered some of the key developments in terms of job characteristics and work practices, such as job intensification. It was highlighted in the previous chapter that job intensification is higher for those respondents reporting any organisational change. One possible reason for the higher risk of reported bullying in organisations undergoing change is therefore that employees are experiencing higher levels of job intensification and thus experiencing greater pressures at work. However, it is important to also consider job quality, for example, job autonomy, as this could potentially reduce the impact of these pressures, through for example, autonomy in scheduling tasks and controlling the pace of work. Likewise, workers with low job autonomy may experience monitoring and supervision at work, which some may find excessive or inappropriate. Figure 5.3 presents descriptive analysis on the relationship between job characteristics and reported workplace bullying. We can see from Figure 5.3 that respondents reporting bullying report *higher* levels of job intensification than those not reporting bullying, and likewise, *lower* levels of job autonomy. This can be further explored in the multivariate analysis.

5.1.2 Exit and voice: sectoral strategies and workplace bullying

Chapter 2 considered the "strategies" (Crow, 1989) workers can adopt if presented with perceived negative behaviour at work. Crudely, there are two strategies employees can "choose" if confronted with negative behaviour at work. They can stay in the organisation, which may be influenced by factors including job benefits such as pension entitlements and financial rewards; we might expect that jobs which offer benefits such as security and pension provisions may mean that workers are less likely to seek alternative employment if they perceive inappropriate behaviour in the workplace. Furthermore, there may be organisational-level characteristics which structure the opportunities for employee voice, for example, trade union membership and grievance policies which may influence whether they stay in their current employment. Employees can leave their current job, which will of course be facilitated by the ease with which they can find other employment, shaped by personal characteristics (age and family status) as well as labour market factors such as occupational skills and the unemployment rate, both overall and sectoral. It should again be noted that the survey was conducted at a time of relatively full employment in Ireland.

There may be important differences in how bullying is recognised as a legitimate type of grievance in the workplace, which in turn may relate to reporting rates; for example, organisations with greater awareness and sensitivity to bullying through Dignity at Work charters and legislative Codes of Practice. Organisations which have formal policies may raise awareness or sensitivity to bullying, or lead to higher expectations as to appropriate conduct at work. On the other hand, we might expect that an organisation experiencing problems with bullying is more likely to introduce formal policies or raise staff awareness in some way. Furthermore, those who are experiencing negative behaviours at work may be more likely to seek information and help, and thus be more aware as to the existence of an organisational policy on harassment: thus it is important to recognise the direction possibly runs both ways.

As Table 5.1 shows, reported bullying in the private sector is much higher among workers with more than one job in the previous three years[57]: possibly reflecting the higher rates of bullying among non-permanent employees in this sector. In terms of this measure of turnover, there does not appear to be more "churn" in the public sector according to whether the respondent reported bullying or not. There is no statistically relationship between tenure and reported bullying shown by this descriptive analysis, although the pattern we see here reflects the general findings of a higher tenure in the public sector overall, as presented in the previous chapter. The tenure variable, as discussed in the methodology section, is weak, and so caution should be applied when interpreting these figures.[58]

However, we can see that in both sectors, the rate of reported bullying is highest for those employees who do not report an organisational policy on workplace bullying. An open-ended question accompanied the policy question in the survey requesting further details about the nature of this policy (please see Chapter 3). While it is not possible to be systematic about this, subsequent analysis suggests that overall, rates of reported bullying are highest where respondents report "no policy" and also where respondents state "don't know". Rates are low for those who cite informal policies or indicate that they "don't know" what the policy contains. In the public sector, (where there is a minimum of staff who either say they "don't know" or who do not know the details of their organisational policy) rates of reported bullying are highest for those with *no policy*. In the private sector, the rate is highest for those who "don't know", while those with informal policies are less likely to report bullying than those with formal policies. Owing to the open-ended nature of the follow-up question, it is difficult to take this analysis further, however, it points to potentially different processes in the public and private sector with regards the existence and knowledge of a policy and reporting workplace bullying.

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[57] Turnover takes account of those who report leaving their jobs owing to the bullying, i.e., *that* job move does not count towards turnover, while *previous* job moves within the last 3 years will: please see Chapter 3.

[58] For those employees reporting bullying and subsequently exiting their employment (n=34), we need to be especially cautious of their tenure as this was estimated (see Chapter 3 for further details).

Overall, respondents with trade union membership are more likely to report bullying than those who are not members of a union. This could reflect one of two possibilities. First, individuals with trade union membership are more aware of their rights and thus have higher expectations regarding appropriate treatment in the workplace. However, it could also be that individuals who have experienced inappropriate behaviour are more likely to join a union, reflected in the higher rates of bullying among union members. This is observed in studies exploring the relationship between trade union membership and job satisfaction (please see Chapter 2) and a similar process may be operational here.

This analysis has explored patterns with regards job and organisational characteristics and reported bullying, with a focus on possible sectoral patterns, in light of the overall higher prevalence of reported bullying in the public sector than the private sector. It has focused in particular on how prevalence varies by job quality, employment contract, job intensification and organisational change, as well as voice and mobility indicators. A key question therefore relates to the extent to which the higher rate of bullying in the public sector can be accounted for by these factors and this is best explored empirically by taking a multivariate approach.

5.2 Unpicking the patterns: modelling bullying in the workplace

In terms of the main arguments advanced so far, and building on the descriptive findings, a number of expectations can be outlined, taking as the departure point the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector workplace. Specifically, we might expect that some of the following factors could potentially *account* for some (or all) of the greater likelihood of public sector employees reporting bullying. However, where there are alternative expectations, these are also outlined. Some of these expectations relate to the "risk" of inappropriate behaviour, while it is important to note that some relate specifically to the "risk" of reporting bullying (which must have occurred within the previous six months) in a survey. It may be difficult to distinguish completely between the two, however, we can always keep in mind that they are potentially different, as discussed in Chapter 3.

We might anticipate that workers with higher expectations about behaviour in workplace have a higher rate of reported bullying, for example, those with higher education or good organisational policies and employee assistance programmes relating to protecting workers at work. Such programmes may form part of a "bundle" of staff welfare programmes which may raise expectations as to appropriate workplace behaviours. The public sector has a highly educated workforce as well as a greater density of organisational welfare programmes/policies and thus this may account for the higher prevalence in this sector. The analysis will mainly focus on education, rather than social class or occupation, however, these will be tested separately. However an alternative, and indeed more conventional, expectation is that workers with *lower* educational qualifications or *without* an organisational policy are *more at risk* of inappropriate behaviour in the workplace, owing to their greater likelihood of being employed in poorer quality jobs and more vulnerable employment. Furthermore, the existence of an employee assistance programmes or organisational policy could potentially be associated with a *reduced risk* of bullying through providing protection to workers from inappropriate behaviours.

We might expect that workers with permanent contracts, and thus with associated benefits, are more likely to report bullying as they may be less likely to leave their employment if they experience inappropriate behaviours. The predominance of permanent contracts with benefits in the public sector is potentially another aspect to the higher prevalence rate of workplace bullying. (as well as the possibility that such workers have less generic skills which enable mobility). However, an alternative expectation would be that non-standard workers, for instance, those employed on casual contracts, are more at risk of negative behaviours at work. We might expect that workers with shorter tenure are also more at risk of bullying at work, given that they are less established, more insecure members of the organisation. While this may have also applied to part-time workers, the descriptive analysis does not entirely bear this out; however, there may be sectoral variations which will also be considered. It is also possible to test if *long* working hours relates to the risk of reporting bullying; given that long working hours are associated with

pressurised jobs in stressful working environments, it may carry an increased risk of workplace bullying.

Likewise, we might expect that job intensification and organisational change are associated with an increased risk of reporting bullying. Workers with an appraisal or performance review may experience greater job pressures, for example, meeting targets, and these may be translated into a greater likelihood of reporting bullying. However, such practices might also be linked with a decreased risk of bullying, if organisations implementing such practices are "better" places to work, with increased opportunities for employee participation in decision making. The new public management debates have argued that public sector workers have undergone rapid organisational and job change: these factors could account for the higher risk of inappropriate behaviour in this sector. However, we might expect that higher levels of autonomy (for example, in the public sector as a whole) would reduce the risk of reporting bullying at work.

A multivariate approach can account for the relationship between the dependent variable and a number of different factors simultaneously and a multiple logistic regression modelling strategy is adopted. The dependent variable under analysis is *reported bullying within the previous six months* which scores 1 if the respondent has reported bullying in the workplace within the last six months and a 0 if this is not the case. The initial strategy is to conduct a series of nested logistic regression models using the full sample of employees and the results are presented in Table 5.2.[59] The results are reported in log odds, with significance levels and standard errors (se). Log odds can be interpreted as follows: a positive coefficient means that there is an increased risk whereas a negative coefficient indicates a decreased risk (of reporting bullying).

From Model 1 in Table 5.2, we can see that overall those working in the public sector are more likely to report bullying than those in the private sector, confirming the patterns described earlier in this chapter. The introduction of

[59] For reference, the slightly shortened variable names used in the tables are reproduced in the Appendix.

"individual-level" characteristic in Model 2 show that divorced people are more likely to report bullying (compared to every other marital status). This finding is surprising. Given that the divorced coefficient remains significant even in the final model, it is worth pursuing. We might expect that this could relate to the consequences of divorce or marital separation on labour market participation, for example, re-entering the labour force following marital breakdown, employed in jobs which they are perhaps overqualified for or unsuitable, possibly leading to higher conflict at work. Furthermore, these workers may be less able to easily leave their employment if experiencing inappropriate behaviours (if under financial strain). However, it is possible that marital breakdown is a potential *consequence* of workplace bullying or stress: the current data does not allow further investigation. An alternative explanation is perhaps that getting divorced (although some of our sample may just be separated) especially in a socially conservative country such as Ireland requires assertion and thus these workers may be less likely to put up with inappropriate behaviour in the workplace. It is not possible to be exhaustive, however, descriptive analysis finds that they are mostly female and highly educated with an average age of 45, although they not more likely to have children. They are more likely to report having done something about the bullying than the non-divorced employees reporting bullying, which could indicate a more "assertive" person with regards their rights and entitlements in the workplace.

Model 2 suggests that males are less likely to report bullying. It is plausible that some of the increased likelihood of females reporting bullying is related to their job characteristics, for example, working in jobs with lower levels of autonomy and it should be noted that the gender effect does not remain significant in the final model in any case: although the coefficient remains similar in size and negative (Model 4). The public sector variable remains significant, suggesting that the higher rate of reported bullying in this sector is not a compositional effect.

Table 5.2 Logistic regression of reported bullying

	1: log odds		se	2: log odds		se	3: log odds		se	4: log odds		se
public sector	0.568	***	0.137	0.518	***	0.139	0.523	***	0.166	0.660	***	0.177
male				-0.259	*	0.142	-0.308	**	0.154	-0.253		0.159
divorce				0.580	**	0.233	0.646	***	0.237	0.486	**	0.248
ref: lower sec/less educ												
tertiary							0.559	**	0.235	0.611	**	0.245
upper sec							0.475	*	0.251	0.452	*	0.259
permanent							0.071		0.221	0.198		0.229
ref: under 10yrs tenure												
10-19yrs							-0.116		0.200	-0.142		0.209
20yrs+							-0.146		0.210	-0.246		0.221
supervisor							0.067		0.149	0.198		0.157
union							0.522	***	0.166	0.278		0.173
>1 job in last 3 yrs							0.208		0.172	0.226		0.177
policy							-0.713	***	0.173	-0.688	***	0.196
ref: 30-50hrs per wk												
part-time							-0.050		0.178	0.035		0.184
51hrs+							0.645	***	0.236	0.617	**	0.244
appraisal										-0.144		0.158
emp. assist.										0.053		0.184
new tech.										-0.097		0.156
new mangr.										0.261	*	0.157
org. chge										0.447	***	0.161
more control (1-4)										-0.448	***	0.102
incr. pace (1-4)										0.347	***	0.108
intense pace (1-4)										0.181		0.111
task discretion (1-5)										-0.433	***	0.077
Constant	-2.625	***	0.124	-2.543	***	0.143	-2.904	***	0.339	-1.771	***	0.560
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0133			0.0195			0.0447			0.108		
N	2476											

Notes 1. Models also control for org. size. 2. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 3. "se" refers to standard errors (in all subsequent tables). 4. LR tests for all models sig **

As Model 3 reports, permanent workers are not more likely to report bullying than non-permanent employees. However, those with higher education are more likely to report bullying, compared to those with lower secondary qualifications or less.[60] This finding thus suggests some support for the "higher expectations" thesis outlined earlier. However, at this stage, we can have not controlled for the higher levels of job demands and pressures that could potentially accompany these jobs. Supervisory responsibility was also introduced in this model and was insignificant. The previous research finding of an interaction between supervisory status and gender (Hoel & Cooper, 2000) was not found here (analysis not shown). Chapter 4 detailed how females were more likely to work in part-time and possibly low quality jobs, so we can test to see if there are gender differences with regards hours of work and the risk of reporting bullying. Interaction terms were insignificant (analysis not shown). However, we can see that working long hours, over 51 hours per week, is associated with an increased risk of reporting bullying.

Trade union workers are more likely to report bullying than those not belonging to a trade union, however, this effect does not remain when controlling for other covariates.[61] Those with more than 1 job in the last 3 years do not seem to be more likely to report bullying. It appears there is no systematic relationship with job tenure and reported bullying, however, this measure is weak.[62] The presence of a policy on workplace bullying is linked with a reduced likelihood of reporting bullying, thus suggesting that the expectation regarding formal policies and greater awareness/sensitivity (and thus higher reporting rates of bullying) is not borne out by the current analysis.[63]

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[60] Social class and occupational group were also tested separately. There was no significant relationship with regards social class and reported bullying (analysis not shown). In terms of occupation, craft workers appear less likely than managers and administrators to report bullying. No other occupation group reaches significance (Appendix Table 5A).

[61] **Multicollinearity may have been a problem relating to the inclusion of trade union and public sector, however, checks revealed that this did not suggest a particular issue.**

[62] There was an issue with regards turnover and tenure being included in the same model with more refined categories of tenure (a problem of zero cell size). Therefore tenure was collapsed into three categories, with the reference category tenure under 10 years). No significant relationships were found for tenure or turnover. Age categories were tested (instead of tenure) and no statistically significant relationship was found (analysis not shown).

[63] The policy variable was also recategorised as formal versus everything else (as arguably informal policies are not policies at all) however, there was no statistically significant

Model 3 also introduces variables relating to the presence of a performance review or appraisal as well an employee assistance programme. While the presence of an appraisal is associated with a slightly reduced risk of reporting bullying, this is insignificant. We do not see any significant effect for employee assistance programme.

Model 4 introduces organisational and job intensification and autonomy variables. A new manager (although only significant at the $p < 0.1$ level) and restructuring/change in ownership is associated with an increased likelihood of reporting bullying. However, the introduction of new technology is not, confirming research which does not suggest a link between technology and job satisfaction. Job intensification is captured through: an *increased pace over the last year* and a *pace of work that is too intense*.[64] A higher value on these two indicators indicates a higher level of job intensification. We can see that an increased pace is associated with a higher likelihood of reporting bullying (however, an intense pace is positive but insignificant: analysis shows that this falls out of significance when autonomy is entered into the model, please see Appendix Table 5B).

A variable measuring "increased control" over work over the past year is introduced, with the same value scale.[65] Those reporting increased control over work are less likely to report bullying at work. Task discretion[66] entered as a scale (with values from 1 to 5, where 5 indicates higher autonomy) is strongly associated with a decreased risk of reporting bullying. Therefore, as expected, it appears that workers with lower autonomy in terms of general control over their work, or task discretion, have an increased likelihood of reporting

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relationship between the newly created dichotomised variable and reported bullying and thus this was not taken further in the modelling.

[64] Changed nature of job was dropped as was insignificant. Multicollinearity regarding the two other "job intensification" variables was not found to be problematic although the analysis will take account of the potential similarity of these indicators.

[65] The job intensification and job autonomy indicators are entered as continuous variables, inspection reveals this to be a reasonable assumption.

[66] The separate "discretion" indicators are also entered. The variable "managers decide specific tasks" does not have a significant negative effect, while the other two variables (decide pace/how work is done and deciding on break) have significant negative effects. These indicators were not found to vary by sector in later analysis and so for simplicity, the scale was used instead of separate indicators (see Chapter 3).

bullying in the workplace. It is important to note that in the final model of Table 5.2, the public sector coefficient is still positive and significant: public sector workers are still more likely to report bullying than private sector workers, even controlling for the covariates outlined.[67]

In order to test for the robustness of these results, especially in light of concerns with regards entering the separate job intensification indicators as well as task discretion and "more control", an alternative modelling strategy is presented in the Appendix (Table 5B). This illustrates the general robustness of the findings. Economic sectors are also tested and the final model is presented in the Appendix (Table 5C): this echoes the results here, with public administration, health and education sectors reporting higher levels of bullying than wholesale/retail, the reference category. Business sector workers and those in traditional manufacturing are also less likely to report bullying than retail workers. The analysis will focus on the public/private distinction; however, the conclusion will address the issue of economic sectoral differences.

These results can be interpreted in terms of odds ratios (the exponent of the coefficients), changes in probability and marginal effects, which is in effect the discrete change for the binary covariates (Table 5.3).[68] An odds ratio of more than one indicates a greater likelihood of an event occurring, whereas an odds ratio of less than one indicates a decreased likelihood of an event occurring. The marginal effects represents the average rate of change and is perhaps most useful in interpreting the "continuous" independent variables as opposed to the binary independent variables (Long & Freese, 2006). Therefore, for job intensification and job autonomy, it represents the average rate of change for a one unit increase in the independent variable. The predicted probability of reporting bullying is reported for when x (the covariate/independent variable) is at a minimum (for binary variables, this is when x scores 0, for the last four continuous variables, this is when x scores 1) and for when x is at a maximum (again, for binary variables, this is when x scores 1 and for the last four

[67] The Pseudo R Squared increases across each model in Table 5.2. However, the final model represents the biggest increase.

[68] The predicted probabilities are calculated using the *prvalue* function in Stata, which is computed after the model. The probabilities are calculated on the basis of the other covariates being held at their means.

covariates is either x = 4 or x = 5 as appropriate). Only the significant effects in the previous final model of Table 5.2 are presented. We can see that the odds of divorced people reporting bullying are around 1.6 times non-divorced employees. Likewise, the odds of someone with third level education reporting bullying is around 1.8 times those with lower secondary or less. This result remains, even after controlling for the possible longer working hours, higher job demands and pressures that accompany these types of jobs. Those reporting a formal policy are less likely to report bullying, with an odds ratio of 0.5. We can see that the odds of those who are experiencing organisational change reporting bullying (in terms of restructuring or change in ownership of the company) are 1.6 times those who are not undergoing such changes in the workplace.

Table 5.3 Odds ratios, changes in probabilities and marginal effects
(based on final model Table 5.2)

	Odds Ratios *Exp (b)*	Predicted probability *x=min*	*x=max*	Difference *From min to max*	Marginal effects
public sector	1.93	0.06	0.10	0.05	0.04
divorce	1.63	0.07	0.11	0.04	0.03
tertiary	1.84	0.05	0.09	0.04	0.04
upper sec	1.57	0.06	0 10	0.03	0.03
>51 hrs per wk	1.85	0.07	0.12	0.05	0.04
policy	0.50	0.11	0.06	-0.05	-0.05
new mangr.	1.30	0.07	0.08	0.02	0.02
org. chge	1.56	0.06	0.10	0.03	0.03
more contrl (1-4)	0.64	0.15	0.04	-0.10	-0.03
incr. pace (1-4)	1.42	0.04	0.11	0.07	0.02
task dis(1-5)	0.65	0.21	0.04	-0.16	-0.03

Turning to job change, we can see that for those who have *more control over work* than one year ago, the change in probability from where the covariate's value is at the minimum level (strongly disagree) to where the value is at the maximum level (strongly agree) is around 10%: this suggests that workers who have much more control than one year ago are 10% less likely to report bullying than those who indicate that they do not have more control. Those reporting an increased pace are more likely to report bullying: for every one unit increase, the odds ratio of reporting bullying increases by 1.4. While part-timers were not more likely to report bullying, those working long hours

(compared to "standard" working hours) do have an increased risk, with an odds ratio of just under 1.9.

Task discretion reduces the risk of reporting bullying, with an odds ratio of 0.65. This suggests that workers who enjoy a higher amount of discretion over their work are less likely to report bullying at work. Autonomy could potentially "shield" workers from potentially arbitrary work demands. Again, the change in probability is quite striking, with the estimated probability of reporting bullying for those with very low task discretion of around 20% compared to under 5% for those with the highest level of task discretion. Importantly, we can see that the odds for public sector workers reporting bullying is nearly 2 times that of private sectors, controlling for the other covariates (Table 5.2, Model 4).

5.2.1 Autonomy and long working hours

The discussion in Chapter 2 highlighted the negative implications of long working hours and unsocial hours on job stress and even work-related illnesses (Fagan & Burchell, 2002). The present results suggest that those working long hours are also more likely to report bullying. However, employees working long hours may also enjoy considerable autonomy at work and this may help "reduce" the high risk of reporting bullying amongst these workers. We can test this by including an interaction term in the model. Centring the task discretion variable aids the interpretation of these results, as the conditional excessive working hours coefficient now refers to works with average levels of task discretion (rather than zero, which would have been the case if the variables were uncentred).

Table 5.4 Logistic regression of reported bullying, with hours/autonomy interaction

	1 No controls			2 With full controls		
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
part-time	0.035		0.184	-0.055		0.203
51hrs+	0.617	**	0.244	0.518	**	0.260
task dis_c (centred)	-0.433	***	0.077	-0.334	***	0.096
task dis_c*part-time				-0.194		0.164
task dis_c*51hrs+				-0.405	*	0.240
N	2476			2476		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.108			0.110		

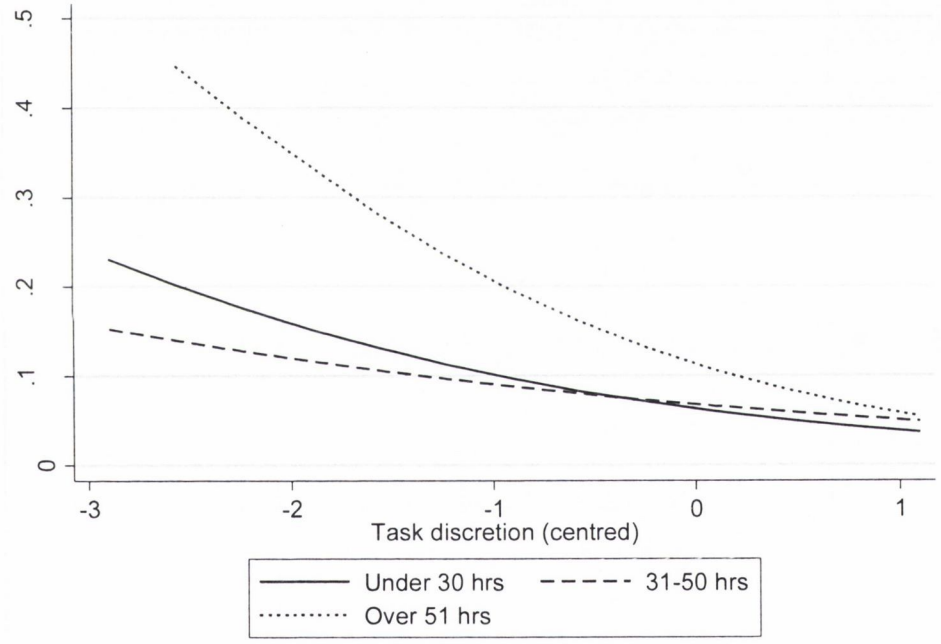
Notes

1. This model is reproduced here in part: the full controls in the previous model reported in Table 5.2 are also included, but not shown.

2. "_c" indicates a centred variable.

We can see from Table 5.4 that the over 51 hours*task discretion interaction term is significant at the $p<0.1$ level. These results suggest that where long working hours is accompanied by high task discretion, this has a reducing effect on the risk of reporting bullying. Figure 5.4 illustrates the relationship and it is clear that as autonomy increases, the "effect" of long hours on the probability of reporting bullying decreases – more dramatically than for those working shorter hours.[69]

Figure 5.4 Predicted probability of reported bullying, with task discretion/hours of work interaction



5.2.2 Summarising the findings

We find that as expected, organisational change is associated with an increased likelihood of reporting bullying in the workplace. In addition, job intensification (i.e., increasing pace) is also associated with reporting bullying at work. This was suggested by the previous descriptive analysis; however, the multivariate approach allows us to see that organisational change in itself is

[69] This graph was produced using the *postgr3* function in Stata. The other covariates are held at their means.

associated with an increased risk of reporting bullying, perhaps owing to new ways of working and work organisation. Another important finding is that autonomy is associated with a reduced likelihood of reporting bullying: those workers who are afforded greater autonomy at work are less likely to report bullying. Turning this on its head, those with the lowest levels of autonomy (in terms of both measures, general "control over work" and "task discretion") are at greater risk of reporting bullying. Those working long hours also have an increased risk of reporting bullying, however, this risk is reduced somewhat for those with high levels of task discretion. These findings suggest that workplace bullying is very much a feature of the "changing workplace", and thus a key issue for debates about job quality in the contemporary period.

Slightly surprising, but in line with the higher expectations thesis, is that those with higher levels of education are more likely to report bullying. While this finding holds even controlling for job intensification and long working hours, it is possible that the analysis is not controlling for some aspect of the job that potentially leads to greater conflict at work, rather than higher expectations *per se*. Formal policies are found to be associated with a *reduced* risk of reporting bullying – this goes against the expectation that formal policies lead to a heightened awareness or sensitivity to bullying. This is an important finding not only because it suggests that formal policies actually *work*, but also because the higher prevalence of formal policies in the public sector (leading to greater naming/awareness in this sector) was one possible reason for the higher prevalence of reported bullying in this sector. It should be noted that the higher risk for public sector workers of reported bullying remains after controlling for individual, job and organisational characteristics. Thus while these factors are related to workplace bullying, they do not seem to wholly explain the higher prevalence in the public sector.

A reasonable concern with regards the analysis is the issue that some of the covariates (e.g., organisational change, tenure and job intensification) are not measured for a small number of respondents (reporting bullying) who left their job where the bullying occurred. These are only measured for the current job and the results could therefore be misleading. We can rerun the same model on the restricted sample to check if the results are robust. In general, they are

(Appendix Table 5D). We would expect this as the proportion no longer in the same job is very small. If we restrict the sample in this way, we are effectively mainly excluding private sector workers (see Chapter 6) and so the analysis in this chapter will mainly keep to the full sample, while being aware of the potential problems. The results are largely the same, however, the effect for appointment of a new manager is now no longer significant, although the coefficient is still large and in the same (positive) direction. In addition, the effect for trade union members is now significant, suggesting that those who reported bullying and exited were less likely to be trade union members (this can be further explored in Chapter 6).

5.3 Does sector matter?

The previous modelling strategy considered a range of individual, job and organisational factors in relation to reported bullying in the full sample of employees. However, we saw from the descriptive analysis previously that there were potentially some important differences between the public and private sector in terms of the relationship between individual, job and organisational characteristics and reported bullying. As a first step, the regression analysis was conducted separately on the public and private sectors and the results are presented in log odds (Table 5.5). We can see from these models that there appears to be some differences across the sectors, for example, divorced employees in the public sector are seemingly largely responsible for the finding previously cited. Likewise, support for the "higher expectations" with regards educational levels appears to be largely driven by the private sector. The significant negative effect for males is only seen in the private sector. However, permanent workers in the public sector seem to be more likely to report bullying than non-permanent workers, unlike in the private sector where the permanent coefficient is negative. Those with supervisory responsibility in the public sector seem more likely to report bullying whereas supervisory status does not seem to matter in the private sector. Tenure does seem to have some effect in the public sector, with those with longer tenure less likely to report bullying. However, the tenure variable is especially problematic for private sector workers (see Chapter 3). Long working hours appears to be particularly related to reported bullying in the

public sector.[70] The appointment of a new manager is only associated with an increased likelihood of reporting bullying in the private sector, not the public sector. Reporting "more control" only seems to have a strong negative effect in the private sector. Those reporting with a "too intense" pace in the private sector appear more likely to report bullying, whereas the effect is insignificant in the public sector. However, an "increasing" pace only seems to have a strong positive effect in the public sector.[71]

Table 5.5 Logistic regression of reported bullying, by sector

	Public sector			Private sector		
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
male	-0.122		0.229	-0.439	*	0.226
divorce	0.774	**	0.335	0.171		0.390
ref: <10yrs tenure						
10-19yrs	-0.597	**	0.297	0.082		0.286
20yrs+	-0.386		0.267	-0.378		0.419
ref: lower sec/less						
tertiary	0 267		0.345	0.972	***	0.367
upper sec	0.213		0.387	0.732	**	0.368
permanent	0.759	**	0.351	-0.280		0.301
ref: 30-50hrs						
part time	0.243		0.250	-0.198		0.278
51hrs+	1.043	***	0.354	0.382		0.352
supervisor	0.416	*	0.224	0.050		0.233
union	0.321		0.251	0.238		0.250
policy	-0.680	**	0.316	-0.740	***	0.263
appraisal	-0.201		0.212	-0.228		0.251
emp. assist.	-0.032		0.246	0.067		0.278
new tech.	0.000		0.220	-0.161		0.228
new mangr.	0.118		0.218	0.437	*	0.235
org. chge	0.417	*	0.231	0.417	*	0.233
more contrl (1-4)	-0.220		0.140	-0.658	***	0.152
incr. pace (1-4)	0.558	***	0.153	0.131		0.156
int. pace (1-4)	0.072		0.158	0.261		0.161
task dis(1-5)	-0.440	***	0.108	-0.400	***	0.115
Constant	-2.185	***	0.819	-0.624		0.780
N	1009			1517		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.106			0.126		

Notes
1. These models also control for organisational size (not shown).
2. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ~ insig, p>0.1

These results by sector represent some notable differences. One way of testing formally whether these differences remain in a multivariate context is to include interaction terms which allow the coefficients to vary across the sectors: in this case we are specifically interested in how the factors vary in the public

[70] The interaction between autonomy and working hours was tested, however, it is insignificant.
[71] The private sector model's Pseudo R Square is slightly higher than the public sector's (0.13 compared to 0.11).

and private sector and therefore include interaction terms of public sector and the covariates. Only coefficients which differ substantially between the sectors are included as interaction terms. The results of this are presented in Table 5.6 in log odds. Effectively, this model is the next model (model 5) in the series of nested models displayed in Table 5.2.[72]

Table 5.6 Logistic regression of reported bullying, with sector interactions

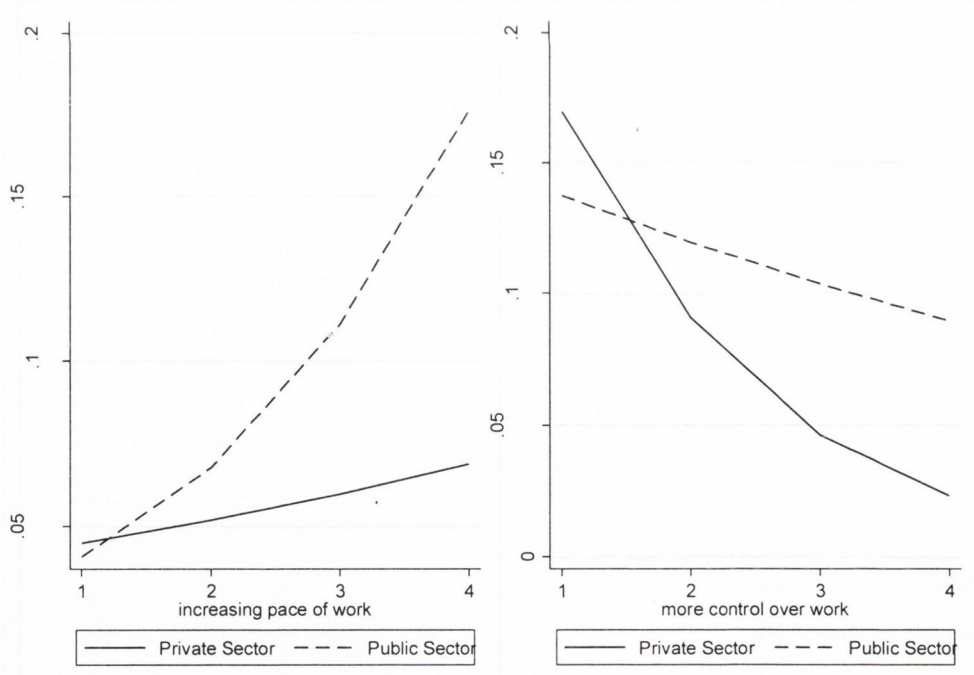
	1		
	Log odds		se
public sector	-1.841	*	1.020
male	-0.410	*	0.223
divorce	0.144		0.387
10-19yrs	-0.266		0.206
20yrs+	-0.334		0.220
tertiary	0.965	***	0.358
upper sec	0.720	**	0.366
permanent	-0.234		0.295
part time	-0.172		0.275
51hrs+	0.369		0.351
supervisor	0.076		0.227
union	0.271		0.176
policy	-0.667	***	0.198
appraisal	-0.171		0.160
emp. assist.	0.010		0.184
new tech.	-0.096		0.157
new mangr.	0.451	**	0.222
org. chge	0.432	***	0.163
more contrl (1-4)	-0.680	***	0 150
incr. pace (1-4)	0.128		0.155
int. pace (1-4)	**0.276**	*	0.160
task dis(1-5)	-0.416	***	0.078
public*male	0.253		0.316
public*divorce	0.628		0.512
public*tertiary	-0.715		0.489
public*leaving	-0.542		0.529
public*perm	**0.944**	**	0.446
public*supervisor	0.305		0.312
public*new mangr.	-0.336		0.296
public*incr. pace	**0.428**	**	0.215
public*int. pace	-0.221		0.223
public*more contrl	**0.477**	**	0.201
public*part time	0.415		0.365
public*over51	0.658		0.496
Constant	-0.503		0.746
N	2526		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.123		
LR test	**		

Notes
1. These models also control for organisational size (not shown).
2. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. ~ insig, p>0.1

[72] Multicollinearity can become problematic when adding interaction terms, however, Brambor *et al.* (2007) argue that this multicollinearity problem should not deter the researcher from including interaction terms in the model.

Most of the coefficients in the model in Table 5.6 are no longer interpretable as main effects, but conditional effects as they have been incorporated into an interaction term.[73] Where this is the case, the coefficients now represent the model estimates when the other variable included in the interaction term is *zero*. For example, the coefficient for male is now conditional on public sector = 0, i.e., the private sector, as male*public has been included as an interaction term in the model. Three interaction terms are statistically significant: public sector*permanent contract, public sector*increased pace and public sector*more control and these sectoral differences can be further explored. The conditional coefficient for permanent workers, i.e., in the private sector, is negative (suggesting that permanent workers in the private sector are *less likely* to report bullying - although the conditional coefficient is not significant). Taking into account the interaction term (large, positive and significant), this suggests that public sector permanent workers are *more likely* to report bullying than non-permanent employees in this sector.

Figure 5.5 Predicted probability of reporting bullying, sector interaction terms



[73] An interaction between social class and sector was tested. Low cell sizes resulted in some of the categories being dropped, and none of the included interaction terms were significant.

Figure 5.5 aids the interpretation of the other significant interaction terms, with the different predicted probabilities of reporting bullying for public and private sector workers in terms of "more control" and "increasing pace".[74] Increasing control over work seems to strongly reduce the risk for private sector workers only. This could be because of the higher levels of task discretion in general for public sector workers seen in Chapter 4: potentially, increasing control will not have the same effect from a higher base. Figure 5.4 shows that for public sector workers, the predicted probability of reporting bullying, when controlling for the other covariates, increases at a stronger incline for those who have an increasing pace at work, whereas this does not have the same effect for private sector workers.[75]

What are the implications of these sector differences for the main research question relating to the higher prevalence of reported bullying in the public sector? The public sector variable is now no longer really interpretable, given that it is now the log odds for public sector workers who score zero on all the covariates included in the interaction terms. Scoring zero is not possible for the scale variables, and so centring these variables is sometimes preferable for interpretative purposes. Table 5.7 reports the results from the logistic regression model, with centred interaction terms (the model only includes the significant interaction terms from the previous model in Table 5.6)

Model 1, Table 5.7 is similar to the model in Table 5.6, however, with increasing pace and more control variables centred at their means. Model 2 in Table 7 includes two of the significant interaction terms relating to more control and increasing pace. We can see that with the addition of these two interaction terms, the public sector coefficient is still positive and significant, suggesting that public sector workers with average levels of job intensification and control (as measured here) are still more likely than private sector workers to report bullying. With the addition of the public*permanent interaction term

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[74] These graphs were creating using the *postgr* function (Long & Freese, 2006). However, this function can only take account of one interaction at a time when the same product is included – as it is here in terms of the public sector. Therefore two separate models were run with just the relevant interaction term included. The graphs do not take account of both interaction effects (and the public sector*permanent interaction) at the same time. However, for illustration of the differences between the sectors and these covariates, the graphs are insightful.

[75] This model was run without the significant interaction terms, but including "too intense" pace and "task discretion" sectoral interaction terms: these were still insignificant.

(uncentred, as these two terms are both binary variables), the public sector coefficient is now reduced to around zero. This provides support that it is permanent workers in the public sector who are more likely to report bullying (as already suggested) and the model presented in Table 5.7 shows more clearly the within-sector differences. Public sector non-permanent employees, scoring average on the measures of increasing job pace and more control are not more likely to report bullying than their private sector non-permanent counterparts.

Table 5.7 Logistic regression of reported bullying, with interaction terms (centred)

	1 With full controls			2 With full controls plus 2 interactions			3 With full controls plus all interactions		
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
public sector	0.652	***	0.177	0.687	***	0.189	-0.100		0.414
permanent	0.169		0.225	0.197		0.225	-0.245		0.289
more contrl _c	-0.427	***	0.101	-0.718	***	0.148	-0.707	***	0.148
incr. pace_c	0.342	***	0.108	0.165		0.145	0.177		0.145
public*incrpace_c				0.354	*	0.193	0.329	*	0.194
public*morecontrl_c				0.532	***	0.198	0.524	***	0.198
public*perm							0.930	**	0.434
Constant	-1.983	***	0.477	-2.097	***	0.484	-1.706	***	0.506
N	2526			2526			2526		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.106			0.114			0.117		

Notes
1. This model is reproduced here in part: the full controls in the previous model are also included, but not shown.
2. "_c" indicates a centred variable.

5.3.1 Intensity in the private sector

However, in addition to the interpretation concerning the sectoral patterns with regards "increasing pace", we can see that the *conditional* coefficient for "intense pace" is quite large, positive and statistically significant at the $p<0.1$ level. The public*pace intensity interaction term is nearly as large and negative, suggesting that pace intensity has less of relationship with the dependent variable in the public sector than the private sector. However, the interaction term is not significant, potentially owing to the fact that the sample size is not large enough to explore these conditional relationships. Nonetheless, for the current analysis it is important to bear in mind that while increasing pace has the effects described above for the public sector, in the private sector, it appears that pace intensity potentially has a similar, if not statistically

significant, relationship. This could point to different processes in the sectors, with public sector workers more at risk of reporting bullying in the context of *change*, i.e., an increasing pace.

5.3.2 Gendered expectations

As discussed, we can see from Table 5.6 (and the separate sector models also suggest this in Table 5.5) that there appears to be some further differences between the public sector and the private sector coefficients, although the interaction terms are not statistically significant. For example, the public*male coefficient is quite large, while the conditional effect for males is statistically significant and negative. If the interaction term was significant, this would indicate that private sector females are *more likely* to report bullying than private sector males, while the gender difference is not echoed in the public sector, controlling for job and organisational characteristics. As this *conditional* effect for males is now significant, it is arguably important to bear in mind this possible gender/sector distinction for future research.

This relationship could relate to the different types of jobs females and males do in the public and private sector – for example, a possible expectation could relate to the fact that low skilled females in the private sector are relatively worse off than males, whereas the gender differences in the public sector (with regards general job quality, for example) are less stark. Education has been utilised as a marker to measure the position in the relative occupational hierarchy, and thus it can be included here as an interaction term with gender. Earlier analysis indicated that public sector workers did not seem to have the strong increased risk by educational level seen among private sector workers: this therefore suggests an interaction between gender, education and sector.

For simplicity, separate sector models will be reported (Table 5.8).[76] For greater ease of interpretation, "female" is entered into the model (instead of male, as before), along with female/education interaction terms. We can see some notable differences with regards sector, with significant interaction terms in the public sector.

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[76] A three way interaction could also have been entered, but adds significant complexity to interpretation.

(uncentred, as these two terms are both binary variables), the public sector coefficient is now reduced to around zero. This provides support that it is permanent workers in the public sector who are more likely to report bullying (as already suggested) and the model presented in Table 5.7 shows more clearly the within-sector differences. Public sector non-permanent employees, scoring average on the measures of increasing job pace and more control are not more likely to report bullying than their private sector non-permanent counterparts.

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	1 With full controls			2 With full controls plus 2 interactions			3 With full controls plus all interactions		
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
public sector	0.652	***	0.177	0.687	***	0.189	-0.100		0.414
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more contrl _c	-0.427	***	0.101	-0.718	***	0.148	-0.707	***	0.148
incr. pace_c	0.342	***	0.108	0.165		0.145	0.177		0.145
public*incrpace_c				0.354	*	0.193	0.329	*	0.194
public*morecontrl_c				0.532	***	0.198	0.524	***	0.198
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Constant	-1.983	***	0.477	-2.097	***	0.484	-1.706	***	0.506
N	2526			2526			2526		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.106			0.114			0.117		

Notes
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[76] A three way interaction could also have been entered, but adds significant complexity to interpretation.

Table 5.8 Logistic regression of reported bullying, with interaction terms, by sector

	Private sector			Public sector		
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
female	**0.732**		0.650	**1.559**	**	0.731
divorce	0.176		0.391	0.730	**	0.339
10-19yrs	0 085		0.287	-0.583	*	0.298
20yrs+	-0.379		0.420	-0.351		0.269
ref: lower sec/less						
tertiary	**1.110**	**	0.521	**1.200**	*	0.665
upper sec	**0.938**	*	0.534	**1.571**	**	0.707
permanent	-0.281		0.301	0.766	**	0.353
part-time	-0.196		0 283	0.253		0.251
51hrs+	0.393		0.353	1.124	***	0.359
supervisor	0.050		0.234	0.393	*	0.225
union	0.241		0.251	0.302		0.251
policy	-0.740	***	0.263	-0.662	**	0.319
appraisal	-0.227		0.251	-0.179		0.214
emp. assist.	0.067		0.278	-0.019		0.248
new tech.	-0.158		0.228	0.012		0.222
new mangr.	0.439	*	0.235	0.133		0.219
org. chge	0.410	*	0 234	0.393	*	0.231
more contrl (1-4)	-0.658	***	0.152	-0.235	*	0.141
incr. pace (1-4)	0.130		0.157	0.556	***	0.154
int. pace (1-4)	0.265		0.162	0.077		0.159
task dis(1-5)	-0.398	***	0.115	-0.444	***	0.108
female*tertiary	**-0.281**		0.701	**-1.422**	*	0.765
female*uppersec	**-0.403**		0.730	**-2.188**	**	0.850
Constant	-1.219		0.825	-3.221	***	0.955
N	1517			1009		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.127			0.115		

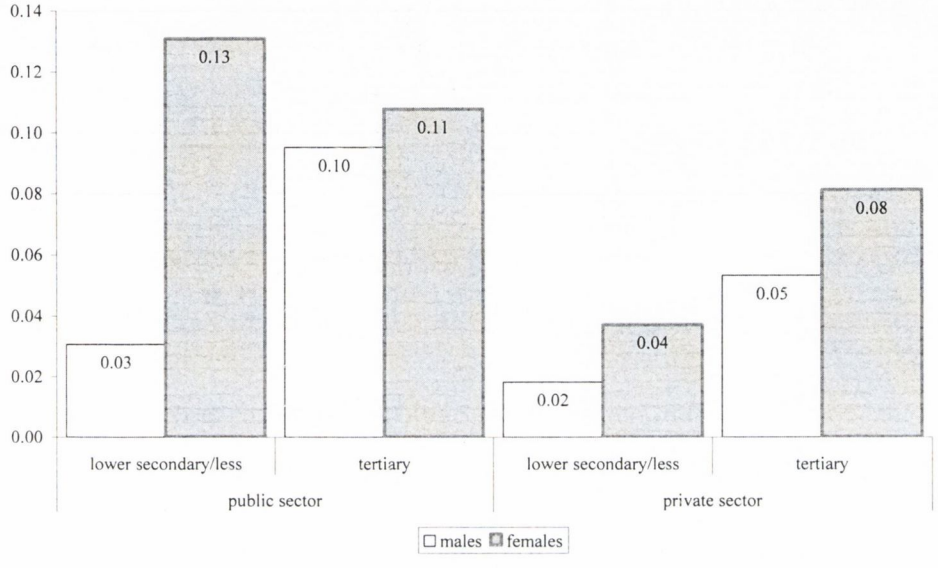
The coefficients for female in Table 5.8 in both the private and public sector models are now conditional and represent the effects for females with lower secondary/less qualifications, compared to their male counterparts. In both sectors, the coefficients are large and positive, however, low skilled females in the public sector are *significantly* more likely to report bullying than low skilled males in the public sector.

In the private sector, while it appears that females with lower secondary/less are more likely to report bullying compared to males (log odds 0.732), this effect is slightly minimised by higher educational levels. However, private sector gender/education interaction terms are not significant and thus formally it should be concluded that there are no differences with regards gender and education in the private sector. It appears that females are more likely to report bullying than males in the private sector, irrespective of their educational level.

Turning now to the interpretation of education, we can see that the conditional effects for tertiary and upper secondary (i.e., for males) indicates that the

"higher education" expectations thesis potentially holds for males in both sectors. This can also be extended to females in the private sector, as the interaction terms are insignificant in this sector. However, there are significant interaction terms in the public sector.

Figure 5.6 Predicted probabilities of reporting bullying, by education and sector



Notes
1. Note that this figure displays the predicted probabilities of those with *lower secondary/less* qualifications and tertiary.
2. These predicted probabilities are calculated on the basis of the models presented in Table 5.8, with other covariates held at their means.

Figure 5.6 displays the predicted probabilities of reporting bullying by education (very low skilled and high skilled, as a comparison) and sector. If we look at the white bars (males) we can see that increasing education increases the probability of reporting bullying across both sectors. We see that this "step" pattern is also clear for females (grey bars, right hand side) in the private sector. However, the probability of reporting bullying is equally as high for low and high skilled jobs held by females in the public sector.

A possible explanation for this is that all levels of the occupational hierarchy for females in the public sector have "high expectations" as to the appropriate behaviours at work and thus are associated with a greater risk of reporting bullying - those with tertiary are not significantly higher than those with lower secondary/less. The public sector acts to "narrow" the gap between high and low skilled females. However, this does raise an important query on the

validity of the "higher expectations" thesis. There is the possibility that the analysis is not capturing some aspect of jobs requiring higher education – possibly with demands and responsibilities not measured adequately by the current survey.

5.4 Direction: prevalence and risk

The literature on workplace bullying has distinguished between the different directions bullying can occur, for example, downward (by supervisors) upward (by subordinates) and horizontal (by colleagues). As Chapter 1 outlined, previous research has highlighted country-level differences in terms of the directions of bullying, with studies highlighting how the UK has higher rates of downward bullying while Scandinavian countries report, overall, higher levels of horizontal bullying. Given that Ireland is usually classified in various typologies with the UK, we might expect that it shares similar features. We are able to explore the directionality to some extent using the present survey data. The complexity of workplace bullying is illustrated by the following quotation, taken from the open-ended question on the nature of bullying experienced, from a manager who feels bullied by his subordinate:

> The subordinate misunderstand my [the respondent's] policies at work. When requests are not granted, he feels over-supervised and aggrieved...[He] may not be happy with work instructions - but these may be coming from senior management.[77]

Thus, in this case, it could be possible that the subordinate is also feeling bullied at work, feeling "over-supervised" and "aggrieved", while the supervisor, acting on higher level instruction and increased work pressures from senior management, also feels bullied in the workplace by the subordinate. Furthermore, this example highlights the overlap of workplace bullying and work practices; the bullying is perceived to be, if not *by* the organisation, closely bound up with work practices (Liefooghe & Davey, 2001).

Some of the previous discussion about the contemporary pressures at work specifically relate to bullying by supervisors/managers, i.e., increased demands

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[77] Source: Nature of bullying experienced (open-ended question), 2007 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace.

with regards targets, performance and productivity, which are potentially perceived by employees as unreasonable, excessive and inappropriate. To what extent might we expect that upwards bullying or bullying by a colleague to have different underlying risk factors?

Given the public sector's association with bureaucracy and hierarchy, vertical bullying (downward and upward) may be the most prevalent in this sector. Horizontal bullying may be more common in the private sector, owing to its apparently less bureaucratic organisational structures. At the same time, we saw from analysis of the EWCS that there were few public/private sector differences in terms of team-working and so this might lead us to expect no difference between the sectors in terms of the direction of bullying: the need to distinguish between different types of team working will be discussed in the conclusion to the thesis.

As already outlined in Chapter 2, research indicates that working in teams is associated with greater work stress and job intensification, and possibly "opens up" staff members to increasing pressures from other employees, not just within the conventional hierarchical management structure. Bullying by colleagues may have a slightly different underlying causal mechanism – although may still involve job intensification as a result of working in pressurised environments. It is expected that job intensification is also associated with bullying by non-supervisors, but we expect that the size or magnitude of the relationship is slightly weaker than that for reported bullying by supervisors.

Previous research has suggested gender differences, with females more likely to be bullied by co-workers (Vartia & Hytti, 2002). We might expect that workers with third level education working in professional jobs to have a lesser risk of bullying by direct supervisors. In terms of organisational change, an obvious expectation would be that bullying by supervisors is more associated with the appointment of a new manager, while organisational change may be associated with new ways of working, potentially including new working arrangements with co-workers and so will be more associated with bullying by non-supervisors. The introduction of new technology was not found to have a

significant relationship with reported bullying overall; however, we might expect that given that new technology is introduced from "above" that it is associated with an increased risk of bullying by supervisors.

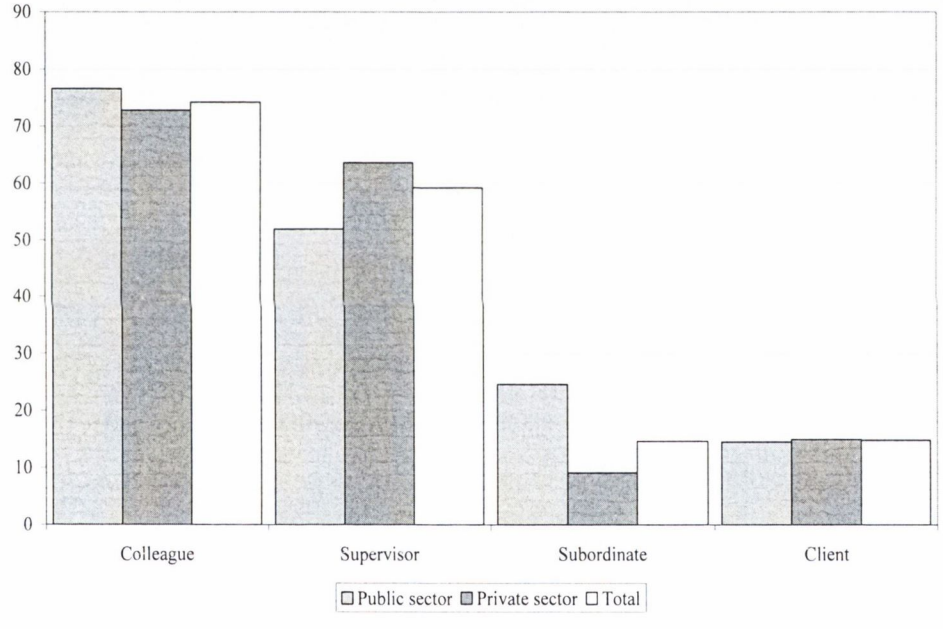
We would expect that task discretion would reduce the likelihood of bullying by supervisors but not have as much effect for bullying by non-supervisors, given that while autonomy will eliminate some of the negative behaviours associated with bullying (for example, feeling "over supervised"), it may not prevent pressurised relationships with co-workers to the same extent.

The rest of the current section explores these expectations empirically, in so far as possible. The respondents who reported bullying were subsequently asked about the perpetrators and were provided four multiple response options: supervisor/s, colleague/s, subordinate/s and client/s. Figure 5.7 illustrates the overall prevalence of the direction of reported bullying: for this descriptive analysis, each respondent may select more than one direction, e.g., by colleague/s *and* supervisor/s. It is clear from the graph is that *colleagues* are cited by respondents in both the public and private sector most frequently. Bullying by supervisors is the next most common direction of bullying reported. In terms of overall prevalence, this holds true for both public and private sector workers. However, while bullying by supervisors is slightly more likely to be reported by private sector respondents, bullying by subordinates is more likely in the public sector (although numbers are very small): this may relate to the hierarchical structure of the public sector.

From this graph then, it appears that Ireland is more like Sweden than the UK (Beale & Hoel, 2010). This is an important finding, as it contradicts stereotypical representations of bullying – by heavy handed managers and instead presents a more complex picture of bullying in the workplace. Previous research has suggested that in countries where bullying by supervisors is the most common type of bullying, there is generally a higher "distance" between management and employees. In countries where horizontal bullying is the most common type, it is suggested that this relates to the management/employee style of relations, where there is less of an adversarial relationship, for example. However, there are a few important points to make in relation to research

exploring the direction of reported bullying. Firstly, in order to make comparisons across countries accurately, a comparative survey must be utilised – harmonised and standardised across all the countries in the sample. Secondly, the current survey allows for multiple perpetrators to be selected – and it is not clear if the perpetrators are "colluding" in the one incident of bullying or if the incidents are entirely separate. For future surveys, it may be possible to restrict the information collected explicitly to just one incident – this will be discussed in the conclusion of the thesis. This represents a limitation of the current analysis and attempts will be made to ensure that the direction of reported bullying is as "clean" as possible, while still maximising sample size.

Figure 5.7 Direction of reported bullying, by sector



Notes
1. Percentage based on number of cases (weighted n=266).

Moving beyond the overall prevalence of the different directions of bullying, we can investigate the different underlying risk factors, using the current survey data. When formally modelling these relationships, we want as "clean" a variable as possible in order to make careful comparisons across the groups. Therefore, a variable was computed with a value of 0 for those who do not report bullying, 1 for those who *only* report bullying by supervisors, 2 for those who report bullying by anyone else *except* supervisors and 3 for those who report a *mixture* of bullying, for example, by supervisors *and* non-supervisors. Effectively this divides the "reported bullying" variable previously measured

as dichotomous and modelled by a binary logistic regression, into a variable which has four possible values, from 0 to 3. In order to model a dependent variable with four nominal values, a multinomial modelling strategy is preferred.[78] Table 5.9 presents the results from the multinomial logistic regression model in log odds. The first column reports the log odds of reporting bullying by supervisors, the second column reports the log odds of reporting bullying by non-supervisors, while the third column reports the log odds of reporting bullying by a mixture – all compared to *not reporting bullying*, which is the reference category. The fourth column will be discussed shortly and compares the log odds of reporting bullying by a supervisor compared to a non-supervisor.

[78] This estimates a series of logistic regression equations for each value of the dependent variable, compared to a reference category.

Table 5.9 Multinomial logistic regression of the direction of reported bullying

	Column 1 By supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 2 By non-supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 3 By mixture/not reporting bullying			Column 4 By supervisors/By non-supervisors [Φ]	
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se	Log odds		se	Log odds	se
male	-0.026		0.311	-0.426	**	0.203	-0.261		0.227	0.400	0.363
public sector	0.420		0.316	0.669	***	0.201	0.392	*	0.227	-0.249	0.366
ref: non-tertiary											
tertiary	-0.193		0.321	0.239		0.208	0.739	***	0.250	-0.432	0.374
permanent	0.976		0.614	0.067		0.280	-0.253		0.292	0.908	0.666
new mangr.	0.624	*	0.329	0.164		0.210	0.106		0.239	0.460	0.382
new tech.	0.420		0.322	-0.181		0.211	-0.318		0.243	0.601	0.376
org. chge	-0.093		0.350	0.399	*	0.219	0.546	**	0.246	-0.492	0.404
nature1_4	0.277		0.214	0.025		0.134	0.484	***	0.156	0.252	0.247
incr. pace (1-4)	0.238		0.247	0.456	***	0.155	0.149		0.170	-0.218	0.286
int. pace (1-4)	0.521	**	0.232	0.181		0.147	0.119		0.167	0.340	0.268
more contrl (1-4)	-0.573	***	0.211	-0.313	**	0.135	-0.509	***	0.150	-0.260	0.244
task dis(1-5)	-0.534	***	0.155	-0.321	***	0.101	-0.413	***	0.114	-0.212	0.181
Constant	-4.627	***	1.153	-3.249	***	0.692	-2.913	***	0.762	-1.378	1.318
N	2734										
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0816										

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

2. These models control for organisational size (only dummy variable measuring 100 plus employees, with reference category < 100 employees).

[Φ] In order to calculate the coefficients and standard errors, the model was rerun with outcome 2, i.e., reported bullying by non-supervisors as the base outcome. The log odds for this column is simply the relevant coefficient for Model 1 minus the coefficient for Model 2, e.g. for public sector workers: 0.420 – 0.669 = -0.249 (if the odds ratios were presented the estimates would be divided instead of subtracted).

The multinomial logistic regression model is demanding in terms of cell size and so a simplified model is adopted here. While the overall number of cases is reasonably large, the number of employees reporting bullying by *supervisors only* is low (n= 52) and the number reporting bullying by *non-supervisors only* is around double that (n=126). This is noteworthy as it confirms the previous descriptive analysis suggesting that in Ireland, bullying by non-supervisors is higher than bullying by supervisors only. However, the remainder report a mixture and this necessarily implies multiple source (i.e., more than one perpetrator which must include a supervisor); this is important to bear in mind when interpreting the third column of results.

Firstly, looking at gender, we can see that females are more at risk of reporting bullying by non-supervisors, suggesting confirmation for previous research studies. This is important in relation to the indication earlier in the chapter that females (especially in the private sector) may be more at risk of reporting bullying than males – it seems that this is potentially in relation to bullying by *non-supervisors* not supervisors. The coefficient for gender is negative but insignificant for bullying by a mixture of sources. When comparing bullying by supervisors directly to bullying by non-supervisors, the gender coefficient is insignificant. Perhaps the best interpretation of these results, given the problems with measurement, is that males appear to be less at risk of reporting bullying by non-supervisors than females. This could perhaps relate to the different gendered patterns in work organisation: in particular future research should address the relationship between team working and the direction of reported bullying.

Public sector workers appear to be more likely than private sector workers to be bullied in all the different directions (effectively confirming the previous main logistic regression model in this chapter) but are only significantly more likely to be bullied by non-supervisors and a mixture of directions. Thus, public sector workers are not significantly more likely to report bullying by *supervisors only* than private sector workers. However, it is important to remember that the mixture of directions variable includes bullying by supervisors *and* non-supervisors, and so effectively suggests that public sector workers are more likely to report a mixture of directions than private sector

workers. These results are limited by the low sample size and the way in which the direction of bullying is measured.

Those with tertiary education also appear more likely to report bullying by a mixture of directions compared to not reporting bullying: potentially, workers in professional jobs requiring higher levels of skills have higher expectations as to what appropriate conduct in the workplace is - from supervisors and colleagues. The appointment of a new manager is associated with an increased risk of reporting bullying by a supervisor compared to not reporting bullying, whereas this coefficient is much reduced for those reporting bullying by colleagues; we could assume that it's the same supervisor that's perceived to be perpetrating the bullying but we can't be sure!

New technology did not have a strong association with reporting bullying overall. However, the coefficient for new technology is large and positive when comparing those reporting bullying *by supervisors* to those reporting bullying *by non-supervisors* (the fourth column of results) and on the borderline of statistical significance. These results suggest that the introduction of new technology is associated with bullying by supervisors rather than non-supervisors – possibly in relation to how the new technology is introduced – and which has less to do with colleagues in its implementation. The contrary relationship is suggested by the results for organisational change; we can see that this does not have a strong association with bullying by supervisors (but does with those reporting bullying by those reporting a mixture). However, column 4 suggests that these comparisons fail to reach statistical significance.

Job intensification is entered in terms of its separate indicators.[79] Any one of these indicators if entered separately reaches a large size and statistical significance. By entering them in the same model, we are testing the "independent effect" of these different aspects of job intensification. Each job intensification indicator appears to be related to a different direction. "Changing nature" of work is associated with an increased likelihood of

[79] It was also entered a scale and the effect is strongly positive and highly significant across the first three columns of results, i.e., job intensification generally is associated with reporting bullying by supervisors, by non-supervisors and by a mixture. However, there is some variation across the indicators and so the full model is included here for inspection.

reporting bullying by a mixture of directions (and therefore multiple perpetrators). An increased pace at work seems to be particularly associated with a greater likelihood of reporting bullying by non-supervisors only whereas an intense pace is associated with bullying by supervisors (all compared to not reporting bullying). This could possibly relate to the different sort of work stresses these intensification processes imply: for those reporting a "too intense" pace, this could be associated with a very stressful and demanding relationship with a supervisor. However, an increasing pace suggests job upheaval and change which may result in tense working relationships with colleagues. However, none of the job intensification indicators are significant when comparing directly bullying by supervisors to bullying by non-supervisors, thus there is no formal difference regarding the *direction* of reported bullying and job intensification.

We can see that the coefficient for task discretion is slightly higher for bullying by non-supervisors than bullying by supervisors. This potentially suggests that those with higher task autonomy are less likely to report bullying by supervisors but we do not see such a strong effect (while still positive) for bullying by non-supervisors. We could interpret this to potentially suggest that workers with task autonomy are "protected" in some way in the workplace from bullying by supervisors (i.e., they are possibly able to control how they work and the rate at which they work, thus preventing excess pressure from supervisors) whereas task autonomy has less of an effect on reporting bullying by non-supervisors. There is a strong and negative effect for more control and again, like task discretion, it appears lowest for bullying by non-supervisors. Potentially, autonomy could "shield" you from supervisors but not from pressures from colleagues. However, as Column 4, Table 5.9 illustrates, when comparing directly bullying by supervisors compared to bullying by non-supervisors, the autonomy coefficient is not statistically significant.

We can investigate the direction of reported bullying further when considering possible within-sector differences.[80] We saw earlier that public sector workers had higher levels of autonomy than private sector workers and that the "more control" interaction with the public sector was significant in the reported

[80] Owing to the low sample size, the possible sectoral differences tested are restricted.

bullying model, suggesting possible sectoral differences with regards autonomy in the workplace (Table 5.6). We might then expect that autonomy does not have the same effect in both the sectors in terms of the direction of reported bullying. Sectoral differences were therefore tested through the introduction of interaction terms (Table 5.10): public sector*task discretion and public sector*more control, as well as public sector*male to test if females are more at risk of bullying by non-supervisors in a particular sector.

We can see that public sector*task discretion is significant at the $p < 0.1$ level for Column 1 and also significant in Column 4, whereas public sector*more control is significant for column 2 which compares reporting bullying by non-supervisors to not reporting bullying. The gender interaction term is not significant.

The main aim here is to focus on the sectoral differences when comparing reported bullying *by supervisors* to bullying *by non-supervisors* in an effort to compare the "cleanest" directions. Here, we can see that greater task discretion is associated with a reduced likelihood for private sector workers, but we do not see this effect for public sector workers, in fact, their odds ratio is slightly over 1. This difference is statistically significant. The relationship is illustrated by means of a graph in Figure 5.8.[81] We can see that task autonomy for private sector workers has quite a dramatic reducing "effect" on the predicted probability of reporting bullying by supervisors compared to non-supervisors. In the public sector, the slope is much less pronounced. So increases in task discretion in the private sector are associated with a strong reduced likelihood of reporting bullying by supervisors (compared with non-supervisors) whereas this pattern is less visible for public sector workers. Therefore as well as task discretion reducing the risk of reported bullying overall, it is particularly associated with a reduced risk of reporting bullying by supervisors compared to non-supervisors, in the private sector. However, it should be noted that "more control" appears to have a reducing effect in the public sector with regards reporting bullying by supervisors compared to non-supervisors, however, this sectoral difference is not statistically significant.

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[81] This graph was produced using the postgr3 function in Stata, with all other covariates held at their means.

Table 5.10 Multinomial logistic regression of the direction, with interaction terms

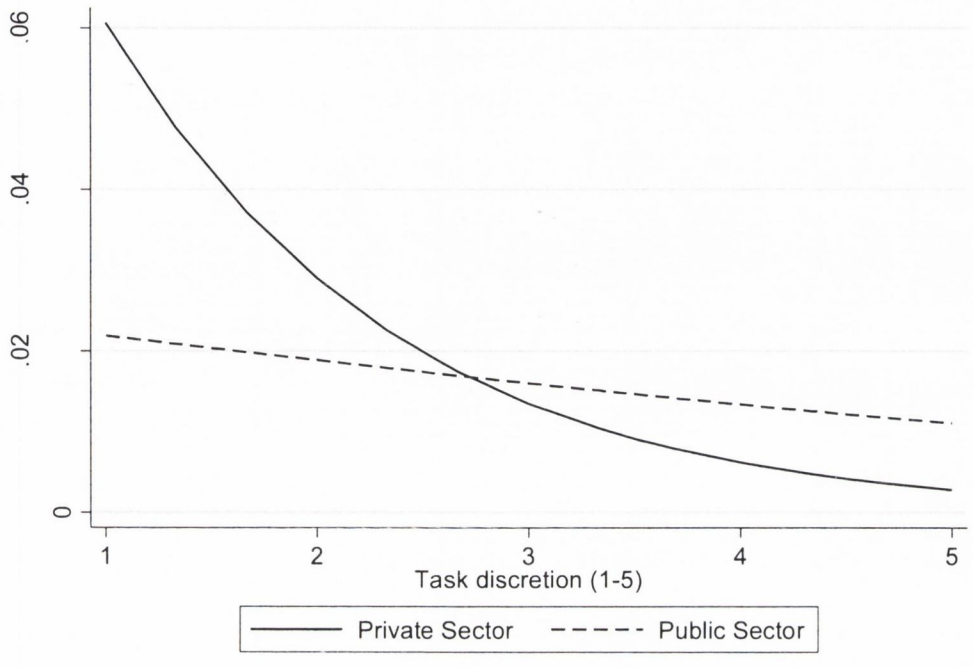
	Column 1 By supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 2 By non-supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 3 By mixture/not reporting bullying			Column 4 By supervisors/By non-supervisors [Φ]		
	log odds		se	log odds		se	log odds		se	log odds		se
male	-0.156		0.430	-0.379		0.293	-0.441		0.313	0.223		0.511
public sector	-1.654		1.443	-0.300		0.957	-0.532		1.029	-1.354		1.675
tertiary	-0.162		0.326	0.242		0.208	0.754	***	0.251	-0.404		0.379
permanent	0.971		0.615	0.089		0.281	-0.251		0.293	0.882		0.669
new mangr.	0.641	*	0.329	0.164		0.210	0.111		0.239	0.476		0.382
new tech.	0.400		0.323	-0.175		0.211	-0.327		0.244	0.575		0.378
org. chge	-0.105		0.350	0.392	*	0.220	0.546	**	0.247	-0.497		0.405
nature1_4	0.249		0.215	0.024		0.134	0.482	***	0.156	0.225		0.248
incr. pace (1-4)	0.263		0.249	0.456	***	0.154	0.147		0.170	-0.192		0.287
int. pace (1-4)	0.517	**	0.232	0.164		0.148	0.116		0.167	0.352		0.269
more contrl (1-4)	-0.528	*	0.297	-0.671	***	0.206	-0.674	***	0.214	0.142		0.353
task dis(1-5)	-0.794	***	0.213	-0.207		0.150	-0.389	**	0.158	-0.587	**	0.255
public*more contrl	-0.028		0.419	0.617	**	0.269	0.337		0.293	-0.645		0.486
public*task dis	0.589	*	0.312	-0.181		0.195	-0.034		0.216	0.770	**	0.360
public*male	0.408		0.625	-0.075		0.408	0.392		0.449	0.483		0.732
Constant	-3.867	***	1.278	-2.714	***	0.857	-2.473	***	0.894	-1.154		1.503
N	2734											
Pseudo R Sq.	00871											

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. These models control for organisational size (dummy variable measuring 100 plus employees).

[Φ] See Table 5.9.

Figure 5.8 Predicted probabilities of reporting bullying by supervisor, interaction
(reference category = non-supervisor)



Notes
1 All the other covariates are held at their means.

This analysis was conducted without including the "more control" variable, given the low numbers in some of the categories of the dependent variable, and the possible relationship between task discretion and more control. The results for task discretion are robust (Appendix Tables 5E1 & 5E2).

An alternative modelling strategy would be to exclude those not reporting bullying and conduct a logistic regression model with a dependent variable which takes on a value of 1 for those reporting bullying *by supervisors* and 0 for those reporting bullying *by non-supervisors* (and excluding the mixture from the analysis). The results from the logistic regression are displayed in the Appendix (Table 5F). Job intensification was entered as a scale and its separate coefficients and the results remain largely the same. By and large, the previous findings including the significant interaction term of public*task discretion are replicated.

A concern is again the fact that this analysis is conducted on the full sample, including those who reported bullying and left their job. However, testing on the restricted sample reveals that the new technology coefficient in Column 4 is

still significant (analysis not shown). As the main significant interaction term in the model in Table 5.10 (Column 4) concerns task discretion, which is measured at both time intervals, this does not present a problem for the analysis.

5.5 Severity and duration of reported bullying: long and prolonged?

Respondents who reported bullying in the workplace were also asked about how long the bullying had been going on for and so we have a measure of the duration, as recorded at the time of the survey interview.[82] The analysis in this section is therefore restricted to those *reporting bullying only*. An initial comparison of the mean duration in months between the public and private sector suggests that public sector workers report a slightly higher average duration than private sector workers (over 13 months, compared to 11 months: analysis not shown).

We might expect this to be case as public sector workers are less mobile than their private sector workers. A number of reasons have been suggested for this, not only in terms of job benefits but also in terms of skills. We might also expect permanent workers to report a longer duration of bullying as they are less mobile than non-permanent employees: these factors therefore could potentially account for the longer duration of bullying in the public sector. However, formal policies and employee welfare programmes (more prevalent in the public sector) might act to effectively stop the bullying earlier (however, the bullying must have occurred in the previous six months). Job intensity is expected to be associated with a longer duration of bullying in terms of the increased pressures at work being likely to prolong an incident of bullying. We might expect that those with low autonomy to have a longer duration of bullying as potentially they are in less of a position to stop the bullying. Likewise, we might expect those reporting increasing control to have a shorter duration of bullying. In order to ascertain the risk factors associated with an increased duration of bullying, we can model the duration using a linear

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[82] The duration of the bullying has a lot of missing values (n=105). This may be owing to the fact that people may not be able to remember the exact length of time, especially if the bullying has gone on for some time. This implies that there may in fact be a bias in the missing values (non random non response) in this variable. The present analysis will not formally take account of this bias however, preliminary comparison of respondents missing and not missing on the duration variable are similar in terms of education, employment contract, age, and gender as well as the frequency of bullying.

regression modelling strategy. In order to account for extreme values, the dependent variable was logged before entering into the model and the pre- and post-inspection of residual plots indicates that this was largely successful.[83]

Table 5.11 presents the results from the linear regression model of the logged duration in months.[84] We do not find a statistically significant difference between public and private sector workers, when controlling for the other covariates. We find that permanent contract workers report longer duration, on average, controlling for other factors. Those with third level education also report longer bullying than average. As expected, the presence of an employee assistance programme is associated with a shorter duration of bullying, however, somewhat surprisingly, a policy is not and the coefficient is positive, although not significant.

There does not appear to be any relationship between task discretion and the duration of bullying (this variable was also tested for non-linearity). Job intensity is entered as a composite scale here, but was found not significantly related to duration of bullying.[85] There are not enough cases to test sectoral differences in this model. While formal policies do seem to be related to a decreased likelihood of reporting bullying, of those who reported bullying, formal policies do not seem to be related to a shortened duration. Given that formal policies do seem to "work", it may be that those reporting bullying and working in organisations *with* policies are a select group – with potentially failing policies. However, large numbers of missing values for the duration variable necessitates caution and further research is necessary to explore possible patterns.[86]

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[83] Furthermore, this inspection led to the identification of three outlier cases which the plots suggested had high leverage: the models were rerun without these three cases and the model presented alongside the others in Table 5.12. The results are similar.

[84] Gender was also tested and was insignificant.

[85] The job intensification index components were also entered separated and the results remain similar (analysis not shown).

[86] The R Squared for the model without outliers is 0.12, thus the model accounts for around 12% of the variance.

Table 5.11 OLS regression of the (logged) duration in months

	1			2 (without outliers)		
	b		se	b		se
public sector	0.149		0.235	0.154		0.236
permanent	0.924	***	0.321	0.947	***	0.319
tertiary	0.431	*	0.231	0.384	*	0.231
emp. assist.	-0.523	*	0.276	-0.558	**	0.275
policy	0.407		0.293	0.423		0.293
more contrl (1-4)	-0.304	**	0.131	-0.275	**	0.132
job intensity (1-4)	0.041		0.193	-0.077		0.201
task dis(1-5)	-0.017		0.106	-0.065		0.108
Constant	1.371	*	0.761	1.771	**	0.787
N	160			157		
R-squared	0.120			0.115		

Notes
1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The data also provides a measure of *how often* the bullying is reported to have occurred, from only occasionally, several times a month, several times a week to about daily: we can interpret this as a measure of frequency or "severity" of the bullying experienced (the terms will be used interchangeably). We might expect job intensification to increase the severity of the bullying reported, while task discretion could potentially reduce the severity. We might expect that public sector workers, owing to the greater protection offered to workers generally in their workplaces, report less severe bullying.[87]

Frequency is measured with an ordinal scale, with values from 1 (only occasionally) through to 4 (about daily), and thus an ordinal regression model is best suited to this analysis.[88] However, low sample size suggests that a logistic regression would be better suited and the original variable was dichotomised, with values of 1 to 2 recoded 0 to indicate "moderate" and values 3 to 4 taking on a value of 1, to indicate "regular". With the dependent variable dichotomised, we can proceed with a logistic regression.

[87] We also might expect that the longer the duration of the bullying the more severe it gets (as per the conflict escalation model proposed by Leymann, 1996), however, the missing values on this variable provide misleading results and so this variable is not included.

[88] **An ordinal regression model is reported in Appendix Table 5G, however, the low sample size prevented the post-estimation Brant test from running. Please see Chapter 7 for further details concerning ordinal regression strategies.**

Table 5.12 Logistic regression of regular/severe bullying
(reference category moderate bullying)

	1		
	log odds		se
public sector	-0.279		0.293
51hrs+	0.530		0.415
permanent	0.177		0.378
tertiary	0.086		0.284
emp. assist.	0.054		0.320
policy	-0.158		0.342
job intensity (1-4)	-0.238		0.247
task disc (1-5)	-0.293	**	0.135
Constant	1.270		0.853
N	243		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0288		

Notes
1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. Job intensity was entered as a scale here: please see Chapter 3 for further details.

Table 5.12 reports the results in log odds. We can see from that while public sector workers may have a higher overall rate of reported bullying, they are slightly less likely to report a regular frequency, although this is not actually statistically significant. As expected, task discretion reduces the frequency of the bullying.[89] None of the other covariates were found to be related to the severity of the bullying reported, in particular, a formal policy (while in the right direction, at least) is not statistically significant. It appears therefore that higher levels of task discretion is associated with more moderate bullying, indicating that job autonomy is not only important in reducing the overall risk of reporting bullying but can impact on the frequency of inappropriate behaviours in the workplace.

5.6 'Undermining and unreasonable' or the flexible workforce?

Respondents who reported bullying were subsequently asked about the nature of bullying experienced, from a range of options. This range was significantly revised from 5 items in 2001 to 16[90] items in 2007, and respondents were able to select as many options as applied. Before considering potential patterns in the type of behaviours, we can also undertake analysis on the *number* of different behaviours reported by respondents. As Table 5.13 illustrates, around 28% of bullied respondents report between 1 and 4 different types of

[89] More control was also tested but insignificant and so not included in the model reported here.
[90] Here, sexual harassment and physical abuse are not considered as they are substantively different from workplace bullying (see later in section). Thus the analysis deals only with 14 items.

behaviours, whereas just over half report between 5 and 9 different combinations of behaviours. Just over 20% report over 10 different types of behaviours. We can see that public sector workers are more likely to report less than 4 different combinations of behaviours, while private sector workers are more likely to report 10 or more different combinations. This indicates that private sector workers are more "at risk" of a greater variety of behaviours associated with bullying.

Table 5.13 Number of different types of behaviours (%)

	Public sector	Private sector	Total
1-4 types	35.1	24.1	28.2
5-9 types	55.7	48.1	51.0
10 plus types	9.3	27.8	20.8

We can also consider the types of behaviour, ranging from exclusion and verbal abuse through to unreasonable assignments and withholding work related information. We can see from Table 5.14 that verbal abuse and undermining are the most commonly cited type of bullying behaviour, with being treated less favourably, intimidation/harassment, humiliation and being blamed for things beyond control also commonly cited. It is important to remember that multiple options can be selected.

Of note here, private sector workers are around twice as likely than their public sector colleagues to report intrusion/pestering, unreasonable assignments and around 1.5 times more likely to report unreasonable deadlines, threats and excessive monitoring. Monitoring could relate to the on average lower autonomy and lower educated workers in this sector.

Table 5.14 Types of behaviours reported by bullied respondents (%)

	Public sector	Private sector	Total
Exclusion	37.3	44.9	41.9
Verbal abuse/insults	72.8	77.0	75.8
Treated less favourably	55.6	64.1	60.7
Intrusion/pestering/spy/stalk	20.4	39.2	32.5
Unreasonable assignments	23.7	42.7	36.3
Unreasonable deadlines/targets	21.3	27.1	25.4
Threats(explicit or implicit)	21.5	31.9	27.6
Intimidation/harassment	55.8	64.8	61.1
Aggression	46.7	48.0	47.9
Undermining	72.2	78.0	75.9
Excessive monitoring of work	27.1	44.8	38.2
Humiliation	56.3	58.0	57.4
Withholding work related info	33.3	37.1	35.7
Blame for things beyond control	50.6	58.3	55.8
N (weighted)	161	102	266

Notes
1. The above percentages are based on percentage of cases.
2. The total row does not add up exactly owing to missing values.

Previous research detailed in Chapter 1 suggested the distinction between work-related and personal-related bullying behaviours. Factor analysis is a useful technique often used when the goal is data reduction. While in the main, factor analysis assumes the variables are continuous, Kim and Mueller (1978) claim that binary variables such as yes/no (including those in the current dataset capturing the different types of bullying behaviours) can be used when the analyst simply wants to ascertain if the variables cluster in any meaningful way.[91] Here the goal is exploratory factor analysis as we wish to see if there are underlying dimensions to the behaviours and do not have *a priori* hypotheses to test. The following analysis is necessarily limited; the sample size is quite low although satisfactory according to the guidelines suggesting a ratio of 10:1 of cases to variables for inclusion.[92]

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[91] Factor analysis was chosen over principal components analysis (the default choice in SPSS) as it is recommended by researchers when the primary objective is to identify latent dimensions or constructs and the researcher has little knowledge about the unique error variance: factor analysis restricts the analysis to the common variance (Hair *et al.* 2006; Costello & Osborne, 2005). The default option was selected in Stata which is principal factors. Other extraction methods were attempted but these generated error messages concerning the Heywood boundary indicating a boundary solution and although the results did not differ.

[92] There are several conflicting guidelines regarding the appropriate sample size needed for factor analysis: from 10 times as many observations as variables with a minimum of 200 cases; 50 observations per factor (Pedhazur & Schmelkin 1991); minimum sample size of 100-200 cases (Guadagnoli and Velicer 1988); at least 300 cases Tabachnick & Fidell (1996); Sample size of 50 is very poor, 100 is poor, 200 is fair, 300 is good, 500 is very good, and 1000 is excellent, (Comrey and Lee 1992). From "averaging out" this advice, the current analysis with 269 cases and 13 variables is satisfactory.

Exploratory factor analysis[93] was performed in Stata on the fourteen bullying behaviour variables, omitting physical abuse and sexual harassment, on the grounds that these are substantively different concerns.[94] Firstly, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy showed a very low value for "verbal insults/abuse" and with the inclusion of variable, the overall KMO was approximately 0.4, or "unacceptable" (Hair *et al.* 2006). After the removal of this variable, the KMO increased to 0.6, which is "mediocre" and satisfactory for the tentative exploration of the current data.

Table 5.15 Rotated (orthogonal) factor loadings

Behaviour	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Uniqueness
Exclusion		0.6169			0.6055
Treated less favourably		0.7258			0.4111
Intrusion/pestering/spy/stalk	0.3931			0.5492	0.4931
Unreasonable assignments	0.8576				0.2311
Unreasonable targets	0.9124				0.1556
Threats (explicit or implicit)				0.6328	0.5265
Intimidation			0.4115	0.5264	0.5183
Aggression			0.6383		0.5434
Undermining		0.541	0.3619		0.4324
Excessive monitoring of work	0.5846				0.4877
Humiliation		0.3917	0.4717		0.6228
Withholding work-related info	0.3685	0.5872			0.4525
Blame for things beyond control	0.5738		0.4317		0.4159

[93] The factor analysis was performed on the tetrachoric correlation matrix (as the variables were binary) as this is the recommended strategy when dealing with this kind of data (Kim & Mueller, 1978).

[94] The KMO (a measure of sampling adequacy) values for these two variables were very low and so they would have been excluded from the analysis anyway.

Table 5.16 Four factor solution

Factor 1: "Task-related"	Factor 2: "Perception-based"	Factor 3: "Overt"	Factor 4: "Covert"
unreasonable deadlines/targets	treated less favourably	aggression	threats
unreasonable assignments	exclusion	humiliation	intrusion/pestering/ spy/stalking
excessive monitoring of work	withholding work related info		intimidation/ harassment
blame for things beyond control	undermining		

Table 5.17 Mean factor scores

	Factor 1: "Task-related"	Factor 2: "Perception-based"	Factor 3: "Overt"	Factor 4: "Covert"
Direction of reported bullying				
By non-supervisors	0.16***	0.43	0.48	0.36
By supervisors	0.30	0.52	0.41	0.24
Employment contract				
Permanent	0.25	0.51	0.48	0.31
Non-permanent	0.25	0.57	0.46	0.24
Sector				
Private sector	0.29*	0.55	0.47	0.33
Public sector	0.19	0 49	0.48	0.23
Education				
Tertiary	0.32	0.50	0.46	0.30
Less than tertiary	0.17	0.55	0.50	0.29
Gender				
Female	0.21***	0.54*	0.50	0.29
Male	0.32	0.49	0.43	0.29

Notes
1. The dataset has been weighted when comparing the mean factor scores.
2. Comparisons of means revealed significant differences. There are marked: *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

The initial factor analysis confirmed that two factors had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 which suggested a two factor solution. However, examination of the communality ("1 – uniqueness" is presented in Stata) suggested that the communality was very high, averaging around 0.6-0.7. While a two factor solution would have been very convenient, Costello and Osborne (2005) argue that the minimum eigenvalue approach is not accurate and they recommend examination of the scree plot, which involves looking at the graph of the eigenvalues for the natural break point or curve ending. The number of data points above the break point is the number of factors to retain and the scree plot (not shown) suggests that four factors should be retained for this data. Table 5.15 shows the factor loadings after rotation[95]: only loadings

[95] Initial rotation assumed the factors were uncorrelated. A promax (oblique and so correlated) rotation was also applied and a similar factor structure was achieved.

greater than 0.3 are displayed. Some variables only loaded onto one factor which simplifies the next step. Where some cross-loaded, none loaded over 0.5 on more than one variable (Hair *et al.* 2006) and a strategy of selecting the highest loading was adopted. The four factors are summarised in Table 5.16.

The first factor arguably relates to task-based behaviours. The second factor contains more perception-dependent behaviours (apart from withholding work, although can think about that a different way in terms of perceiving being overlooked or favouritism, rather than work pressures *per se*). The third factor relates to actual *overt* abuse in the workplace while the fourth factor relates to more *covert* behaviours – threats and intimidation. As already outlined, this analysis is exploratory and probably best viewed as preliminary, suggesting possible clusters of bullying behaviours for the current data. In its favour, the resulting factors are not entirely nonsensical and have some intuitive appeal. That being said, the results are tentative and further research would be necessary to test and confirm the existences of these factors for Irish workplaces.

There are a number of options open to the researcher after performing factor analysis. Firstly, if the goal was data reduction or simplification, a variable could be selected from each factor (the highest loading) to act as a "surrogate". Alternatively, a summated score could be calculated, using the average of all the variables on a particular factor. This analysis can produce factor scores for each case in the dataset and thus we can see if there are patterns with regards the factors that can further our understanding of workplace bullying.[96] We can see from Table 5.17 that those reporting bullying by supervisors score higher on the "task-related" factor – providing support for the factor solution as this makes a lot of sense! There are few significant differences, however, private sector workers are more likely to score higher on the task-related factor. Quite surprisingly, public sector workers have a similar score as their private sector colleagues on the overt dimension – more associated with catering rather than

[96] Regression factor scores predict the location of each individual on the factor or component. The independent variables in the regression equation are the standardized values of the items in the estimated factors/components, and the factor scores are the dependent variables. The computed factor scores are standardised to a mean of zero and the standard deviation of the distribution of factor scores (by factor) will be 1. (DiStefano *et al.* 2009)

the civil service, although it is expected the health and education sectors perhaps represent more aggressive environments. Males are more likely to report task-based behaviours whereas females appear to be slightly more likely to report perception-based behaviours. This therefore potentially provides insights with regards the findings concerning the gendered *direction* of bullying - with females more at risk of reporting bullying by non-supervisors only. Females may be more vulnerable to experiencing behaviours such as exclusion and undermining, which is interesting in light of their greater propensity to report bullying by co-workers, possibly relating to forms of work organisation.

5.7 Conclusion

This study has sought to study workplace bullying through considering important sectoral variations in organisational and job change, as well as the opportunities for mobility and for employee voice. Given the higher prevalence of reported bullying in the public sector, the aim of this chapter has been to explore how these factors relate to reported workplace bullying. The analysis benefits from a nationally representative survey and the study has investigated the main risk factors associated with reported bullying and also the nature (including behaviours and duration), direction (e.g., by supervisors or by non-supervisors) and severity of the bullying reported.

5.7.1 Explaining prevalence in the public sector

It is argued that the higher prevalence of reported bullying in the public sector than the private sector must be contextualised in terms of the different job, organisational and labour market characteristics in these sectors. The existing research literature has highlighted the importance of organisational and job change as well as job demands in terms of risks of reported bullying. It has been suggested that the new public management drives may offer insights into the higher rate of bullying in the public sector. However, in addition, sectoral patterns in the opportunities for mobility and employee voice must also be taken into consideration. Critically, we expected that taking account of these factors will effectively "explain" this higher rate of bullying in this sector.

We see a strong relationship between most types of organisational change and job change/intensification and reported bullying. In addition, we see a strong

effect for long working hours, however, this is reduced for employees with higher levels of task discretion. This suggests that the issue of workplace bullying is linked to the "changing workplace" debates, as discussed in Chapter 2. Despite taking account of organisational change and job factors such as job intensification and autonomy, we still find a higher likelihood of public sector workers reporting bullying than private sector workers, that is, job and organisational change do not seem to account fully for this higher prevalence. Indeed, from the descriptive analysis in Chapter 4, we do not see the anticipated higher rates of job intensification and organisational change in the public sector, potentially owing to a "stabilisation" effect in recent years.

Another argument of this thesis suggests that reporting bullying may be related to the higher expectations of workers. Overall, we do find possible support for this however, it is important to concede that there may be an unmeasured aspect of these jobs which results in greater conflict at work (not captured by job intensification, job pace or working hours). Importantly, it does not appear that the higher educated public sector is an explanation for the higher prevalence of reporting bullying. We find that formal policies are associated with a reduced risk of reporting bullying – in both sectors. This therefore goes against previous expectations that formal policies create increased awareness of workplace bullying, thus leading to a higher reporting rate owing to increased sensitivity.

Despite taking account of factors relating to organisational and job change, higher expectations and awareness, as well as different mobility indicators, the analysis suggests that public sector workers are still more likely to report bullying than private sector workers. This raises interesting questions relating to the possible within-sector differences with regards bullying.

5.7.2 The sector matters for bullying

We do see some differences *within the sectors* with regards the relationship between job intensification and reported bullying. For public sector workers, an "increasing pace" seems to be associated with an increased likelihood of reporting bullying whereas the relationship in the private sector is not as strong. At the same time however, while not significant, an "intense pace" seems to be

linked with an increased likelihood of bullying in the private sector. This could suggest that public sector workers are more likely to report bullying in a context of increasing pace – suggesting a *change* to work practices, work load or job demands, for example, the increased use of targets/performance objectives. Private sector workers seem to be more likely to report bullying when working in jobs that are "too intense", which could suggest that change is not as much a problem for workers in this sector. To some extent, the findings are limited by sample size, and future research is necessary to further confirm these results.

Increasing control at work, as well as having higher levels of task discretion is associated with a decreased likelihood of reporting bullying. However, there is some evidence to suggest that autonomy does not have the same effects in the public and private sector. "More control" only has a strong reducing association with regards reported bullying in the private sector, potentially reflecting the higher overall levels of autonomy in the public sector (for these workers, increasing control may not have the same effect).

The role of gender

In terms of gender, females seem to be more likely to report bullying than males, although when taking account of job characteristics, this result is no longer statistically significant. The "higher expectations" thesis appears to have important gender and sector implications: females working the public sector with lower secondary are as likely as those with tertiary education to report bullying. One possibility is that these workers also have high expectations as to appropriate conduct in the workplace, potentially relating to their protected terms and conditions.

The importance of contract type

We find that workers employed on permanent contracts in the public sector are more at risk of reporting bullying compared to temporary/casual workers. In fact, when taking account of contract type in the public sector (as well as the different impacts of job intensification and autonomy) we find that the public sector coefficient is reduced substantially. The relationship between contract type and reporting bullying seems to work in the opposite direction in the private sector, although strictly speaking, the best interpretation is one of "no

difference" between contract types in the private sector and reporting bullying (the permanent coefficient for the private sector only model is negative, but insignificant). This potentially suggests different underlying risk factors in the different sectors. In the public sector, it is potentially those protected permanent employees (with secure jobs and relatively high wages) that are more likely to report bullying compared to non-permanent workers. This may be because they are less likely to exit their employment – which we will explore further in the following chapter. Occupational mobility relating to skills should also be kept in mind, but the present data does not allow us to formally take account of this.

5.7.3 Direction matters

In terms of the direction of reported bullying, non-supervisory bullying seems to be prevalent overall, making Ireland more in line with her Swedish counterparts than nearest UK neighbours. This provides confirmation of previous research in Ireland which suggested that bullying by a supervisor was not the dominant type. However, as already outlined, a comparative methodology would be necessary for a robust comparison of this nature. At a descriptive level where multiple responses are permitted, it appears that private sector workers are more at risk of bullying by supervisors than non-supervisors. When direction was restricted to those reporting bullying by supervisors *only*, bullying by non-supervisors *only* and a mixture, we see that public sector workers are more likely to report bullying by non-supervisors and a mixture of sources (the difference is not significant when looking at bullying by supervisors only, although the sign of the coefficient is positive and quite large). To some extent, this analysis is limited owing to the small sample size and measurement issues. It appears that the introduction of new technology is associated with an increased risk of reporting top down bullying only rather than other directions, suggesting that it may be related to how the technology is introduced in the workplace – by management and possibly negatively impacting on the manager/employee relationship. Furthermore, the type of technological change may be important here, for example, with the implementation of computerised monitoring differing from investment in infrastructure.

Task discretion seems to reduce the risk of private sector workers reporting top down bullying only compared to non-supervisor bullying only. It appears that workers with higher levels of task discretion are less likely to report bullying by supervisors than non-supervisors in the private sector and thus task discretion in this sector may help workers carry out their jobs, shielded somewhat from possible inappropriate or negative behaviours from management while this matters to a lesser extent with regards bullying by non-supervisors.

5.7.4 Final remarks

The analysis in this chapter has sought to account for the higher rate of workplace bullying in the public sector than the private sector. Job intensification and organisational change are strongly associated with increased risks of bullying but do not fully explain the higher prevalence in the public sector. It does appear that workers with permanent contracts in the public sector are much more likely that their non-permanent counterparts to report bullying. It is suggested that this relates to different opportunities for employee voice and mobility which may be structured along sectoral lines. This study therefore moves away from an interpersonal conflict framework to one that stresses the role of structural factors. The survey provides detailed information relating to exit and voice, and the analysis in the following chapter will address this in greater depth, investigating the possible sectoral patterns and the potential implications for workplace bullying.

Chapter 6 Should I stay or should I go now...? Exit and voice responses to workplace bullying

> "I dealt with it by the complaints procedure as per the company policy."
>
> "I talked to senior management and protested. I'm about to become shop steward to address the issues."
>
> "I confronted the individuals and gave them an ultimatum that if the bullying didn't stop, the complaint was going to higher management."
>
> "I spoke to manager who advised it would stop but it didn't. I knew from previous experience that Human Resources would pass the buck, and they did."
>
> "I spoke to a colleague – the office where I work only has one other person. There's no policy on bullying and no Personnel department to turn to other than the manager."
>
> "I told them to fuck off or I'd break their necks...I would consider leaving if I could find another job."
>
> "I tried to talk to bully [and reported it] with no result so I left my job." [97]

While bullying has come to be recognised as a serious grievance in the workplace, it often remains the preserve of internal investigations and mediation strategies which address the "interpersonal conflict" between the two or more parties. Its resolution therefore takes the form of individual complaints, despite being linked to collective issues such as work organisation, work practices and job quality. As discussed in Chapter 2, making a complaint or initiating the grievance procedure can represent one aspect of employee "voice" in relation to a conflict at work. However, employees can also exit their employment, either after an unsuccessful attempt at voicing their complaint or as an alternative, for example, if there is little opportunity to

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[97] Source: Response to bullying experienced (open-ended question), 2007 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace.

complain in the workplace. This study argues that it is important to consider the sectoral characteristics that shape the contemporary workplace in terms of how employees use voice and exit in relation to workplace bullying.

A key question for this thesis is the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector. It is suggested that public sector employees may have more opportunities to use voice in the workplace, for example, formal policies, greater organisational familiarity with Codes of Practice as well as a higher density of trade union membership. Private sector workers may have less recourse to such voice strategies and may be more likely to leave their employment if confronted with negative behaviours, at least at a time of full employment. Public sector workers enjoy relatively better terms and conditions, job security and pay as well as future pension provision and so may be less likely to leave their current employment. It is also possible that skills play a part, in terms of public sector workers having more "organisationally-specific" human capital and so less able to find alternative employment: this lack of mobility in the public sector has been highlighted by the recent OECD report (2008).

The present chapter empirically explores the exit and voice strategies of those reporting workplace bullying using the current survey data, which provides information regarding the range of voice strategies that employees reporting bullying have used, from informal through to formal options. In terms of exit, the survey captures exit strategies that a respondent has *considered*, such as leaving work, as well as actual quits. The analysis takes a sectoral angle, exploring how differences in exit and voice can provide further insights with regards the prevalence of reported bullying. The next section briefly considers the different exit and voice strategies that the present survey data measures. The following two sections present descriptive analysis: Section 6.2 specifically considers voice strategies, before considering exit strategies in Section 6.3. Section 6.4 presents the evidence on actual quits, as measured by the survey data. This section models the likelihood of exit of those reporting bullying.

6.1 Exit and voice in the workplace: drawing on the current data

Exit and voice have been discussed in Chapter 2. While employee voice has been expanded in the literature to include participation in the workplace with regards decision making, grievance filing is a common type of employee voice, closely bound up in dispute resolution mechanisms, which differ not only according to country, but across organisations, and crucially whether it is located in the public or private sector (Teague, 2005). In the case of workplace bullying or indeed other work-related issues, it may be the case that a range of voice strategies are pursued before considering an exit. There are therefore a number of potential pathways employees could follow if they perceive negative behaviour at work, illustrated by some of the quotations opening this chapter. The first and second quotations demonstrate typical examples of a formal voice strategy, for example, the first respondent states that they made recourse to their organisation's policy and initiated the grievance procedure. The second respondent also made a complaint to senior management and is now considering becoming a trade union shop steward in order to pursue the matter further. However, the third quotation demonstrates the more informal, if direct, approach of discussing it with the perceived perpetrators, and warning that the complaint will go to higher management if not resolved.[98] The fourth quote illustrates the type of situation when the formal route option is viewed with some scepticism, with the perception that human resources would not adequately deal with the problem. The fifth quotation reflects the informal voice route of talking to colleagues; however, we can see this is in a situation whereby there is little recourse to other action – apart from leaving the job. The possible relationship between exit and voice is illustrated by the final two quotes: the respondents attempted to resolve the situation, through informal and formal voice strategies, before considering an exit. The sixth quotation illustrates how exit is to some extent a constrained choice, dependent on the ability to find alternative employment whereas the final respondent cited here actually did quit their job in response to the continued bullying and their unsuccessful intervention.[99]

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[98] The survey does not specifically measure whether a respondent speaks to the alleged perpetrator/s but this did arise in the open-ended responses a number of times.

[99] This respondent also formally reported the incident.

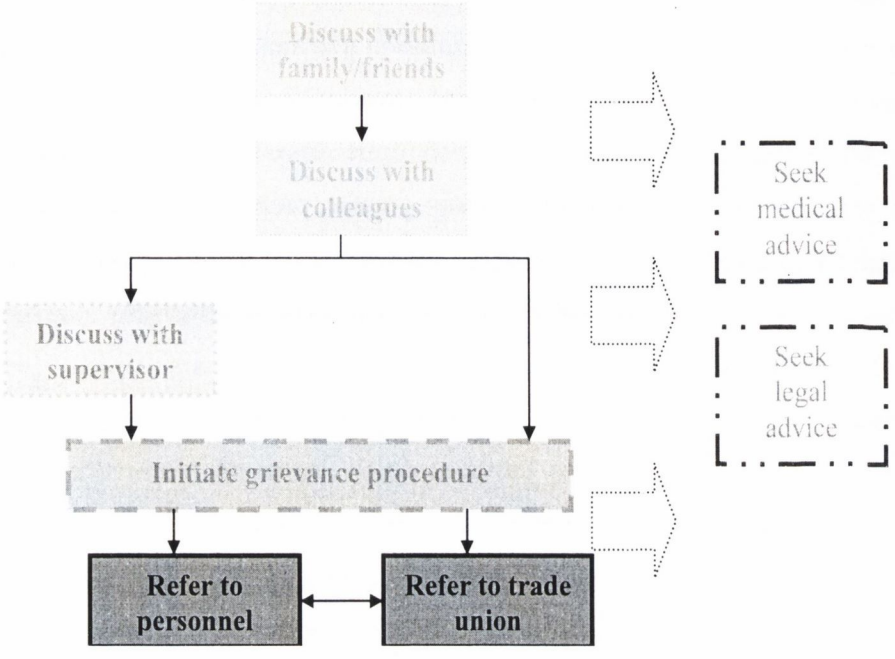
We can see that for some respondents, the ability to use voice is facilitated by the organisational environment, for example, the extent of union recognition and the dispute resolution mechanisms in place, for example, the presence of a grievance procedure covering workplace bullying: these are structured along sectoral lines. If voice options are less prevalent in the private sector, this could partly explain their greater propensity to exit. However, we should also consider that if voice options are more prevalent and well-established in the public sector, voice strategies could potentially lead to the effective *stopping* of the bullying.

The survey provides a rich source of information on voice strategies, ranging from informal routes such as talking to friends/family for support through to formal trade union strategies. In addition, the survey captures a range of exit strategies, both intra-organisationally such as transfers and sick leave, intentions to quit, as well as the more conventional exit strategies such as actual quits. In this way, the present chapter is concerned with a broad range of exit and voice strategies of those reporting bullying, with a particular focus on the sectoral patterns.

6.2 Voicing discontent in the workplace

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, one of the main voice strategies considered by the literature is grievance filing or initiating a complaint in the workplace. However, this analysis expands this concept to include informal voice strategies, such as talking to friends, family and colleagues, as well as formal voice strategies including more conventional grievance filing, referring to personnel or trade union. We also consider seeking medical and legal advice under the general category of "voice". Respondents were able to select more than one different voice strategy and so it is possible to build a comprehensive picture: although not necessarily chronological, the following diagram (Figure 6) presents a possible pathway.

Figure 6 Voice pathways for respondents reporting bullying

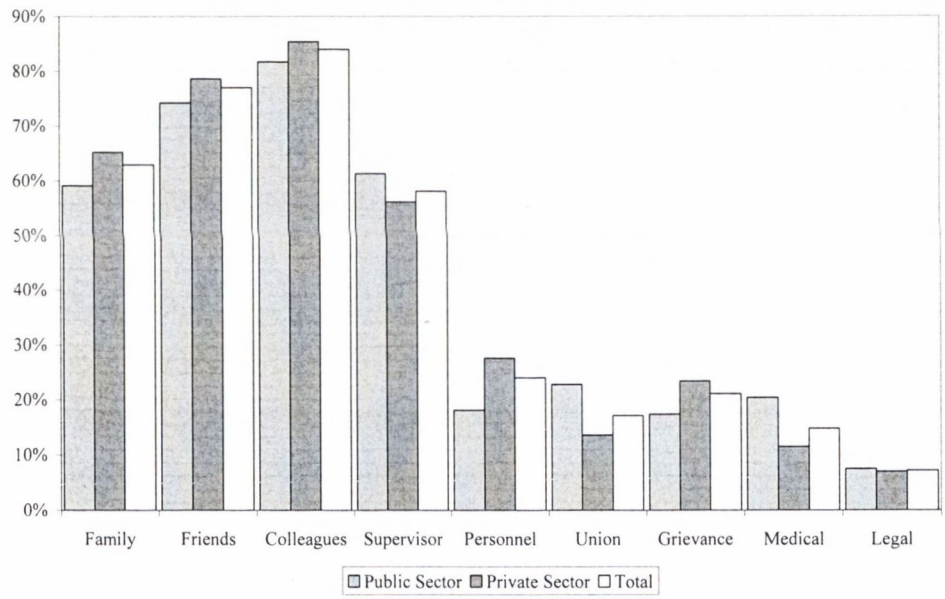


A respondent may initially talk to family or friends, as well talking to colleagues before deciding to discuss the issue with a supervisor. Initiation of the grievance procedure may follow supervisory contact, depending on the perpetrator of the bullying. If the perpetrator is the supervisor, an employee may directly initiate the grievance procedure, which could accompany a referral to personnel or their trade union. If not already a member, an employee may decide to join a trade union in response to the experience of bullying at work. At any time, the respondent may seek medical or legal advice. Naturally, discussions with family and friends may continue throughout the process – this has been considered in the literature, in terms of the "ripple effects" on family members (Steensma *et al.* 2004) as well as how relations *in* the workplace amongst non-involved co-workers often become problematic (Lewis & Orford, 2005). Potentially, the need to pursue more voice options, the move from informal to more formal voice strategies, may increase as the duration of the bullying increases or the severity increases.

6.2.1. Sounding board or seeking redress? Informal and formal voice strategies

As Figure 6.1 shows, there is some variation in terms of the voice strategies adopted by employees in response to workplace bullying.[100] Informal voice strategies are the most commonly followed, as one might expect, with talking to friends/family and colleagues the most frequently reported response to bullying. Of these, talking to colleagues is the most widespread response of all (over 80%) indicating that first and foremost, respondents are most likely to confide in their workmates about a problem at work. Talking with friends is slightly more common than talking with family members (just over three quarters of employees reporting bullying, compared to just over 60%).

Figure 6.1 Sectoral patterns in voice strategies (%)



Turning to the more formal voice strategies, just under 60% of respondents reporting bullying state that they discussed the issue with a supervisor: this is the most common formal voice option. Referring the matter to personnel is slightly more frequent than referring to a trade union (around a quarter of respondents, compared to 17%) – owing partly to the fact that not all respondents are, or have the ability to be, members of a trade union. Just over 20% initiate their organisation's grievance procedure, again partly reflecting

[100] The analysis in this chapter is restricted to those employees reporting bullying only and thus the number of observations is much reduced; where not otherwise stated, weighted n = 266.

the fact that not all organisations have an organisational policy with regards bullying. Where analysis is restricted to just those who report having a policy (n=140), just over a quarter indicate that they initiated the grievance procedure: this quite low rate could partly reflect that some of these policies are actually informal (analysis not shown). Medical advice is sought by around 15%, which could include seeing a doctor for stress and/or certification off work. Only 7% seek legal advice – while small, this is still a significant minority taking very serious action in response to a work-based conflict. As discussed in Chapter 1, legal redress is a complex issue with regards workplace bullying, especially in relation to the potential overlap of bullying and disputes covered by existing employment or equality legislation.

In terms of sectoral differences, we can see from Figure 6.1 that the rates for most voice strategies do not vary by sector. However, private sector workers are slightly likely to contact personnel (only significant at the $p<0.1$ level). This could reflect the dominance of HRM in dealing with bullying complaints, particularly visible in the private sector. Public sector workers are slightly more likely to refer the issue to a trade union (again, only significant at the $p<0.1$ level), reflecting the higher trade union density in the public sector. However, if we restrict the analysis to just those belonging to a trade union (numbers are even smaller here: n=112) a greater proportion of private sector employees report the bullying to their union compared to public sector employees (45%, compared to 30%, $p < 0.1$: analysis not shown). This could potentially suggest that private sector workers may *join* a trade union in response to the bullying.[101] Private sector employees are slightly more likely to use a grievance procedure than public sector workers although the difference is not statistically significant.[102]

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[101] Rates of trade union membership for private sector employees reporting bullying are slightly higher than those not reporting bullying (30% compared to 25%).

[102] However, when we restrict the analysis to just those who reporting having a policy on workplace bullying, we do find that private sector workers are more likely to use the grievance procedures (nearly two fifths, compared to one fifth, $p<0.05$). This is only suggestive however, as it could be that employees are referring to initiating a general grievance procedure in the workplace that is not specifically contained in the policy on workplace bullying itself.

Public sector workers are more likely to seek medical advice ($p<0.05$): we can explore the possible sectoral differences in terms of the outcomes of workplace bullying on job satisfaction and well-being in the next chapter.

When considering the total number of voice strategies that a respondent reports, we can see the majority of respondents follow 3 or 4 different strategies (Figure 6.2) and analysis shows that there is no difference between the sectors in terms of the number of voice options pursued (not shown).

Figure 6.2 Combinations of voice strategies (%)

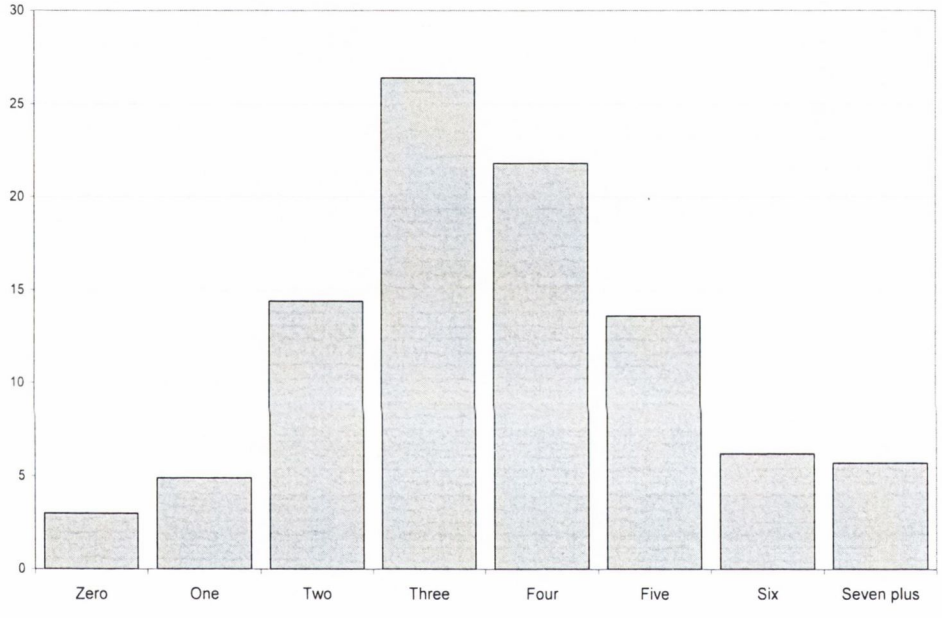
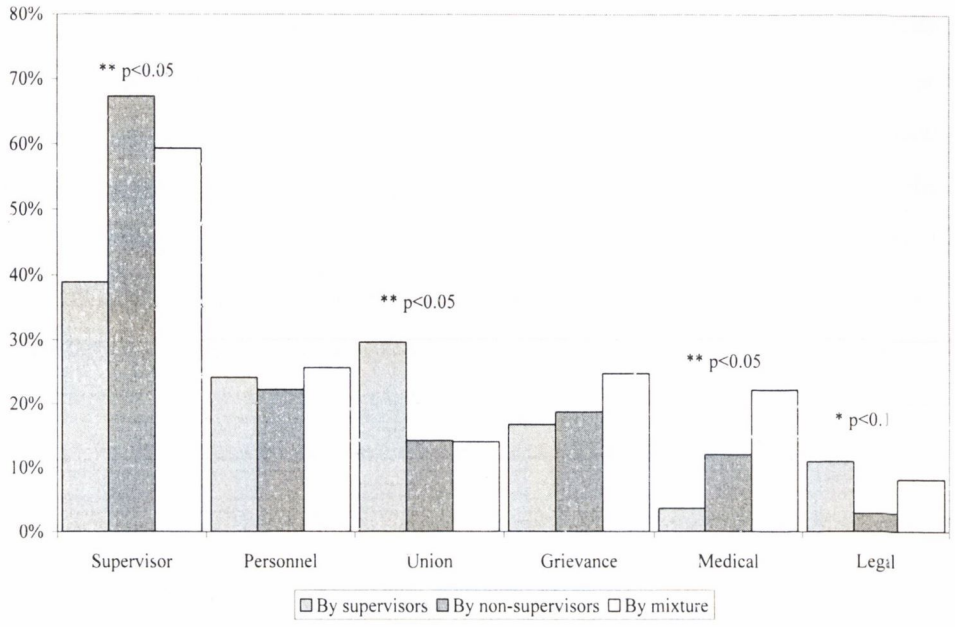


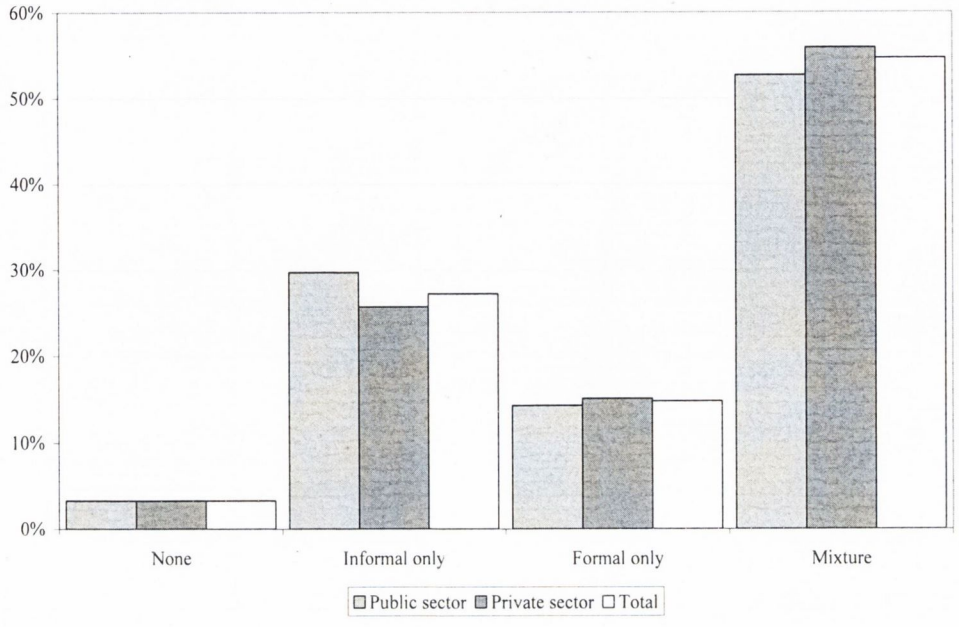
Figure 6.3 illustrates the relative proportions of employees that use different voice options, categorised by the *direction* of bullying. We can see that, unsurprisingly, those reporting bullying by a supervisor are less likely to discuss it with a supervisor. Additionally, we can see that those reporting bullying by a supervisor only are more likely to report it to a union, whereas those reporting a mixture are more likely to seek medical advice: this may be because a mixture implies more than one perpetrator, which may have a greater effect on stress and well-being (we can explore this in the next chapter).

Figure 6.3 Voice strategies by direction of bullying (%)



Respondents may pursue wholly informal or informal strategies, or a mixture may be adopted. The categorisation adopted is as follows. If a respondent talks to *only* family/friends/colleagues, they are categorised as "informal only", if a respondent talks to a supervisor/initiates the grievance procedure/refers to personnel or trade union and *none* of the informal strategies, they are categorised as "formal only". The others are categorised as a "mixture". Analysis reveals that no respondents seek only external or professional advice. Figure 6.4 illustrates that most respondents pursue a mixture of informal and formal strategies, with over a half of bullied respondents in this category. Thus respondents are most likely to seek out both informal and formal voice strategies in response to the bullying at work. The next most common strategy is informal only strategies, that is, those respondents who do not seek out any formal voice strategy at all – just under 30% of respondents. There are some respondents therefore who do not seek formal mechanisms to address the bullying, possibly because of a lack of opportunity or fear of reprisals, career progression worries or making the matter worse (as Chapter 2 highlighted). A formal only strategy is taken by around 15% of bullied respondents. Very few respondents reported following *no* voice strategies at all.

Figure 6.4 Formal and informal voice strategies (%)



We can also look at whether there are sectoral differences in terms of pursuing wholly informal versus formal strategies (Figure 6.4). Private sector workers are slightly more likely to pursue formal only strategies, whereas public sector workers are slightly more likely to pursue informal only strategies; however, these differences are not statistically different, and so we can conclude that there are no significant sectoral differences in terms of the informal versus formal voice strategies adopted. The vast majority of employees reporting bullying report using a mixture of both informal and formal strategies, and this is true for both the public and private sector.

Table 6.1 (top panel) shows the general characteristics of respondents in terms of their different voice strategies. For ease of presentation and interpretation, if a respondent has selected *any* of the informal voice strategies, they are coded as "yes" for a newly constructed "any informal" variable.

Table 6.1 Voice strategies (%)

	Gender		Education		Employment contract	
	Female	Male	Non-tertiary	Tertiary	Non-Permanent	Permanent
Total						
Any informal	98.70***	85.90***	91.50	95.60	88.10**	95.80**
Supervisor	58.70	57.70	55.80	60.10	70.90**	54.30**
Personnel	24.40	23.40	23.30	24.50	12.00**	27.50**
Trade union	12.70**	23.50**	18.10	16.30	4.90***	20.90***
Grievance policy	23.90	16.20	25.60*	16.70*	18.70	21.50
Medical advice	15.20	13.90	12.40	16.60	11.70	15.50
Legal advice	5.40	8.90	5.80	8.10	2.80	8.40
Private sector						
Any informal	99.40**	85.90**	89.70**	98.50**	84.90**	97.70**
Supervisor	58.80	52.90	49.70	62.80	74.60**	49.20**
Personnel	28.60	26.70	23.00	32.40	15.60**	32.60**
Trade union	8.00**	22.00**	13.40	14.40	6.00*	17.10*
Grievance policy	27.50	17.20	29.20*	17.10*	23.60	23.20
Medical advice	7.20**	18.00**	8.50	14.30	9.00	12.40
Legal advice	3.20**	11.90**	6.20	7.90	1.20	9.40
N (private)	95	62	78	79	44	113
Public sector						
Any informal	97.50**	85.70**	94.30	92.20	95.3	92.60
Supervisor	58.30	67.10	70.10	56.10	58.0	62.30
Personnel	18.00	17.30	24.10	13.60	2.0*	20.70*
Trade union	20.90	25.80	28.00	19.40	2.0**	26.70**
Grievance policy	19.00	13.90	17.90	16.60	5.5	19.30
Medical advice	29.10***	6.00***	20.00	20.40	20.4	20.20
Legal advice	9.10	3.90	5.30	8.30	7.9	7.00
N (public)	57	35	35	52	15	79

Notes

1. Significant differences as tested using a chi square test – significant differences are highlighted with an asterisk (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.).

In terms of gender, we can see that females are more likely than males to seek out informal voice strategies, such as talking with family/friends/colleagues. Non-permanent workers are also slightly less likely to report informal voice strategies. However, overwhelmingly, most respondents, no matter their characteristics, seek informal voice strategies when reporting bullying at work. While there are no significant gender differences in terms of discussing with a supervisor or referring to personnel, males are more likely to report to a trade union, most likely reflecting their greater employment in sectors with a stronger union presence and higher likelihood of being a trade union member. However, females are more likely to use the grievance procedure while males are more likely to seek legal advice; although neither of these gender differences reach statistical significance. Those with non-tertiary education are more likely to use the grievance procedure.

In terms of employment contract, we can see some variation as well in terms of the formal voice strategies utilised. Temporary/casual employees are more likely to discuss bullying with a supervisor, this could potentially indicate that often a temporary worker's relationship within an organisation is mediated through a supervisor. Permanent employees are more likely to report to a trade union, again reflecting their higher likelihood of membership. Permanent employees have also a higher likelihood of reporting to personnel. In the main, most of these significant relationships are also seen when comparing the public and private sectors. However, the higher rate of seeking medical advice by females is mostly driven by public sector employees, while private sector females are more likely to seek legal advice. We can see also that the higher likelihood of males referring the bullying to their trade union is true only for the private sector. There is a very low number of non-permanent employees reporting bullying (n=15) and so the percentages could be misleading. This is suggestive of the previous chapter's analysis which found that permanent public sector employees were more likely to report bullying than non-permanent employees in the same sector.

Of interest here are the combinations of different voice strategies that respondents adopt in response to workplace bullying – do employees tend to adopt particular strategies together? We can see from Table 6.2 that friends and family are moderately correlated ($r=.380$, $p<0.01$) while only weakly correlated with initiating the grievance procedure ($r=.127$, $p<0.05$) or seeking medical advice ($r=.143$, $p<0.01$). Talking with friends is moderately correlated with talking with colleagues ($r=.296$, $p<0.01$) possibly because of the potential overlap of these two categories. Referring to personnel and initiating the grievance procedures are moderately correlated ($r=.428$, $p<0.01$) with a slightly lower correlation coefficient for reporting to a trade union and initiating a grievance procedures ($r=.385$, $p<0.01$). Discussing with a supervisor and initiating the grievance procedures is also moderately correlated ($r=.384$, $p<0.01$). Referring to personnel and consulting a trade union are moderately correlated, suggesting that for some respondents reporting bullying, these strategies are complementary.

Table 6.2 Correlation matrix of different voice strategies

	family	friends	colleagues	supervisor	personnel	trade union	grievance	medical advice	legal advice
family	1	.380***	0.082	-0.015	-0.016	0.042	.127*	.143*	0.037
friends	.380***	1	.296***	0.054	-0.062	-0.02	0.05	0.006	0.03
colleagues	0.082	.296***	1	0.093	.195**	0.01	0.083	-0.014	0.041
supervisor	-0.015	0.054	0.093	1	.384***	.203**	.257***	0.036	0.07
personnel	-0.016	-0.062	.195**	.384***	1	.265***	.428***	0.009	.132**
trade union	0.042	-0.02	0.01	.203**	.265***	1	.385***	.285***	.318***
grievance	.127**	0.05	0.083	.257***	.428***	.385***	1	0.109*	.175**
medical advice	.143**	0.006	-0.014	0.036	0.009	.285***	0 109*	1	.402***
legal advice	0.037	0.03	0.041	0.07	.132**	.318***	.175**	.402***	1

Notes
1. *** p < 0.01 ** p < 0.05 * < 0.1

Seeking medical and legal advice are moderately correlated ($r=.402$, $p<0.01$), possibility reflecting that legal advice sought may suggest seeking medical advice to strengthen the respondent's case, or that legal advice is only sought by those who have experienced severe stress related to the bullying.

The sectors were also analysed separately and the results are displayed in Table 6.3. Notable differences between the two sectors are highlighted in bold. The correlation between discussing with a supervisor and a trade union is positively correlated in the public sector, unlike the private sector where is it weak (and insignificant). The correlation between talking to a supervisor and seeking medical advice is stronger in the public sector. The correlation between grievance procedures and referring to personnel is much stronger in the public sector than the private sector, highlighting the greater roll-out of formal policies and grievance procedures in the public sector. It is worth highlighting that the correlation between personnel and trade unions are moderately correlated in both sectors.

Initiating the grievance procedure and seeking external advice (both medical and legal) are all more strongly correlated in the public sector than the private sector. While this could reflect bullying cases which are more serious in the public sector, it could also reflect the organisational environment whereby employees are aware of the dispute resolution mechanisms and the opportunities of redress.

Table 6.3 Correlation matrix of different voice strategies, by sector

	family	friends	colleagues	supervisor	personnel	trade union	grievance	med. advice	leg. advice
Public sector									
family	1	.344***	0.087	.209**	-0.044	0.1	0.089	.207**	-0.021
friends	.344***	1	.320**	0.061	-0.035	0.071	0.008	0.08	-0.062
colleagues	0.087	.320***	1	0.01	**0.088**	-0.006	0.123	-0.028	-0.004
supervisor	.209**	0.061	0.01	1	.305**	**.368*****	.320**	**.226****	0.177*
personnel	-0.044	-0.035	0.088	.305**	1	.373***	.623***	0.156	0.169
trade union	0.1	0.071	-0.006	.368***	.373***	1	.493***	.334***	.279**
grievance	0.089	0.008	0.123	.320**	.623***	.493***	1	**.292****	**.283****
medical advice	.207**	0.08	-0.028	.226**	0.156	.334***	.292**	1	416***
legal advice	-0.021	-0.062	-0.004	0.177*	0.169	.279**	.283**	.416***	1
Private sector									
family	1	394***	0.07	-0.148	-0.012	0.014	0.147*	0.111	0.074
friends	.394**	1	.275***	0.049	-0.092	-0.08	0.068	-0.042	0.099
colleagues	0.07	.275**	1	0.152*	**.253*****	0.032	0.06	0.007	0.073
supervisor	-0.148*	0.049	0.152*	1	.434***	**0.074**	.226**	**-0.125**	0.014
personnel	-0.012	-0.092	.253***	.434***	1	.220**	.330***	-0.074	0.121
trade union	0.014	-0.08	0.032	0.074	.220**	1	.326***	.207**	.358***
grievance	0.147*	0.068	0.06	.226**	.330***	.326***	1	**-0.015**	**0.121**
medical advice	0.111	-0.042	0.007	-0.125	-0.074	.207**	-0.015	1	.410***
legal advice	0.074	0.099	0.073	0.014	0.121	.358***	0.121	.410***	1

Notes
1. *** p < 0.01 ** p < 0.05 * < 0.1

6.2.2 Does voice work or does it depend? Discontent at work

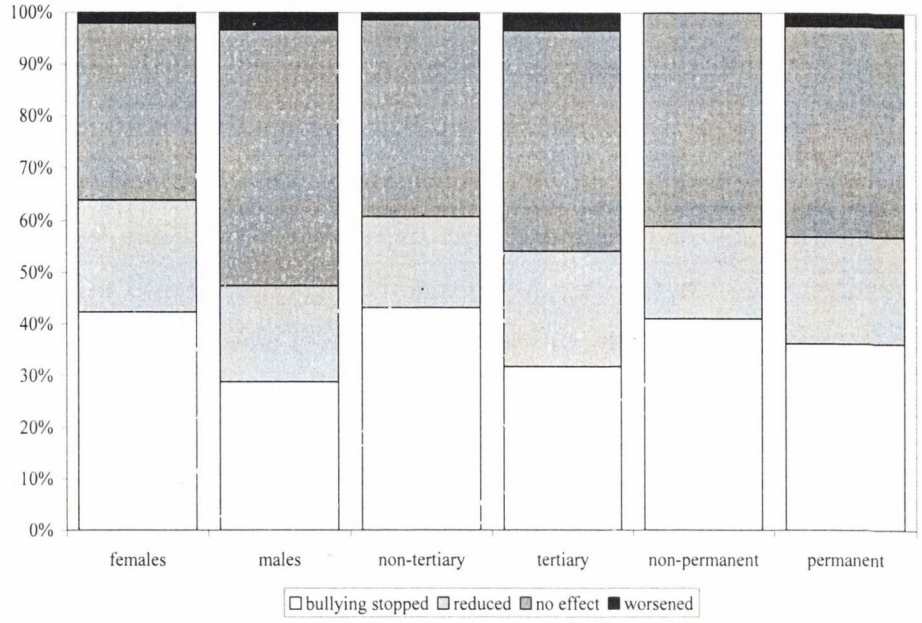
In the survey, respondents are asked if any formal interventions – talking to a supervisor, referring to personnel or trade union, or using the grievance procedure - had an impact on the bullying. From Table 6.4, we can see that the majority of respondents who used one of these responses indicated that the bullying had either stopped or reduced (well over half). Just over two fifths, however, indicated that it had had no effect, with a minority, just under 3%, reporting that the bullying had in fact got worse. When comparing the sectors overall (Table 6.4), we can see that a similar proportion in the public and private sector report that the bullying stopped as a result of an intervention. However, private sector workers are most likely to report that the intervention had "no effect", while public sector workers are more likely to report that it reduced – suggesting that the policies in place in the public sector are more effective than in the private sector. However, despite low numbers, there also seems to be an increased likelihood of public sector workers reporting that the bullying worsened (nearly 4%). Numbers overall have decreased here as we are restricted to just those who used some sort of formal strategy – none of the differences between the sectors are statistically significant.

Table 6.4 Effect of intervention (%)
(Those who indicating they had followed a formal voice strategy)

	Private sector	Public sector	Total
Stopped	38.0	36.4	37.4
Reduced	17.0	23.6	19.4
No effect	43.0	36.4	40.6
Worsened	2.0	3.6	2.6
N (weighted)	100	55	155

We can see from Figure 6.5 that there are minimal differences in terms of gender, education and employment contract in terms of interventions having an effect: none of these relationships are statistically significant. However, it appears that females are slightly more likely to report that the bullying had stopped as a result of a voice strategy. Males are more likely to report that it had no effect. However, the quite large proportion of respondents overall who report that their voice interventions had no effect or in fact worsened might partly explain why many consider exiting and some actually do quit their job.

Figure 6.5 Effects of formal voice strategy on bullying (%)
(Those who used a formal voice strategy)



6.3 Grand exits: permanent, temporary and "quasi" mobility

The survey provides a range of different exit intentions or strategies: sick leave, which can be considered as a mechanism allowing "temporary" mobility away from the workplace; a transfer represents "quasi-mobility" where a respondent leaves their current working environment but remains within the organisation, possibly doing the same or similar job; "permanent exits" include a) where a respondent leaves their employment and find another job or b) leaves the workforce entirely. The survey allows us to investigate these exit pathways, both intended and already pursued. It is expected that the sectoral variations with regards exit intentions and strategies have implications for the prevalence of reported bullying.

Figure 6.6 Exit strategies (%)

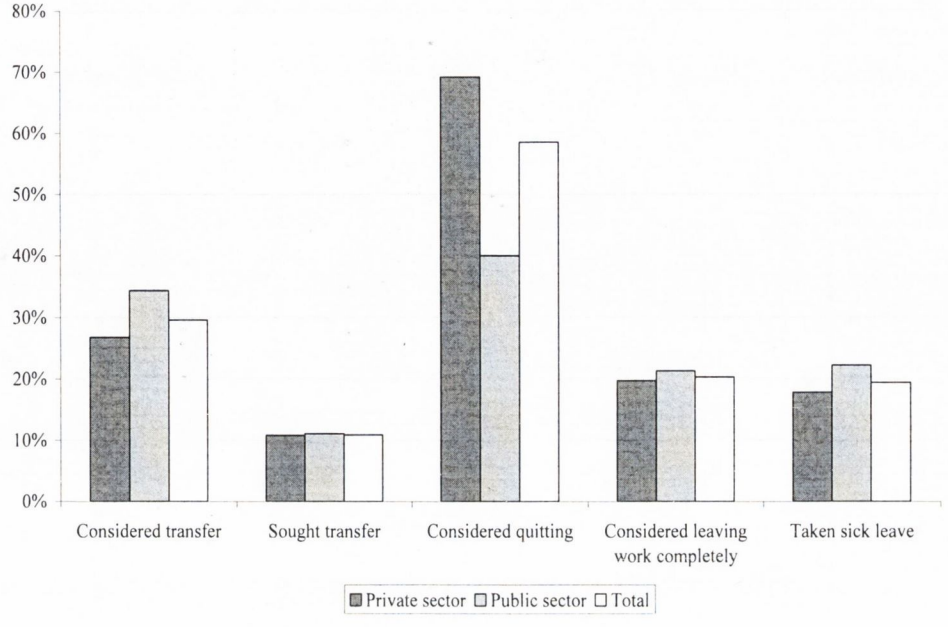


Figure 6.6 shows the different strategies respondents select in response to workplace bullying: as before, they may select more than one option. We can see that while *considering* a transfer is reasonably high - just under 30% of bullied respondents report that they have considered a transfer. However, those who actually have *sought* a transfer is considerably lower, as might be expected (just over 10%). Considering quitting work is surprisingly high, nearly 60%. Around a fifth of workers consider leaving the labour market completely and around the same proportion have taken sick leave. As Figure 6.6 illustrates, there are some differences in terms of exit strategies between public and private sector employees who report bullying. Private sector employees are more likely to consider quitting their current job, which is a key element of the argument put forward by this thesis. Public sector workers are slightly more likely to seek a transfer which could reflect the greater opportunities to do so within this sector. We saw in Chapter 4 that among the entire sample of employees, there were no sectoral differences in terms of involuntary transfers. Here, there is only a slight public sector "edge" to considering a transfer, and little difference in actually seeking a transfer. This is noteworthy, as transfers may have been one possible exit strategy for public sector workers, while minimising the "cost" of leaving their employment. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the recent OECD (2008) report suggested a low level of mobility for workers within the public sector. Public sector

workers are only slightly more likely to take sick leave than their private sector counterparts – somewhat mitigating against media representations, for example ("Teacher's right to uncertified sick leave under review", Irish Times, 23rd April 2009; "Genuine illness or sick joke", Irish Times, 21st July 2009).

As Table 6.5 shows, there is some variation in terms of exit strategies however very few of the differences reach statistical significance. Males are more likely than females to have sought a transfer, whereas females are more likely to consider leaving work, as are those with lower educational qualifications. Interestingly, there is no difference between contract types and taking sick leave: a "no work, no pay" situation for temporary staff could have impacted on sick leave (drawing on Nichols' (1997) argument that industrial injury rates must consider the piece rate wage system). We might expect further differentiation amongst fixed-term, casual employees and those employed through an agency.

Table 6.5 Exit strategies of bullied respondents (%)

	Gender		Education		Employment contract	
	Female	Male	Non-tertiary	Tertiary	Non-permanent	Permanent
consider transfer	30.4	28.7	34.8*	25.3*	24.7	31.4
sought transfer	8.6*	16.0*	13.6	9.5	7.8	12.7
consider quit	63.5**	49.9**	67.6**	50.4**	64.2	56.4
consider leaving work completely	19.1	22.1	20.9	20.1	21.9	20.1
taken sick leave	22.6	15.8	18.8	20.9	17.7	20.5

Notes
1. Chi square tests: *** $p < 0.01$ ** $p < 0.05$ * < 0.1

Respondents can select more than one exit strategy and so we can see to what extent these permanent/temporary/quasi-exit strategies are correlated. Table 6.6 reports that considering a transfer and considering quitting are weakly correlated ($r=.216$, $p<0.01$). Considering quitting and leaving work completely are also moderately correlated ($r=.393$, $p<0.01$). Actually taking sick leave (in response to the bullying) and considering quitting or leaving work completely are weakly correlated ($>.226$ r $<.272$, $p<0.01$).

Table 6.6 Correlation matrix of different exit strategies

	considered transfer	sought transfer	considered quitting	considered leaving work completely	taken sick leave
considered transfer	1	.530***	.216***	.269***	.151**
sought transfer	.530***	1	0.106*	.202***	.141**
considered quitting	.216***	0.106*	1	.393***	.226***
considered leaving work completely	.269***	.202***	.393***	1	.272***
taken sick leave	.151**	.141**	.226***	.272***	1

Notes
1. Correlations: *** p < 0.01 ** p < 0.05 * < 0.1

The sectors were analysed separately and we can see from Table 6.7 that considering transfer, considering quitting and leaving work completely are all more highly correlated in the private sector than the public sector. However, considering leaving the labour force entirely and considering quitting is quite strongly correlated in the public sector (r=0.591, p<0.01, compared to r=.303, p<0.01 in the private sector).

Table 6.7 Correlation matrix of different exit strategies, by sector

	considered transfer	sought transfer	considered quitting	considered leaving work completely	taken sick leave
Public sector					
considered transfer	1	**.493*** **	**.217** **	**0.149**	**0.142**
sought transfer	.493***	1	**0.107**	**-0.034**	**-0.016**
considered quitting	.217**	0.107	1	**.591*** **	**.235** **
considered leaving work completely	0.149	-0.034	.591***	1	**.328** **
taken sick leave	0.142	-0.016	.235**	.328**	1
Private sector					
considered transfer	1	**.546*** **	**.308*** **	**.359*** **	**.157** **
sought transfer	.546***	1	**0.144***	**.343*** **	**.257*** **
considered quitting	.308***	0.144*	1	**.303*** **	**.265*** **
considered leaving work completely	.359***	.343***	.303***	1	**.225** **
taken sick leave	.157**	.257***	.265***	.225**	1

Notes
1. Correlations: *** p < 0.01 ** p < 0.05 * < 0.1

This section has explored the various exit strategies respondents have considered or taken as a response to the bullying reported. Intentions provide a useful insight into how employees reporting bullying view their situation and their likely future actions. However, the analysis can also take account of those employees reporting bullying who have actually left the job where the bullying occurred. The next section looks in more detail at actual quits.

6.4 Just hot air? Actual quits and workplace bullying

> "I left my position and went back to college as a way out...I was bullied in a small office, where everyone was friends."
>
> "I left for health reasons but also for bullying."
>
> "My contract was terminated by the employer".
>
> "I resigned, I couldn't stay any longer".[103]

Respondents may leave a job for many reasons, as the quotations cited above illustrate. The survey allows for the bullying to have occurred in a previous job (as long as it was within the previous six months) and collects some information pertaining to prior occupation and workplace. While many respondents reporting bullying consider leaving the labour force entirely, only a minority had done so at the time of the survey, however, one respondent was unemployed and another at university (analysis not shown). At the time of the bullying, all were employees (as we have excluded the self-employed from our analysis). We can see from the above quotations that exiting may take on a variety of guises, from concerns over health through to just not "being able" to stay any longer. The termination of contract is an example of involuntary versus voluntary exits and is important to consider. At the time of the survey, around 10% of the total who reported bullying had actually left the job where the bullying occurred.

Employee exits are partly shaped by the institutional context in terms of the labour market and the public-private divide is critical in understanding the prevalence of reported workplace bullying in Irish workplaces. Public sector workers may be less likely to leave their employment, owing to better terms and conditions as well as financial benefits. We have also considered the role of occupational skills but are unable to test this here. In addition, we might expect that permanent sector workers may be less likely to leave, compared to their temporary and casually employed counterparts. In terms of individual characteristics, those with children are expected to be less likely to leave, while

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[103] Employees reporting bullying who subsequently left the job where the bullying occurred. Source: Response to bullying experienced (open-ended question), 2007 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace.

divorced people, drawing on the previous finding that they are more assertive, are expected to be more likely to leave. Drawing on the job matching literature, we would expect younger people to have a greater likelihood of exit, owing to their lack of job-specific build up of human capital.

Drawing on the previous literature discussed in Chapter 2, we would expect trade union members to be less likely to leave their employment, as they may have greater opportunities to use voice. We would expect that those who have recourse to a formal voice option in the workplace are less likely to leave. We might expect that bullying by a supervisor to make the employment relationship less tenable than bullying by a non-supervisor and therefore we would expect a greater likelihood of exit. Likewise, more frequent bullying is expected to be associated with a greater likelihood of exiting.

A very simple reduced logistic model was conducted, with the dependent variable "exited job": we are here using a restricted sample of employees reporting bullying only.[104] The dependent variable scores 1 when the employee reported bullying indicates that they have left the previous job where the bullying occurred and zero when the employee reports that they are still in the same employment. As with the previous models, the covariates reflect the characteristics of the relevant employment *wherever the bullying occurred.*

As Model 1, Table 6.8 indicates, we can see that public sector workers reporting bullying are less likely to have left their job than private sector workers. Model 2 adds the additional covariates cited above and we can see that permanent workers are also less likely to leave their employment. Neither having children nor being divorced reaches statistical significance, although the coefficients are in the expected direction.[105] There is no effect for age, as tested here comparing those under 40 years old to everyone else.[106].

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[104] However, it should be noted that this variable also includes people who have left their job for reasons unrelated to the bullying: owing to numbers it is not possible to break this category further.

[105] Gender was also tested in the main effects model and was insignificant, this is interesting in light of the fact that females are more likely to consider an exit.

[106] Other age categories were also tested but all were insignificant. It does appear that younger people seem *less likely* to leave their job.

Table 6.8 Logistic regression model of exiting employment

	1 log odds		se	2 log odds		se	3 log odds		se
public sector	-1.601	***	0.518	-1.320	**	0.590	-1.167		0.919
ref: >40 yrs old									
<40 yrs old				-0.741		0.538	-0.746		0.537
tertiary				0.101		0.486	0.103		0.486
children				-0.246		0.474	-0.241		0.474
divorce				0.842		0.662	0.822		0.668
permanent				-1.726	***	0.550	-1.667	***	0.615
union				-0.411		0.568	-0.389		0.575
formal voice				-0.754		0.523	-0.747		0.523
ref: supervisor/mixture									
non-supervisor bullying				-1.399	**	0.577	-1.402	**	0.577
ref: moderate									
regular bullying				0.976	*	0.503	0.981	*	0.504
public*perm							-0.248		1.164
Constant	-1.609	***	0.245	0.506		0.842	0.458		0.870
N	249			249					
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0732			0.214			0.214		
LR Test	***			***			~		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, ~ insig.

Model 2 also introduces some further variables relating to employee "voice" including trade union membership and whether they have used a formal voice option within the workplace. We can see that the sign for trade union is negative, implying that they are less likely to leave, however it is not significant at conventional levels. Likewise, the coefficient for voice is also negative, suggesting that those employees who have utilised a formal voice option in response to the bullying are less likely to leave, however, this coefficient is also insignificant.

We can see that those reporting bullying by a non-supervisor (compared to supervisors/mixture) are significantly less likely to leave their employment. Those reporting more frequent bullying are significantly more likely to leave. This suggests that the characteristics of the bullying potentially play a part in the exit decision.

The introduction of these additional covariates in Model 2 slightly reduces the size of the public sector coefficient but does not account for it entirely and it remains significant. Model 3 introduces an interaction term, relating to the expectation that employment status differs according to sector. We can see that the sign associated with the interaction term is in the expected direction: suggesting that those employed on permanent contracts in the public sector are less likely than their private sector counterparts to exit employment. However, the interaction term is not significant.[107] In terms of the arguments put forward by this thesis, we would expect that private sector workers who exited to be less likely to have had recourse to a formal policy than those who stayed. The low cell size would not allow a formal interaction term to be tested. However, descriptive analysis suggests that of the private sector workers who used a formal voice strategy in the workplace, exit rates were just over 10%. Of those who didn't use a voice strategy (perhaps because there were none available)

[107] Furthermore, the Likelihood Ratio Test for Model 3 Table 6.8 is insignificant. For robustness, a random sample of the employees reporting bullying was drawn (50%) and the main model rerun on the restricted sample. The results for permanent contract remain significant, however, there was some instability with regards bullying by non-supervisor and frequency of the bullying. Further research is necessary to confirm these results. The Pseudo R Squared for Model 2 is 0.214: the inclusion of interaction terms does not significantly increase this figure, as expected by the above discussion.

exit rates were 15%. Of the very small number of public sector workers who exited, all used a formal voice strategy before their exit.

Table 6.9 presents the predicted probabilities for each of the significant covariates to aid interpretation, relating to Model 2 of Table 6.8. We can see that the predicted probability for public sector workers to exit, holding all the other variables constant, is 3%, whereas for private sector workers it's nearly 10%. Likewise, the predicted probability for permanent workers overall to exit is nearly 4%, rising to nearly 19% for non-permanent workers. The predicted probability of exiting employment for those who report bullying by non-supervisors is 2%, roughly tripling for those who report bullying by supervisors or a mixture.

Table 6.9 Predicted probabilities of exiting employment

	Predicted probabilities	
	Public sector	Private sector
Sector	0.097	0.028
	Non-permanent	Permanent
Employment contract	0.187	0.039
	Supervisor/mix	Non supervisor
Direction	0.091	0.024
	Infrequent	Regular
Severity of bullying	0.035	0.089

We can present various scenarios for different types of workers, drawing on the analysis presented in Table 6.8. In the first scenario, we can investigate the "effect" of contract type on the probability of exit, for an employee reporting infrequent bullying by a non-supervisor. For public sector workers employed on temporary contracts, with otherwise the same characteristics, the probability of exit is 4% and for private sector workers, the equivalent figure is 12%.

Table 6.10 Predicted probabilities: scenarios

Scenario 1	Permanent	Temporary
Public sector	0.007	0.036
Private sector	0.024	0.123
NB infrequent bullying, bullying by non-supervisor		

Scenario 2	Bullying by non-supervisor	Bullying by supervisor/mix
Public sector	0.007	0.026
Private sector	0.024	0.092
NB Permanent workers, infrequent bullying		

Scenario 3	Bullying by non-supervisor	Bullying by supervisor/mix
Public sector	0.036	0.131
Private sector	0.123	0.362
NB Temporary workers, infrequent bullying		

Scenario 4	*Non frequent/severe*	*Frequent/severe*
Public sector	0.026	0.067
Private sector	0.092	0.211
NB Permanent workers, bullying by supervisors/mix		

In the second scenario, we can explore how the direction of the reported bullying is associated with exit. The "baseline" worker is employed on a permanent contract and reports infrequent bullying. We can see that while the predicted probability of exit for public sector workers rises from less than 1% for those who report bullying by non-supervisors to around 2% of those who report bullying by a supervisor/mixture, the private sector figures are 2% and 9% respectively.

We can substitute temporary contract for permanent contract in the baseline characteristics in scenario 3. Here we see an increase in the predicted exit rates in the public sector, to 4% for bullying by non-supervisors rising to 13% for those reporting bullying by supervisors/mixture. However, in the private sector, the equivalent figures are 12% and 36% respectively. This analysis draws attention to the importance of severity in the context of exit. The final scenario will present predicted probabilities for increasing severity for permanent employees only. We can see that for private sector workers, the increasing severity is associated with an increased risk of exit. However, this is also observed for public sector workers, although much lower rates.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the different exit and voice strategies that employees reporting bullying have considered and utilised. As Chapter 2 discussed, voice options can include participatory mechanisms to involve employees in decision making processes; however, previous research has highlighted that such practices are not widespread across all Irish workplaces. There are also important differences in terms of the traditional voice options, in terms of grievance filing and dispute resolution and these are particularly structured along sectoral lines. Chapter 4 highlighted the greater availability of grievance procedures and trade union density in the public sector: this is expected therefore to impact on the exit and voice strategies adopted by respondents reporting bullying.

These results indicate public sector workers are more likely to report the incident to their union, as might expected. However, private sector workers are more likely to refer the incident to personnel. This possibly reflects the dominance of HRM practices in shaping how bullying incidents are dealt with in an organisational environment. However, a significant proportion of workers who report the bullying through a formal voice channel indicate that it did not stop or reduce the bullying: sectoral differences are hard to discern given the low numbers.

A key argument put forward by this study is that one of the reasons for the higher overall prevalence of reported bullying in the public sector is the greater propensity of private sector workers to leave their employment if confronted with negative behaviour in the workplace. Private sector workers are more likely to consider an exit which confirms these expectations. Modelling "exit" provides some further support. We can see that public sector workers who report bullying are less likely to leave than private sector workers. While the interaction terms were not significant, the negative sign on the public sector*permanent contact interaction term suggests that public sector permanent employees are less likely to leave than their private sector counterparts.

The survey captures the exits of those who have experienced bullying in the past six months. However, if the bullying stopped twelve months ago, owing to either a successful voice intervention, or the employee *leaving* their employment, then the survey will not record the incident as bullying. Given the private sector's greater likelihood of leaving, these sectoral patterns in exit strategies have implications for the rate of reported bullying, as recorded by the current survey data.

Chapter 5 found that permanent employees in the public sector most likely to report bullying. It is suggested that this is potentially owing to the greater job benefits and security of these workers and thus related to an increased likelihood of staying in employment rather than exiting. However, we might have expected that such workers could either find another job in the public sector by either transfer or other move. Public sector workers reporting bullying are more likely to consider a transfer than their private sector counterparts; however, rates of those who have actually sought a transfer are similar across the sectors. Transfers may be difficult to obtain in practice, especially if employee-management relations are problematic. Furthermore regional differences are expected to play an important role: while mobility in the capital city may be facilitated more easily, other areas might prove more problematic in terms of local labour markets. The discussion in Chapter 2 alluded to the low mobility generally in the public sector and this may be relevant for those reporting bullying, as well as other employees.

This study has stressed the importance of considering institutional characteristics when researching workplace bullying. This is argued to also apply to the possible outcomes of workplace bullying. The next chapter now turns to the impact of workplace bullying on both the job satisfaction and well-being of employees.

Chapter 7 I can't get no...? Satisfaction and well-being in the workplace

> A France Telecom worker has jumped to his death from a highway overpass, leaving a note blaming pressures at the firm which has seen 24 suicides among its staff in under two years. "He left a letter to his wife explaining that it was the work environment in his company that pushed him to act," said the prefecture...A former state monopoly now competing in a deregulated market, France Telecom has undergone several major reorganisations in recent years, leading to widespread complaints of stress among workers.
>
> (29th September 2009, Agence France-Presse)

> "At the time, I was very distressed and couldn't sleep".
>
> "It undermined my dignity, and made me uncooperative in working after hours".
>
> "I lost interest in doing my work".
>
> "I was more stressed, I didn't look forward to going to work, I had problems sleeping and my appetite decreased".
>
> "It undermined my confidence. I became disinterested in the organisation, felt stressed and demotivated".
>
> "I dreaded going into work, I was worried about the individual coming into the office, or being there before me".
>
> "It shattered my confidence and undermined my ability. My concentration was disrupted and it slowed me down work-wise".[108]

If we are to believe some of the media attention, work pressures have serious consequences for employees, as the example of French Telecom attests. Chapter 1 has already outlined how bullying, and its impact on stress and health, has hit the headlines in Ireland. However, the risk of sensationalism is always present: given the sheer number of French Telecom workers, the

[108] Source: 2007 Survey of Experiences in the Workplace, open-ended question on effect of bullying on work.

suicide rate is reportedly not greater than the average for France.[109] At the same time, a significant proportion of the workers who took their own lives left notes specifically attributing recent work pressures and organisational restructuring to their actions. While reliable data may not be available, this must still be factored into whether the developments in France Telecom can be considered "average" or as having implications for contemporary workplaces in France, and elsewhere.

The possible impacts of work on well-being, not only physical, but in particular *psychological*, have taken on a prominent position in terms of contemporary discourses about health (Carlisle & Hannon, 2008; Ganesh & McAllum, 2010). As outlined in Chapter 2, the present analysis is sensitive to the individualising potential of the concept and does not suggest that subjective well-being becomes an "organising principle" to establish health inequalities (Ganesh & McAllum, 2010). While previous research demonstrated the association between unemployment and ill-health, rising employment up to relatively recently (including the date of the current survey) has been linked to job intensification, job change and insecurity, with negative implications for job satisfaction, stress and well-being (de Witte, 1999; Wichert, 2002). However, subjective indicators have been problematised in terms of their (lack of) relationship with "objective" conditions. As Mills has argued (1951) job satisfaction - if high – potentially reflects the sentiments of "cheerful robots", thus highlighting the problems in relating a *subjective* measure such as satisfaction to *objective* working conditions.

Research on workplace bullying has highlighted possible outcomes including decreased job satisfaction, stress, and even "Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome" (Niedl, 1996; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002; Hansen *et al.* 2006; Bjorkvist, 1994; Leymann & Gustaffsson, 1996). However, this body of research is sometimes based on occupational or workplace surveys. This study argues that it is necessary to use nationally representative data, as well as take account of other important job and organisational factors. For example, job intensification and organisational change are also expected to have negative implications for

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[109] BBC News website. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8256870.stm Last Updated 15th September 2009.

workers: the focus of the present research is on disentangling these relationships in order to assess the relationship of reported bullying with job satisfaction and well-being.

This study has argued that institutional characteristics are important to understand the prevalence of reported workplace bullying and this emphasis continues in terms of the potential *outcomes*. Previous research has highlighted the higher satisfaction levels of public sector workers in Ireland overall (O'Connell *et al.* 2004). As well as potentially reflecting unobservable characteristics of public sector workers (a more vocational orientation, for example), this could also relate to a higher educational profile, better working terms and conditions (including pay) and widespread staff welfare policies and programs. We might expect that some of these factors could potentially mitigate the negative impact of workplace bullying. Section 7.1 presents initial descriptive analysis relating to job satisfaction, before moving on to consider the relationship between job satisfaction and reported bullying in a multivariate context in Section 7.2. Section 7.3 explores general patterns in subjective well-being while Section 7.4 adopts a multivariate approach to model the relationship between well-being and reported bullying. Section 7.5 summarises the main findings.

7.1 Subjective assessments: cheerful robots?

Research concerned with subjective assessments of satisfaction in various domains, from "job" to "life" in general, forms a burgeoning literature, including a dedicated journal (Journal of Happiness Studies, established in 2000). As outlined in Chapter 2, job satisfaction has been conceptualised as a measure of job quality (O'Connell & Russell, 2007; Gallie, 2007a) although the subjective dimension has been problematised in terms of its relationship to objective conditions, for example, in debates by Hakim and others relating to the job satisfaction of females in particular (Hakim, 1995; Ginn *et al.* 1996; Clark 1997). Job satisfaction is acknowledged as a multidimensional construct, from satisfaction with pay to working hours (Kaiser, 2007).

The present data provides a measure of job satisfaction, measured by the question "In general, I am satisfied with my current job", with values from

"Strongly Disagree" through to "Strongly Agree". Analysis reveals that this indicator correlates well with other subjective assessments of: getting on well with colleagues, supervisors and subordinates; perceiving that their supervisor is satisfied with their work; and feeling respected by their supervisor. The Cronbach's alpha for these items is high for these items (0.8) however substantively they refer to a broader understanding of job/workplace/supervisor satisfaction and this chapter will focus on just on the single indicator focused on current *job* satisfaction.

Table 7.1 presents descriptive analysis relating to job satisfaction. We can see that respondents reporting bullying are much more likely to "strongly disagree" or "disagree". For example, those reporting bullying are over 4 times more likely to "strongly disagree" than those not reporting bullying. This suggests that workplace bullying potentially has a very strong negative relationship with job satisfaction. Confirming other research, we can see also that public sector workers are more likely to be very satisfied with their jobs than private sector workers (O'Connell *et al.* 2004); the education sector in particular is driving this.

There is little difference in job satisfaction in terms of comparing full-timers with part-timers: one would expect differences within the categories when considering voluntary/involuntary part-time working, which is not possible with the present data.[110] Job satisfaction in terms of gender and hours of work has been briefly considered in Chapter 4. There are no strong gender differences using this measure of job satisfaction.

Workers with tertiary education are more satisfied with regards their job. There is a clear hierarchical relationship with regards social class background and job satisfaction, with workers from the higher professional classes more satisfied than the manual groups. This could reflect better jobs that are better paid, but that are also intrinsically more rewarding. Permanent workers have higher job satisfaction than their temporary/casual counterparts.

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[110] Long working hours will be considered in the multivariate analysis.

Table 7.1 Job satisfaction (all 2007 employees)

	Percentage in agreement with statement 'in general I am satisfied with my current job' (%)			
	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Reporting bullying				
Not reporting bullying	27.0	64.5	7.5	1.0
Reported bullying	17.6	54.7	23.2	4.5
Sector				
Private Sector	23.8	64.8	10.0	1.5
Public Sector	32.0	60.4	6.7	1.0
Economic Sector				
Agriculture	28.6	68.9	2.5	0.0
Trad manufacturing	21.5	67.4	10.0	1.1
Hi-tech manufacturing	21.5	65.6	11.3	1.6
Construction	19.0	76.1	4.8	0.1
Wholesale/Retail	21.6	65.5	10.6	2.2
Business sector	26.2	61.0	10.7	2.1
Transport & Communications	31.3	60.1	7.6	1.1
Financial	26.6	59.6	9.9	3.9
Public Admin	26.8	66.8	5.7	0.6
Personal	25.8	60.4	13.4	0.4
Education	43.7	50.0	6.0	0.3
Health & Social Work	31.0	59.7	7.5	1.8
Gender				
Female	27.0	62.7	8.6	1.7
Male	25.5	64.3	9.3	0.9
Education				
Tertiary	28.5	60.8	9.4	1.3
Upper secondary	23.0	67.4	8.5	1.1
Lower secondary/less	25.3	64.3	8.7	1.7
Social Class				
Higher Professional	32.1	61.5	6.1	0.4
Lower Professional	31.2	60.4	7.0	1.4
Other Non Manual	28.7	57.6	11.8	1.9
Skilled manual	23.5	71.4	4.3	0.8
Semi-skilled manual	19.6	67.2	11.1	2.0
Unskilled manual	17.6	72.6	9.8	0.0
Employment contract				
Temp/casual	20.8	64.4	13.0	1.7
Permanent	27.3	63.4	8.0	1.2
Hours of work				
Part-time	25.7	64.4	9.2	0.7
Full-time	26.3	63.3	9.0	1.5
Trade union membership				
Not trade union member	26.7	63.6	9.0	0.7
Trade union member	25.5	63.0	9.0	2.5
Total %	26.1	63.6	9.0	1.3
Total N (weighted)	764	1857	262	39

Notes
1. All percentages are weighted percentages.

Overall, trade union members report slightly lower job satisfaction than respondents not in a trade union: they are slightly more likely to strongly disagree with the statement. This has been addressed by research (see Chapter 2 for a discussion) but we only find weak evidence to suggest that trade union

workers are more dissatisfied, according to this data source and this particular measure of general job satisfaction.

7.2 Assessing satisfaction of the "stayers"

The descriptive analysis suggests that workers reporting bullying are more likely to be dissatisfied than workers not reporting bullying. The goal of the current analysis is to take account of other important factors, for example, job intensification and organisational change, which are also likely to be associated with job satisfaction. This section outlines the main expectations and modelling strategy of the current analysis. The descriptive analysis in the previous section presents a general picture, however, it should be remembered that a small number of respondents reporting bullying are not in the same job as where the bullying occurred, and the job satisfaction question relates to *current* job only.[111] Therefore, the modelling in this section will be restricted to the "stayers". This will effectively drop some respondents *who reported bullying* from the analysis, so sensitivity analysis on the full sample is conducted.

We might expect that characteristics such as being divorced or having children to negatively influence job satisfaction, possibly through picking up indirectly tensions between work and home. For example, lower job satisfaction might specifically relate to dissatisfaction with working hours or work demands. Turning to job characteristics, we would expect that permanent workers to have higher job satisfaction, owing to their relative security and position. Likewise, we might expect that supervisors are more satisfied, given their relatively superior position within the organisation. Workers with higher education levels are expected to have higher levels of job satisfaction, with their greater probability of having intrinsically rewarding (professional) jobs.[112] We expect that job autonomy to have a strong and positive association with job satisfaction. It should be remembered that some of these relationships could reflect the higher income these workers enjoy.

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[111] **Job satisfaction has been shown to be important in job mobility; as effectively a proxy for "loyalty" in terms of exit and voice but this is impossible to test using the current data. Job satisfaction was lower for all those considering any intended exit strategy of those listed in Chapter 6 (analysis not shown).**

[112] In keeping with the main thrust of the analysis, education is included in the models, not social class. However, tests reveal that "other non manuals" have lower satisfaction than higher professionals in the final model with full controls (analysis not shown).

Previous analysis in this study has been concerned with some of the changes occurring within contemporary workplaces, such as organisational change and job intensification. We expect that an "increasing pace" of work and a "too intense" pace to be negatively related to satisfaction; however we do not expect that the "changing nature" of a job to necessarily have a negative impact as this could potentially indicate that the job has become more rewarding or enjoyable. We might expect that workplaces which are focused on equality issues with policies concerned with respecting dignity at work to increase an employee's satisfaction levels. While we cannot investigate the distinction between voluntary and involuntary part-time work, we can consider if "excessive" working hours (considered as anything above 51 hours per week) is associated with a reduced job satisfaction. We might expect that an organisation which has good inter-staff relations and also where staff-management relationships are also good to have a positive impact on job satisfaction.[113] We might expect those with longer tenure to be more satisfied with their job, owing to the benefits of seniority in terms of job responsibilities and increased income.[114]

The survey also provides information with regards being recently promoted, (which might be associated with greater job satisfaction) as well as demotion and involuntary transfer (which might have the opposite effect). Analysis suggests that respondents reporting bullying are more likely to have been demoted or transferred and slightly less likely to have been promoted (analysis not shown). No definite causal link can be established in terms of the relationship between these factors and bullying, however, we might expect that some these factors may account for some of the decreased job satisfaction of those reporting bullying.

Finally, we have seen that workplace bullying is negatively related to job satisfaction. We expect this association to reduce when other variables are introduced, i.e., it is expected that workplace bullying is still negatively related

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[113] Multicollinearity might have been assumed to be a problem here, however, the items do not correlate strongly. This could be because the subjective measures of inter-staff and staff-management relations are assessing different aspects of relations in the workplace. Another concern is reverse causality: workers with higher job satisfaction (in terms of being more satisfied or lower expectations) might be more likely to perceive good relationships in the workplace. This may be more relevant when considering subjective well-being.

[114] Tenure categories will be considered in the job satisfaction models and turnover will not be entered.

to job satisfaction, controlling for factors such as job intensification, autonomy as well as organisational change.

7.2.1 Modelling satisfaction

As outlined, job satisfaction is measured using the question "In general, I am satisfied with my job" which was coded 1 for "Strongly Disagree" through to 4 for "Strongly Agree". Therefore 1 indicates very low job satisfaction while 4 indicates very high job satisfaction. Restricting analysis to the "stayers" means that those who left the job where the bullying occurred have been excluded and given that they may well have had even lower job satisfaction than those who reported bullying and remained in their jobs, this could possibly *underestimate* the effect of bullying on job satisfaction: this could have sectoral implications. The "effect" for bullying only relates to those who remained and a different (possibly longitudinal) survey design would be necessary to capture the job satisfaction of the "exiters".

An ordinal logistic regression model can be used to model a Likert Scale.[115] There was a low cell count for the "strongly disagree" (n=41) and this category was collapsed with the "disagree" category. Therefore the dependent variable has values of 1 (strongly disagree/disagree), 2 (agree) and 3 (strongly agree).[116] The results are presented in Appendix Table 7A. A post-estimation Brant test was carried out in order to test if there were violations of the parallel lines assumption: in brief, an ordinal regression model forces the coefficients to be the same for each equation estimated.[117] However, this is not an assumption that is always met. The assumption of parallel lines could not be met for all the independent variables in the model. Another modelling strategy when researchers find themselves with this problem is provided by the generalised ordinal logistic regression model (Williams, 2006) where parallel lines are only

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[115] A linear regression can be performed, treating the dependent variable as a continuous variable. An OLS regression model was conducted and the results are presented in the Appendix Table 7A. However, analysis of the residuals plot reveals an uneven distribution which suggests that an OLS regression is not the best analytical strategy.

[116] The post-estimation Brant test where the dependent variable had all four values would not be computed owing to this small cell size. See later paragraph for explanation.

[117] For a 4 item scale, this will estimate 3 separate equations: category 1 vs categories 2,3&4; category 1&2 vs categories 3&4; and category 1,2&3 vs category 4.

enforced for those variables which did not violate this assumption.[118] A positive coefficient means that higher values on the explanatory variable indicate it is more likely that a respondent will be in a group of the dependent variable ("Y"= job satisfaction) higher than the current one. A negative coefficient means that higher values on the explanatory variable indicates that it is more likely that the respondent will be in the same group or lower of the dependent variable or "Y". The first column compares category 1 with categories 2 and 3 while the second column contrasts category 1 and 2 with 3. So when interpreting the results, it is important to bear in mind that the current category, plus lower ones, make up the reference group (Williams, 2006). The results are presented in Appendix Table 7B. Given the fact that Column 1 essentially represents a comparison between strongly agree/agree with strongly disagree/disagree and reflects the same strategy as conducting a *binary* logistic regression model – which is simpler to interpret especially for a series of nested models – a binary logistic regression is selected as the modelling strategy for the current analysis of job satisfaction.

The job satisfaction variable was therefore dichotomised: respondents reporting strongly agree or agree score 1 and respondents reporting strongly disagree or disagree score 0. The results of the logistic regression model are reported in Table 7.2 and the coefficients presented are log odds, where a positive coefficient indicates that the event (high job satisfaction) is more likely to occur and a negative coefficient indicates the event is less likely to occur.

7.2.2 Who is satisfied?

We can see from Model 1, Table 7.2 that workers reporting bullying are much more likely to be in the strongly disagree/disagree category than workers not reporting bullying. This basically echoes the descriptive finding presented in Table 7.1. A comparison with the generalised ordinal logistic model in Appendix Table 7B confirms this general finding, with a negative coefficient (log odds) for Column 1, indicating that respondents reporting bullying are

[118] In Stata, the autofit command was run along with the gologit2 command to identify "problematic" variables, i.e., variables which violated the parallel lines assumption. This performs a series of Wald tests on each variable across all the equations to see if the coefficients differ significantly.

more likely to be in the strongly disagree/disagree category than the strongly agree/agree category.

Model 2, Table 7.2 introduces some of the variables outlined earlier that are expected to have a relationship with job satisfaction. We can see that public sector workers are in general more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than private sector workers (indicated by the positive coefficient); this again echoes the descriptive finding cited previously. When controlling for sector and contract type, those with higher education are not more likely to be satisfied. The divorced coefficient is insignificant and the coefficient is not reported in the table for reasons of space. While there is a positive coefficient for permanent workers, this is not statistically significant. There is a negative coefficient for union membership, however, this is not statistically significant. Thus there is no support for previous research findings exploring the phenomena of dissatisfied (or grumpy) trade union members, as discussed in Chapter 2. We can see that those reporting more than 51 hours a week are actually more satisfied than those working "standard" hours. This could well relate to the type of jobs employees are doing which are very intensive and pressurised but are also well paid, leading to higher job satisfaction. In addition, such jobs are also likely to be intrinsically more rewarding and are likely to come with higher autonomy. Interaction terms of working hours and the autonomy indicators/more control were introduced but were not significant, so there is no formal support for the expectation previously outlined.[119]

The positive effect for employee assistance most likely reflects that organisations which have these procedures in place may be better places to work, rather than employees benefiting individually from such a programme and so improving job satisfaction. We can see that employees in workplaces where there is a good or very good relationship between staff are more satisfied; however, where there is a good or very good relationship between staff and management, the size of the coefficient is even greater. This therefore suggests

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[119] Social class was also investigated here, specifically if jobs with over 51 hours and professional "explained" the higher job satisfaction of these long-hours workers. Similar results as above, the conditional effects for excessive working hours decreased slightly in size and was no longer significant but the interaction term professional*over 51 hours was not found to be significant.

that in terms of relationships at work, the staff/management one is of greater relevance for job satisfaction than inter-staff relations.

Model 3 introduces further job and organisational characteristics. Initially autonomy was entered as a scale as per previous analysis, although with some caution owing to the relatively low Cronbach's Alpha for this scale (see Chapter 3). The coefficient was not statistically significant, which was quite surprising as it was expected to have a strong and positive impact on job satisfaction.[120] To explore this further, the component parts of the autonomy index were entered separately in Model 3. The first indicator – task/pace control – is positive and statistically significant, suggesting that workers who can control their work pace are more satisfied (not shown). However, when "more control over work over the past year" is added to the model, this effect for task/pace control reduces and is no longer significant.

There is a negative coefficient for the second autonomy indicator – which relates to whether a manager decides the tasks done every day. A higher value on this indicator means that this is less likely to happen. At face value, this result suggests that respondents whose managers are *less likely* to control their daily tasks *are less satisfied* with their jobs. Considering this from another angle, this finding could perhaps be explained by the fact that for many workers *managers* do not decide their daily tasks but these are still automated in some way and, critically, not decided by the worker themselves; this measure therefore is not picking up "autonomy" as might have been expected. The unexpected result does not seem to be influenced by the presence of the other autonomy/more control variables (analysis not shown). However, at the same time, further research is needed for the task discretion indicators in light of the fact that they do not correlate as well as expected. The final autonomy indicator, relating to control over breaks, is not statistically significant (it also fails to reach statistical significance when entered on its own). However, those with "more control" over their work over the previous year are much more likely to report high job satisfaction.

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[120] Possible non-linearity was explored and task discretion was entered as a series of dummy variables but this was also insignificant.

Table 7.2 Logistic regression model of job satisfaction

	1			2			3			4		
	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se
bully	**-1.450**	***	**0.170**	**-1.044**	***	**0.192**	**-0.791**	***	**0.205**	**-0.752**	***	**0.208**
public sector				0.485	***	0.182	0.455	**	0.192	0.467	**	0.193
male				-0.193		0.161	-0.244		0.169	-0.262		0.171
ref: lower secondary/less												
tertiary				0.037		0.209	0.204		0.222	0.201		0.223
leaving				0.280		0.223	0.371		0.235	0.376		0.236
permanent				0.366	*	0.221	0.294		0.235	0.315		0.237
ref: 31-50 hrs pr wk												
part-time				-0.068		0.191	-0.125		0.198	-0.129		0.200
51hrs+				0.437		0.320	0.594	*	0.334	0.581	*	0.335
union				-0.168		0.175	-0.068		0.186	-0.070		0.187
policy				0.136		0.185	0.184		0.195	0.159		0.196
emp. assist.				0.366	**	0.175	0.461	**	0.187	0.490	***	0.188
good staff rel.				0.481	**	0.188	0.421	**	0.197	0.411	**	0.200
good staff/man rel.				1.483	***	0.160	1.144	***	0.168	1.140	***	0.170
new tech.							-0.078		0.164	-0.112		0.165
new mangr.							-0.460	***	0.168	-0.468	***	0.170
org. chge							-0.273		0.173	-0.256		0.175
nature chg (1-4)							-0.129		0.107	-0.092		0.110
incr. pace (1-4)							0.067		0.120	0.047		0.121
int. pace (1-4)							-0.444	***	0.119	-0.461	***	0.119
decide pace (1-5)							0.054		0.061	0.053		0.061
decide own tsks (1-5)							-0.104	*	0.056	-0.107	*	0.057
decide break (1-5)							0.073		0.058	0.078		0.059
more contrl (1-4)							0.870	***	0.115	0.835	***	0.116
promotion										0.216		0.241
demotion										-2.244	***	0.646
Constant	2.455	***	0.078	0.335		0.347	-0.553		0.615	-0.430		0.625
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0395			0.137			0.212			0.221		

Notes 1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. 2. These models also control for marital status, tenure, supervisory status, invol. transfer (insignificant). 3. N=2476

Model 3 also introduces variables relating to organisational change. In terms of organisational change, we can see that the effect for new technology is not statistically significant. This indicates that the introduction of new technology does not seem to increase or decrease job satisfaction: more details as to the nature of the technology implemented could shed further light on this relationship. Those reporting the appointment of a new manager are less satisfied. General organisational change was not found to be related to job satisfaction, however, the coefficient is quite large and negative (but not statistically significant). Therefore it appears that of the organisational change indicators, only a new manager is associated with a statistically significant decreased likelihood of high job satisfaction, when controlling for the other individual, job and organisational characteristics.

As expected, those reporting an intense pace of work also report lower job satisfaction. There is no effect for an increasing pace of work, which is somewhat surprising. This could possibly be that an increasing pace reflects an increasing salary. "Changing nature of job" does not have a significant effect in this model.

Model 4 introduces variables relating to being promoted, demoted or involuntarily transferred. We can see that as expected, being promoted is associated with much greater likelihood of being satisfied at work. This could be related to greater responsibility and more rewarding work, but also because of a likely pay rise and possibly increased recognition in the workplace. Being demoted is associated with lower job satisfaction while an involuntary transfer also has a negative coefficient but fails to reach statistical significance. Demotion could be associated with a lower income, and also less rewarding work and possible implications for status.[121]

Finally, we can consider the effect for bullying, which as already stated, is negatively associated with job satisfaction. The introduction of individual, job

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[121] Tenure is insignificant in the logistic regression model. This differs somewhat from the models presented in Appendix Table 7C which both (OLS/Ordinal logistic regression) suggest that workers with very high tenure have a higher level of job satisfaction than those with short tenure (less than 3 years). This suggests that some of the variation is possibly being lost when job satisfaction is dichotomised and further research could perhaps investigate further.

and organisational characteristics in Model 2 reduces the coefficient somewhat but does not account for all of the negative association with job satisfaction. Likewise, when additional variables are entered in Model 3, there is a further decrease in the size of the coefficient, however, it remains negative and statistically significant. Importantly, this strong negative association persists when controlling for all the other covariates outlined above. In conclusion, the additional covariates in Model 4 reduces the reported bullying coefficient in Model 1 by around half, however, it remains negatively associated with job satisfaction.[122] Post-estimation Wald tests suggest that reported bullying is not statistically different to new manager or intense pace, however it does significantly differ in size from demotion.[123]

If we interpret the results for reported bullying in odds ratios, we can see that the "raw" odds of having high job satisfaction amongst those employees reporting bullying is roughly around 0.2 of those not reporting bullying (exponent of -1.450, Model 1). However, if we consider the fully specified model and account for important job and organisational characteristics, this odds increases to 0.5 (exponent of -0.752, Model 5). This is perhaps easiest if considered from the opposite direction. When the model does not control for other factors, the odds ratio of reporting high job satisfaction of those *not reporting bullying* to those *reporting bullying* is 5. However, when the controls are added, this is reduced to 2 (i.e. the "gap" is narrowed).[124]

7.2.3 Satisfaction in the sectors: does it matter where you're bullied?

This study has argued that institutional characteristics are important in order to understand the outcomes of reported bullying in the workplace. Analysis in previous chapters has illustrated important differences in terms of organisational characteristics in the public and private sector. Research has shown that public sector workers have a higher level of job satisfaction than private sector workers and we might expect that the existence of good working conditions, as well as more effective formal policies and employee assistance

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[122] The Pseudo R Squared increases across the nested models, with the final value 0.22.

[123] This test tests whether two coefficients are statistically different from each other, with the null hypothesis suggesting no difference, and so a statistically significant result implies that the null hypothesis can be rejected.

[124] The final model was conducted on the full sample of employees and reported in Appendix Table 7C. The results do not differ substantially.

programmes might mitigate to some extent the impact of workplace bullying on job satisfaction in the public sector. To what extent do these within-sectoral differences impact on the outcomes of reported workplace bullying?

Logistic regression models were conducted separately on the public and private sector and the results are reported in Table 7.3. We can see from Model 1 (in each sector) that workplace bullying is negatively associated with job satisfaction in *both* sectors. However, the coefficient in the private sector is slightly higher in the private sector than the public sector – this could potentially suggest that respondents reporting bullying in the private sector are less likely to have high job satisfaction. It should be borne in mind that these models are conducted on the sample that stayed in the same job where the bullying occurred. We have seen from the previous chapter that private sector workers are more likely to quit from their employment after an incident of workplace bullying. We might expect that those who exit their employment have lower satisfaction (with the job they are leaving) and so this may underestimate the impact of workplace bullying on job satisfaction in the private sector. Potentially, the coefficient for bullying in the private sector is even larger than reported here.[125]

Model 2 introduces the same covariates outlined in the previous section. Firstly, we can see that the bullying coefficient reduces substantially when these variables are introduced in the model, and by a similar amount in each sector. Permanent workers in the private sector are more satisfied than temporary workers but we do not see a similar pattern for the public sector (in fact the permanent contract coefficient in the public sector is negative, although not statistically significant). There is no significant result for hours of work in either sector (although the coefficient size is large for over 51 hours in both sectors). Those with very long tenure in the private sector are more satisfied with their jobs, suggesting that longer tenure confers some benefits to private sector workers over those on shorter tenure, for example, in terms of higher income. As expected, employee assistance programmes appear to have a slightly larger effect on job satisfaction in the public sector than in the private

[125] Future analysis could attempt to investigate this using multiple imputation strategies, but ideally survey design should take account of this issue.

sector. While the same pattern is suggested for formal policies, this result is not statistically significant. A good manager-staff relationship seems to be more important in the public sector than the private sector, although there is a relatively large positive coefficient in both sectors. Good inter-staff relations appear to have a statistically significant relationship with job satisfaction in the private sector only (although the coefficients are the same size).

A new manager has only a negative and significant effect on job satisfaction for private sector workers. The slightly odd result for increasing pace seems to be driven by the private sector; however, it is now insignificant. The coefficient has the expected direction in the public sector. A "too intense" pace of work has a negative association with job satisfaction in both sectors, however the coefficient for the public sector is much higher.

Increasing control is associated with higher job satisfaction in both sectors. The surprising result for the second autonomy indicator (manager deciding daily tasks) is driven by the private sector, suggesting that explanations for this result lie in work practices in this sector. Unlike the full model, the third autonomy indicator is positive and statistically significant in the private sector, suggesting that being able to decide when to take a break is related to higher job satisfaction in this sector.[126] Demotion in the private sector is associated with lower job satisfaction: there is also a negative sign in the public sector but it is not statistically significant – partly explainable by the fact that this event is perhaps more regulated and less "drastically" experienced in the public sector.

[126] For robustness, these indicators were entered separately the results remain similar.

Table 7.3 Logistic regression model of job satisfaction, by sector

	Public Sector (N=995)						Private Sector (N=1481)					
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
bully	**-1.451**	***	**0.264**	**-0.759**	**	**0.336**	**-1.627**	***	**0.231**	**-0.688**	**	**0.276**
ref: lower secondary/less												
tertiary				0.215		0.447				0.306		0.270
leaving				0.239		0.494				0.443		0.277
permanent				-0.226		0.485				0.560	*	0.287
ref: < 3 yrs tenure												
20yrs+				-0.630		0.521				1.033	**	0.406
ref: 31-50 hrs per week												
part-time				-0.067		0.351				-0.119		0.258
51hrs+				0.863		0.698				0.505		0.390
union				0.186		0.373				-0.167		0.232
policy				0.354		0.429				0.117		0.228
emp. assist.				0.785	**	0.338				0.441	*	0.237
good staff rel.				0.475		0.365				0.504	**	0.251
good staff/man rel.				1.452	***	0.309				1.047	***	0.214
new tech.				-0.316		0.297				-0.075		0.207
new mangr.				-0.188		0.316				-0.715	***	0.213
org. chge				-0.164		0.329				-0.328		0.218
nature chg (1-4)				-0.396	**	0.198				0.074		0.139
incr. pace (1-4)				-0.018		0.231				0.148		0.148
int. pace (1-4)				-0.813	***	0.218				-0.363	**	0.150
more contrl (1-4)				0.739	***	0.210				0.943	***	0.146
decide pace (1-5)				0.215	*	0.110				0.023		0.078
decide own tsks (1-5)				0.047		0.102				-0.195	***	0.073
decide break (1-5)				-0.131		0.112				0.162	**	0.073
demotion				-1.350		1.134				-2.611	***	0.865
Constant	2.777	***	0.144	1.806		1.146	2.290	***	0.093	-1.758	**	0.802
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0483			0.286			0.0413			0.228		

Notes 1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 2. The models also control for supervisory status, divorce and gender, promotion and invol. transfer (all insignificant).

We can formally test differences between the sectors by including interaction terms (the fifth model in the nested series presented in Table 7.2) and the results are presented in Table 7.4. As well as the significant sectoral differences, we also include an interaction term for reporting bullying although we do not expect this to be significant, on the basis of the previous sector models. The interaction terms for sector and: tenure of over 20 years; too intense pace; changing nature of work; new manager; and the second and third autonomy indicators, "manager deciding daily tasks" and "can decide breaks" are all significant, suggesting that these sectoral differences are upheld formally.[127]

For public sector workers, a changing nature of job is associated with a lower likelihood of job satisfaction. This finding echoes the earlier results in Chapter 5 which indicated that change was particularly associated with problems at work – in terms of reported workplace bullying. However, a new manager in the private sector is strongly related to lower job satisfaction: again this change in work was also a risk factor for private sector workers in reporting bullying. As might be expected by the results of the separate sectoral models, the interaction terms with sector and bullying is not statistically significant. Formally, we can conclude that workplace bullying does not differ by sector in terms of its negative association with job satisfaction.

[127] The Pseudo R Squared for the model with interaction terms (Table 7.4) has increased to 0.25 from the model without interaction terms (0.22; Table 7.2).

Table 7.4 Logistic regression model of job satisfaction, with sector interaction terms

	1		
	Log odds		se
bully	-0.678	**	0.276
public sector	2.805	**	1.181
male	-0.272		0.167
divorce	0.076		0.311
tertiary	0.283		0.226
leaving	0.419	*	0.239
permanent	0.300		0.246
3-9 yrs tenure	0.156		0.214
10-19yrs tenure	-0.054		0.247
20yrs+ tenure	0.985	**	0.388
supervisor	0.040		0.178
under20AC	-0.305		0.258
51hrs+	0.588	*	0.339
union	-0.088		0.195
policy	0.172		0.199
emp. assist.	0.416	*	0.231
good staff rel.	0.493	**	0.250
good man/staff rel.	1.079	***	0.212
new tech.	-0.167		0.168
new mangr.	-0.737	***	0.207
org. chge	-0.262		0.179
nature (1-4)	0.067		0.136
incr. pace (1-4)	0.078		0.123
int. pace (1-4)	-0.335	**	0.144
more contrl (1-4)	0.957	***	0.146
decide pace (1-5)	0.019		0.077
decide own tsks (1-5)	-0.206	***	0.072
decide break (1-5)	0.167	**	0.072
promotion	0.204		0.246
demotion	-2.724	***	0.864
transfer	-0.123		0.259
public*bully	**-0.040**		0.422
public*empassist.	0.419		0.369
public*20yrs+	**-1.329**	***	0.456
public*goodstaff.	-0.176		0.436
public*good man/staff rel	0.444		0.367
public*intpace	**-0.471**	**	0.236
public*naturechg.	**-0.440**	**	0.223
public*morecontrl	-0.253		0.245
public*newmangr.	0.671	*	0.353
public*demotion	1.331		1.415
public*decidepace	0.198		0.133
public*decideowntasks	**0.269**	**	0.120
public*decidebreak	**-0.310**	**	0.128
Constant	-1.492	**	0.754
N	2476		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.245		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, ~ p=0.11

7.2.4 Who by and how often

Previous analysis has considered the direction of the bullying reported in order to investigate the importance of *who* is doing the bullying. We have seen that being bullied by a mixture of sources is associated with a greater propensity of exit. We might also expect that the direction has an impact on job satisfaction, with bullying by a supervisor possibly having a greater negative influence, given the important role of line management/supervision in carrying out job tasks (in addition, the knock on effects of a poor relationship with a manager on promotion opportunities and progression within an organisation). We might expect that reporting bullying by non-supervisors to have less of an impact on *job* satisfaction specifically. These expectations are tested and the results are displayed in Table 7.5. The first model simply introduces the different directions of the bullying reported, with the reference category *not reporting bullying*. We can see that, unsurprisingly, all directions are associated with a negative association with job satisfaction. A mixture of sources, necessarily implying multiple sources, has the largest coefficient suggesting that workers reporting a mixture of directions are much less likely to be in the high job satisfaction category. As already outlined, this could be because this category implicitly includes *multiple* perpetrators.

Table 7.5 Logistic regression model of job satisfaction, with direction of bullying

	1 No controls			2 With full controls		
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
ref: not report bullying						
non-supervisor only	-1.357	***	0.240	-0.988	***	0.281
supervisor only	-1.320	***	0.391	-0.179		0.454
mixture	-1.762	***	0.257	-0.817	**	0.323
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0429			0.223		
N	2468					

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. This is model is reproduced here in part: the full controls in the previous model are also included in model 2, but not shown.

Model 2 introduces the same covariates as before, and we can see that all directions decrease in magnitude, compared to the reference group of not reporting bullying. Controlling for the other covariates, we can see that bullying by non-supervisors decreases by about a quarter. However, bullying

by supervisors decreases substantially and is no longer significant, while the bullying by mixture coefficient decreases by about half.

These results suggest that job and organisational characteristics largely account for the decreased job satisfaction for those respondents reporting bullying by supervisors. However, this is not completely the case for bullying by non-supervisors and bullying by a mixture of sources. A post-estimation test testing the equivalence of these two directions is insignificant, suggesting that the effects are not significantly different in size. A test for sectoral differences revealed no significant interactions between the direction/reported bullying and job satisfaction (analysis not shown).

Turning to the frequency of the bullying, we might expect that those reporting higher frequencies, i.e., weekly or daily would report a greater negative impact on job satisfaction than those reporting more infrequent bullying (several times per month or occasionally). Furthermore, we would expect that the negative impact of the frequency to decrease when controlling for the other covariates. However, we might expect that very regular or severe bullying will decrease by less than the moderate/infrequent bullying: after controlling for job and organisational characteristics, the "effect" of moderate/infrequent bullying will be accounted for more than severe/regular bullying.

Table 7.6 Logistic Regression model of job satisfaction, with frequency of bullying

	1			2		
	No controls			With full controls		
	Log odds		se	Log odds		se
ref: not report bullying						
moderate	-1.136	***	0.230	-0.459	*	0.275
regular	-1.900	***	0.238	-1.208	***	0.295
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0434			0.224		
N	2465					

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. This model is reproduced here in part: the full controls in the previous model are also included in model 2, but not shown.

The results are presented in Table 7.6 in log odds and the figures indicate that the relationships run in the expected directions. In Model 1, a higher frequency of bullying is associated with a much greater negative impact on job satisfaction than a moderate frequency. With the introduction of additional covariates in Model 2, we can see that both these coefficients decrease

substantially. In the case of moderate frequency, the coefficient decreases by about half, while severe frequency decreases by about a third. The post-estimation Wald test testing if the coefficient for moderate frequency equals the severe frequency coefficient is statistically significant, suggesting that the frequencies have different impacts on job satisfaction. A test for possible sectoral interactions was insignificant (analysis not shown).

7.2.5 Satisfaction: a summary

Much research on workplace bullying emphasises the negative implications for job satisfaction and well-being. However, this analysis has shown that controlling for job and organisational characteristics reduces the "impact" of reported bullying on job satisfaction dramatically – although it still has a significant and negative association with job satisfaction. Furthermore, these results suggest that job and organisational characteristics account largely for the decreased job satisfaction for those respondents reporting bullying *by supervisors*. However, this is not completely the case for bullying by non-supervisors and bullying by a mixture of sources. There has been no formal support for differences between the sectors and the relative impact of reported bullying. However, there is weak evidence of a slightly greater effect of formal policies and employee assistance programmes in the public sector (but this was insignificant).

7.3 Worried workers? Well-being at work

Research has been concerned to explore how work, or a lack of it, is related to issues such as general well-being, for example studies exploring how unemployment detrimentally affects well-being (Smith, 1987), although country variation highlights the importance of considering institutional or structural factors (Gallie & Russell, 1998; Nordenmark *et al.* 2006). Increasingly, job quality and new work practices have also been linked to well-being at work. The survey provides a measure of well-being, the 12-item *General Health Questionnaire* (GHQ). The mean of these 12 items form a scale, with a score of 1 indicating low well-being and 4 indicating the highest well-being. Taking the mean score is preferable as it minimises the impact of respondents with missing values on any one of the items. The Cronbach's alpha indicates a reliable scale (please see Chapter 3 for further details).

Table 7.7 reports breakdowns of the mean GHQ score. We can see that workers reporting bullying score lower on the scale than those not reporting bullying: this is entirely consistent with previous research and also analysis in the preceding section with regards lower job satisfaction. There does not appear to be much difference in terms of general well-being between the two sectors at an aggregate level. We do not see the same patterns with regards the economic sectors, with hi-tech manufacturing having a particularly high score – owing potentially to the younger age structure in these sectors. Males score higher than females. We see that those with lower secondary/less qualifications score lower than the other groups in terms of education. We do not see a strong hierarchical relationship with regards social class.[128] However, permanent workers score higher than non-permanent workers. Full-timers appear to score higher than part-timers and trade union members score lower than those not belonging to a trade union. These descriptive findings may be related to demographic issues such as age and gender and also factors such as income. In the next section, we are primarily interested in the associations of workplace bullying with well-being, however, it is also imperative to tease out these relationships where possible.

[128] The high GHQ for unskilled manual may reflect the lower age profile of this category.

Table 7.7 GHQ/Subjective well-being (all 2007 employees)

	GHQ (1-4) mean score (higher score indicates higher well-being)
Reporting bullying	
Not reporting bullying	2.68
Reported bullying	2.46
Sector	
Private Sector	2.67
Public Sector	2.65
Economic sector	
Agriculture	2.60
Trad manufacturing	2.62
Hi-tech manufacturing	2.72
Construction	2.65
Wholesale/Retail	2.66
Business sector	2.60
Transport & Communications	2.72
Financial	2.66
Public Admin	2.63
Personal	2.68
Education	2.69
Health & Social Work	2.66
Gender	
Female	2.65
Male	2.67
Education	
Tertiary	2.66
Upper secondary	2.68
Lower secondary/less	2.64
Social class	
Higher Professional	2.68
Lower Professional	2.64
Other Non Manual	2.63
Skilled manual	2.66
Semi-skilled manual	2.67
Unskilled manual	2.72
Employment contract	
Temp/casual	2.64
Permanent	2.67
Hours of work	
Part time	2.64
Full time	2.67
Trade union member	
Not trade union member	2.67
Trade union member	2.64
Total N	2.66

7.4 Modelling the relationship between bullying and well-being

As well as the expectations stated earlier relating to job satisfaction, we might expect that individual-level characteristics such as age and children to be associated with well-being: younger people may be happier than people in their

mid-lives[129] who may be experiencing demands in terms of both children and elderly relatives – the so-called "sandwich" generation. The presence of children is generally expected to confer lower well-being, as suggested by some of the research literature: a recent paper asks "partner + children = happiness?" and finds that children do not increase levels of happiness (Kohler & Berhman, 2005).

We expect that workplace bullying is negatively associated with well-being, however, as before, we expect that the addition of individual, job and organisational characteristics will reduce this negative relationship somewhat. The modelling approach is a multiple linear regression. Post-estimation checks reveal no particular issues with the distribution of residuals and no issues with regards high residuals/leverage. We will restrict the sample to those in the same job as before.[130]

7.4.1 Well-being at work: the impact of bullying

Table 7.8 represents the results of the series of nested linear regression models. Model 1 enters reported bullying only and this reflects the previous descriptive finding that workers reporting bullying score lower on the well-being scale than those not reporting bullying. Model 2 introduces individual characteristics and we can see that males score slightly higher on the scale than females, as do those aged between 18 & 24 years old (compared to the reference category of aged between 45 & 54 years old). Divorced people score lower on the scale than every other marital status type. Those with children score higher on average and those with tertiary education also score higher. This latter finding could reflect professional jobs as well as higher incomes. General health is also entered and is positively associated with subjective well-being. We can see in Model 2 that the negative coefficient for bullying remains approximately the same.

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[129] Previous research has found an inverted U shape with regards age and well being, with minimum "happiness" for those around 30-40 years old (Clark & Oswald, 2007). Therefore, age as a series of dummy variables will be used (instead of tenure) in the modelling.

[130] The GHQ does not relate specifically to the current job, but measures a general state of health at the time of the survey. As the bullying must have occurred within the previous six months we might expect that this will continue to influence the respondent's health at the survey time point. However, the analysis will be restricted to the "stayers" in line with the previous analysis on job satisfaction. The models have been tested on the full sample of employees and the results remain robust.

Model 3 introduces job, workplace and sectoral characteristics. Here we can see that public sector workers score higher on the scale (controlling for individual characteristics such gender and education). Those reporting good relationships between staff and good management-staff relationships also report higher on the scale. [131] The latter relationship seems particularly important for general well-being. We can see that the negative coefficient for workplace bullying reduces somewhat, but still remains negative and statistically significant.

Model 4 introduces variables measuring job quality and job/organisational change. We can see that organisational change has a negative association with well-being. Likewise, a pace of work that is "too intense" is also associated with lower well-being. While the first autonomy has a significant positive effect when entered without "more control", it is no longer significant when "more control" is added: "more control" has a stronger and more positive effect. The other autonomy indicators are not significant and not included in the model. Respondents that have been recently promoted score higher on the scale, possibly relating to the fact that they have a better job, but also better income (Model 5). We can see that those who have recently being demoted score lower on the scale than those who have not. These effects can be interpreted through their impact on income as well as relative position within the organisation. We can see that the negative coefficient for workplace bullying reduces further but still remains negative and statistically significant. This implies that those reporting bullying score on average -0.12 lower than those not reporting bullying in the workplace, controlling for a range of individual, job and organisational characteristics. This modelling approach demonstrates the importance of these other factors, as the "raw" difference is around -0.19 lower. .[132]

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[131] There is the possibility that reverse causality is in operation here as well, with respondents with a "happier disposition" more likely to perceive better workplace relations.

[132] Model 5 with the full sample of employees is reported in Appendix Table 7D, with no substantial differences.

Table 7.8 OLS regression of GHQ (1-4)

	1			2			3			4			5		
	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se
bully	**-0.189**	***	0.024	**-0.185**	***	0.024	**-0.155**	***	0.025	**-0.126**	***	0.024	**-0.120**	***	0.024
male				0.026	*	0.014	0.030	*	0.015	0.025		0.015	0.025	*	0.015
ref: 45-54 yrs															
18-24yrs				0.087	***	0.030	0.088	***	0.031	0.050		0.031	0.045		0.031
25-34yrs				0.018		0.020	0.031		0.021	0.009		0.021	0.008		0.021
35-44yrs				-0.018		0.019	-0.010		0.019	-0.020		0.019	-0.021		0.019
55yrs+				0.031		0.027	0.028		0.027	0.024		0.026	0.025		0.026
health				0.056	***	0.021	0.046	**	0.021	0.037	*	0.021	0.038	*	0.021
children				0.025	*	0.015	0.026	*	0.015	0.027	*	0.015	0.027	*	0.015
ref: lower sec/less															
tertiary				0.042	**	0.021	0.027		0.021	0.040	*	0.021	0.040	*	0.021
public sector							0.037	**	0.017	0.032	*	0.017	0.031	*	0.017
permanent							-0.014		0.022	-0.015		0.021	-0.015		0.021
policy							0.000		0.019	0.001		0.018	-0.000		0.018
emp. assist.							0.003		0.017	0.002		0.016	0.002		0.016
good staff rel.							0.040	*	0.024	0.030		0.023	0.028		0.023
good staff/man							0.090	***	0.018	0.044	**	0.018	0.042	**	0.018
org. chge										-0.037	**	0.016	-0.036	**	0.016
nature chg (1-4)										-0.004		0.010	-0.004		0.010
incr. pace (1-4)										-0.001		0.011	-0.002		0.011
int. pace (1-4)										-0.062	***	0.011	-0.062	***	0.011
decide pace										0.001		0.006	0.001		0.006
more contrl (1-4)										0.091	***	0.010	0.087	***	0.010
demotion													-0.167	*	0.086
promotion													0.040	**	0.019
transfer													-0.032		0.028
N	2369			2369			2369			2369			2369		
Constant	2.665	***	0.007	2.554	***	0.030	2.447	***	0.044	2.411	***	0.061	2.430	***	0.062
Adj. R Sq.	0.025			0.039			0.057			0.111			0.115		

Notes 1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 2. Incl. controls for marital status, supervisor, hrs wrked, turnover, new tech., new manager, union (insig).

In summary, while the inclusion of "individual" characteristics had little impact on the reported bullying coefficient, the addition of job, organisational and sectoral indicators reduce the coefficient quite substantially. However, these results do suggest that workplace bullying, even with controls, still has both a substantive and statistically significant negative association with well-being.[133]

Table 7.9 OLS regression of GHQ (1-4), with autonomy*intensification interaction term

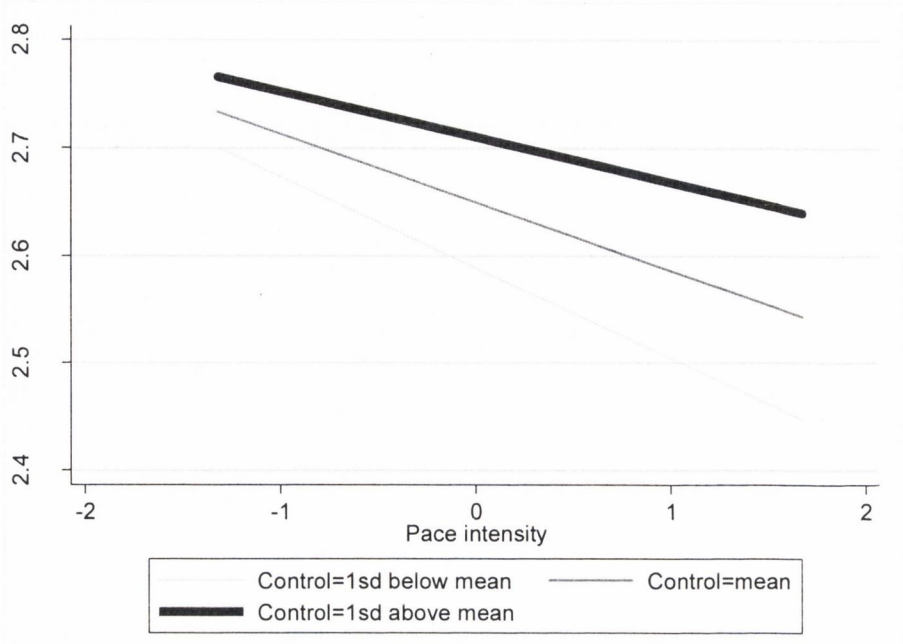
	1			2			3		
	b		se	b		se	b		se
bully	-0.185	***	0.024	-0.118	***	0.024	-0.115	***	0.024
int. pace_c				-0.062	***	0.011	-0.063	***	0.011
more cont_c				0.087	***	0.010	0.085	***	0.010
morecon_c*paceint_c							0.030	**	0.012
Constant	2.665	***	0.007	2.545	***	0.055	2.540	***	0.055
Adj. R Sq.	0.024			0.115			0.117		
N	2416								

Notes
1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. "_c" reflects a centred variable.
3. This model is reproduced here in part: the full controls in the previous model are also included in models 2 & 3, but not shown.

Previous research has shown that autonomy may mediate the effect of job intensification on worker stress levels (Bond & Bunce, 2001; O'Connell *et al.* 2004). We can test for this relationship here by inclusion of an interaction term (Table 7.9). The interaction term is significant, indicating that the relationship between job intensity and subjective well-being may be mediated by job autonomy. Figure 7.1 displays this relationship. As this graph makes clear, depending on the level of control (as measured by this variable) increases in pace intensity have a different effect. The lines get darker in colour and thicker at higher levels of control. Thus, we can see that at the highest levels of pace intensity, those with higher control (one standard deviation above the mean) score higher on the GHQ than those without such control (one standard deviation below the mean). We can see that the "gap" widens: control matters less for those with low levels of intensity, however, as pace increases, control allows for the relative "preservation" of well-being. The inclusion of the interaction term does not have much impact on the reported bullying coefficient.

[133] The R Square in the final model is 0.12, explaining around 12% of the total variance.

Figure 7.1 GHQ and the interaction between more control/intense pace (centred)



Notes
1. This graph was calculated using the postgr function in Stata with the fully specified model in Table 7.9.

7.4.2 Subjective well-being in the sectors: where's better to be if you're bullied

We might expect that the different sectoral characteristics in the public and private sector (for example, the presence of more developed welfare-centred policies and practices, as well as flexible working) might also be associated with differences in well-being. Within-sector differences can be explored further by running separate sector models for the public and private sector, with the same covariates as before. The results are presented in Table 7.10. In Model 1 (both sectors), we can see that workplace bullying is negatively associated with well-being; however the reported bullying coefficient in the private sector s actually larger than in the public sector. Again, this sample is just those who remained in their employment and so should be borne in mind when interpreting the sector models.

In Model 2, entering the same job and organisational characteristics as before, we can see that in both cases the coefficient for reporting bullying drops in size: in the public sector especially. Briefly turning to the other variables introduced in Model 2, the presence of children is positive and significant in the public sector and not in the private sector, perhaps reflecting the greater supports in the former sector with regards balancing work and family life as well as the possible sectoral differences with regards gender. Males score higher in the private sector but not in the public sector, potentially associated with the sort of (poorer quality) "female" jobs in the private sector. The significant effect for age is only indicated in the private sector. Supervisors score higher on the well-being scale than non-supervisors in the private sector, although only significant at the $p<0.1$ level. Good management-staff relations appear to be particularly important in the public sector for well-being, whereas in the private sector, good inter-staff relationships have a positive impact. This could reflect the importance of the bureaucratic structures in the public sector. Demotion seems to be particularly negatively associated with well-being in the public sector; while numbers are small for this category in this sector, it does appear to have a very strong and negative association with well-being. The previous interaction between control and intensification at work is found predominantly in the public sector. Promotion is associated with greater well-being in the public sector, rather than the private sector.

Table 7.10 OLS regression of GHQ (1-4), by sector

	Public sector								Private sector							
	1			2			3			1			2			3		
	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se	b		se
bully	**-0.132**	***	**0.033**	**-0.071**	**	**0.034**	**-0.067**	**	**0.034**	**-0.273**	***	**0.035**	**-0.183**	***	**0.036**	**-0.181**	***	**0.036**
male				0.012		0.024	0.014		0.024				0.035	*	0.020	0.035	*	0.020
ref: 45-54																		
18-24yrs				-0.002		0.066	0.008		0.066				0.064	*	0.037	0.065	*	0.037
55yrs+				0.064	*	0.038	0.060		0.038				-0.014		0.037	-0.015		0.037
health				0.058	*	0.033	0.056	*	0.032				0.021		0.027	0.022		0.027
children				0.044	*	0.024	0.044	*	0.024				0.018		0.019	0.018		0.019
supervisor				-0.028		0.024	-0.025		0.024				0.036	*	0.020	0.036	*	0.020
emp. assist.				-0.033		0.026	-0.037		0.026				0.034		0.021	0.034		0.021
good staff rel.				0.006		0.037	0.004		0.036				0.054	*	0.030	0.054	*	0.030
good man/staff rel.				0.060	**	0.028	0.059	**	0.028				0.011		0.024	0.011		0.024
new tech.				0.021		0.023	0.023		0.023				-0.018		0.019	-0.018		0.019
new mangr.				0.007		0.024	0.004		0.024				-0.009		0.020	-0.009		0.020
org. chge				-0.040		0.026	-0.041		0.026				-0.041	**	0.020	-0.041	**	0.020
nature1_4				-0.007		0.016	-0.007		0.016				-0.004		0.013	-0.004		0.013
incr. pace (1-4)				-0.010		0.017	-0.010		0.017				0.006		0.013	0.007		0.014
int. pace (1-4)				-0.040	**	0.018	-0.215	***	0.057				-0.077	***	0.014	-0.115	**	0.048
more contrl (1-4)				0.095	***	0.016	-0.059		0.050				0.076	***	0.013	0.044		0.040
decide pace (1-5)				-0.004		0.010	-0.003		0.010				0.004		0.008	0.004		0.008
decide own tsks (1-5)				0.015	*	0.008	0.017	**	0.008				-0.015	**	0.006	-0.015	**	0.006
decide break (1-5)				-0.007		0.009	-0.007		0.009				0.017	**	0.007	0.017	**	0.007
demotion				-0.398	***	0.140	-0.410	***	0.139				-0.021		0.110	-0.025		0.110
promotion				0.064	**	0.031	0.065	**	0.030				0.019		0.025	0.018		0.025
int pace*more contrl							0.063	***	0.019							0.014		0.016
Constant	2.670	***	0.012	2.395	***	0.104	2.797	***	0.162	2.660	***	0.009	2.468	***	0.086	2.558	***	0.137
Adj. R Sq.	0.016			0.122			0.132			0.041			0.141			0.142		
N	958									1405								

Notes 1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 2. This model also controls for divorce, hours of work, transfer, turnover, union membership, formal policy, education, contract (insig).

The differences between the sectors can be tested with the inclusion of interaction terms, including just the coefficients which display very different sectoral patterns in Model 3 (the focus here will be on important job/organisational characteristics and gender, rather than health and age). We can see that there are significant interaction terms for public sector and: reported bullying; supervisory status; intense pace; the second (decide own tasks) and third (decide on breaks) autonomy indicators; and demotion (Table 7.11).

Table 7.11 OLS regression of GHQ (1-4), with sector interaction terms

	1			2			3		
	b		se	b		se	b		se
bully	-0.189	***	0.024	-0.115	***	0.024	-0.176	***	0.035
male				0.022		0.015	0.036	*	0.019
supervisor				0.008		0.015	0.032	*	0.019
org. chge				-0.037	**	0.016	-0.039	**	0.020
int. pace (1-4)				-0.059	***	0.011	-0.072	***	0.013
decide own tsks				-0.001		0.005	-0.014	**	0.006
decide break				0.007		0.006	0.017	**	0.007
demotion				-0.163	**	0.083	-0.024		0.104
promotion				0.042	**	0.019	0.022		0.024
public*bully							**0.110**	**	0.047
public*male							-0.027		0.028
public*supervisor							**-0.058**	**	0.029
public*org. chge							0.004		0.030
public*int. pace							**0.030**	*	0.015
public*own tasks							**0.028**	***	0.010
public*break							**-0.023**	***	0.009
public*promotion							0.043		0.037
public*demotion							**-0.406**	**	0.170
Constant	2.664	***	0.007	2.419	***	0.064	2.426	***	0.064
N	2407								
R-squared	0.025			0.113			0.126		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

2. This model has the full controls of the previous model, but only conditional effects and interaction terms are displayed.

Figure 7.2 OLS regression of GHQ (1-4), with sector interactions

(Table 7.11, model 3)

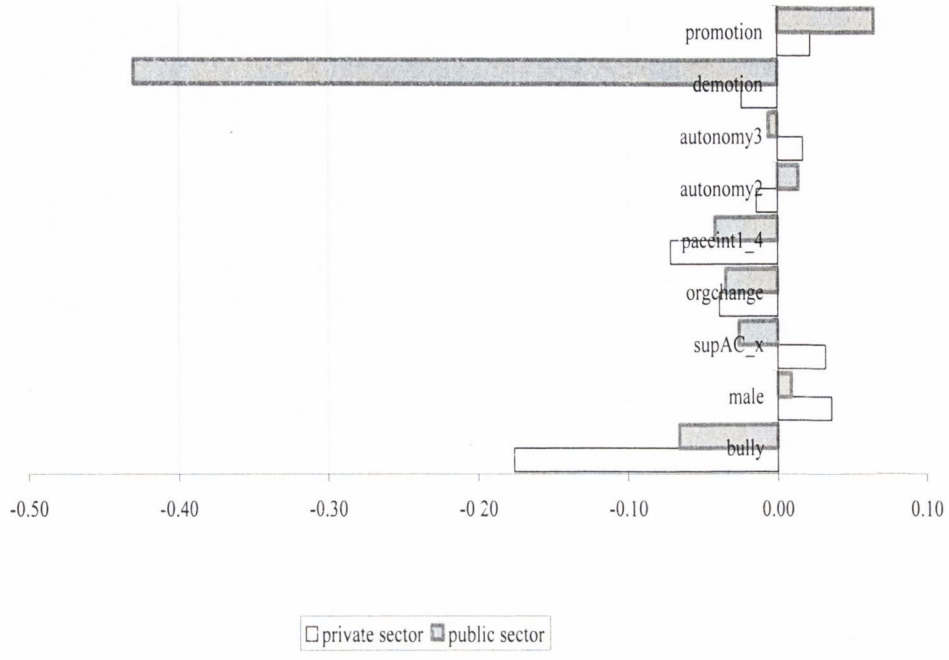


Figure 7.2 displays the results for the significant interaction terms, based on Model 3, Table 7.11. Most strikingly, we can see that bullying has a much stronger negative relationship with well-being in the *private sector*. When demotion takes place in the public sector, it appears to have a stronger negative impact on well-being than in the private sector.

7.4.3 Direction and severity: does the type of bullying matter?

We can also explore the differences in well-being associated with the different dimensions of reported bullying, for example, the direction and how often it occurs. We might expect that bullying by a mixture of perpetrators is associated with a greater negative effect on well-being than bullying by the other directions, owing to the fact that it implies multiple sources. We might expect that bullying by *supervisors only* has more of an effect on well-being than bullying by *non-supervisors*. Upon addition of the job, organisation and sectoral controls, we might expect that bullying by non-supervisors reduces to a lesser extent as it is possibly less influenced by such work-related factors. We also would expect that bullying that takes place more frequently will have a greater negative impact on well-being.

Table 7.12 presents the results of the linear regression with the *direction* of bullying replacing the previous "any" reported bullying variable. We can see from Model 1 that bullying by supervisors has the greatest negative impact on well-being and so there is not full support for the previous expectation, although bullying by non-supervisors is smallest in size. When full controls are introduced in Model 2, all of the coefficients reduce in size and while it seems that there are no substantial differences with regards the extent of the decreases, it does provide some support for the previous expectation in that bullying by non-supervisors reduces by the smallest amount. However, all are still negative and significant, suggesting that *all* directions are associated with negative well-being. To test for particular sector differences in terms of the direction of bullying, interaction terms were entered in Model 3. Here, we can see that the interaction term for public sector and non-supervisor bullying is positive and significant. This suggests that in the public sector, bullying by non-supervisors has less of an impact on well-being than in the private sector (Figure 7.3).

Table 7.12 OLS regression of GHQ (1-4), direction of bullying

	1 No controls b		se	2 With controls b		se	3 With controls & interactions b		se
ref: not report bully									
non-supervisor only	-0.163	***	0.034	-0.105	***	0.034	-0.189	***	0.051
supervisor only	-0.278	***	0.054	-0.184	***	0.053	-0.112		0.073
mixture	-0.187	***	0.038	-0.108	***	0.038	-0.146	***	0.053
public*non -sup only							**0.145**	**	0.067
public*supervisor only							-0.150		0.105
public*mixture							0.077		0.074
Constant	2.664	***	0.007	2.410	***	0.065	2.418	***	0.065
Adj. R Sq.	0.028			0.115			0.118		
N	2368								

Notes
1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In terms of frequency, bullying was broken down into moderate and regular, with the reference category those *not reporting bullying*. The results are reported in Table 7.13 and we can see that as expected, those reporting frequent bullying report lower well-being (than both those reporting moderate bullying and those not reporting bullying). When the additional covariates are entered, both these coefficients reduce in size, as expected. Again, sectoral differences were investigated through the inclusion of sector interaction terms and we can see that there are some sectoral differences.

Table 7.13 OLS regression of GHQ (1-4), frequency of bullying

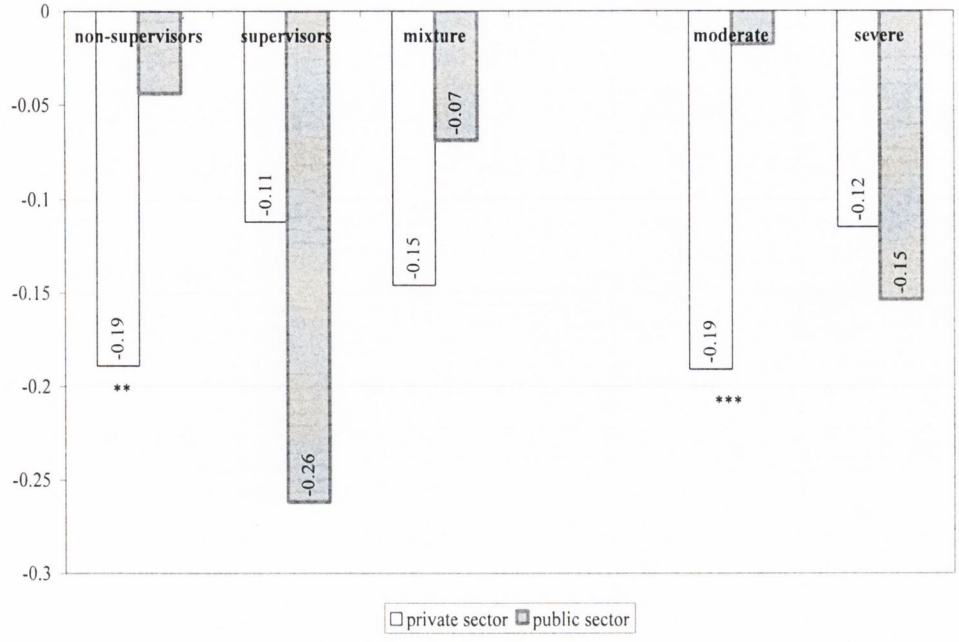
	1 No controls			2 With controls			3 With controls & interactions		
	b		se	b		se	b		se
ref: not report bully									
moderate	-0.157	***	0.031	-0.093	***	0.030	-0.191	***	0.046
regular	-0.211	***	0.036	-0.133	***	0.036	-0.115	**	0.049
public*moderate							**0.173**	***	0.060
public*regular							-0.039		0.070
Constant	2.664	***	0.007	2.421	***	0.064	2.427	***	0.064
Adj. R Sq.	0.023			0.113			0.116		
N	2410			2410			2410		

Notes
1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The results for both direction and frequency are displayed in Figure 7.3 in order to clearly illustrate the sectoral patterns.[134] We can see that reported bullying by non-supervisors only has a strong negative association with subjective well-being in the private sector. We can see that for public sector workers, infrequent or moderate bullying does not significantly impact on their subjective well-being, while we do see a strong impact for private sector workers. However, we do not see any difference with regards severe or frequent bullying and well-being in the public and private sector (both have a similarly negative impact).

[134] There does not appear to be a relationship between the direction of the reported bullying and the severity/frequency.

Figure 7.3 OLS regression of GHQ: direction and frequency of bullying, by sector



Notes
1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. These figures are based on the final models in Tables 7.12 & 7.13

7.4.4 Summarising subjective well-being

As with the findings relating to job satisfaction, we find that the introduction of job and organisational characteristics (rather than individual-level characteristics) reduce the negative association of reported workplace bullying and subjective well-being. However, these results do suggest that workplace bullying, even with controls, still has a strong negative association with well-being, with on average those reporting bullying scoring -0.12 less on the scale. We found an interaction between control over work and job intensity, suggesting that higher levels of control at work mediate the impact of an intense job on well-being. In terms of important sectoral differences, we can see that reporting bullying has a much stronger negative association with well-being in the private sector. Furthermore, reporting bullying by non-supervisors as well as infrequent/moderate bullying only has a strong negative association with subjective well-being in the private sector. These differences regarding the relationship between the direction and frequency of bullying and well-being builds on previous research by Hoel *et al.* (2004) which reports variations in well-being according to the nature of the bullying behaviours.

7.5 Conclusion

The psychological research literature has emphasised the negative outcomes of workplace bullying for satisfaction, stress and well-being. However, it has been argued that it is important to base findings on representative data as well as take account of other job and organisational characteristics. This chapter has sought to empirically investigate the relationship between reported workplace bullying and job satisfaction and well-being. The focus of the present research is to take account of important job and organisational factors, effectively disentangling these relationships in order to assess the impact of the bullying on these outcome variables. This study has argued that the outcomes of reported bullying are potentially shaped by institutional characteristics, and the focus on sectoral patterns is maintained throughout this chapter.

We find that as expected, there is a negative association with reported bullying and subjective assessments of current job satisfaction. Importantly, while the introduction of individual, job and organisational characteristics reduce the negative impact of bullying, these factors do not account for all of the negative association with job satisfaction. We find that demotion has a stronger negative effect on job satisfaction than workplace bullying (notwithstanding the fact that those reporting bullying are also more likely to report being demoted).

Sectoral differences were investigated and it was found that the effect of bullying did not vary across the sectors, but reduced substantially across both sectors when job and organisational factors were taken account of. The direction of the reported bullying was considered, and these results suggest that job and organisational characteristics account largely for the decreased job satisfaction for those respondents reporting bullying by *supervisors* only. However, this is not entirely the case for bullying by *non-supervisors* and bullying by a *mixture* of sources, where the coefficient sizes remain large even after controls. The impact of regular bullying is less "explained" by other job and organisational characteristics than moderate bullying.

In terms of subjective well-being, it was found that while the inclusion of "individual-level" characteristics had little effect on the reported bullying coefficient, while the addition of job, organisational and sectoral indicators

reduced the size of the bullying coefficient quite substantially. However, these results do suggest that workplace bullying, even with controls, still has a statistically significant negative association with well-being. Strikingly, we can see that bullying has a much stronger negative relationship with well-being in the private sector. This could potentially relate to the relative lack of supports for workers in dealing with bullying in this sector compared to the public sector.

Reported bullying by *non-supervisors* only has a strong negative association with subjective well-being in the private sector. Likewise, infrequent or moderate bullying only significantly impacts on subjective well-being for private sector workers. This could suggest that public sector workers are better "equipped" (through institutional supports) to cope with these types of bullying or that non-supervisor bullying and moderate bullying are experienced more severely in the private sector. However, we do not see any difference with regards severe or frequent bullying and well-being in the public and private sector (both have a negative impact).

Research on workplace bullying suggests a hugely detrimental effect on job satisfaction and subjective well-being. These findings do support a negative relationship, however, it was found that some of the negative "effect" of workplace bullying, in terms of both job satisfaction and well-being, relates to other aspects of the "changing workplace". In addition, important differences between the public and private sector were found, suggesting that institutional characteristics not only shape the prevalence of reported bullying but also its associated outcomes. However, it is important to bear in mind that the cross-sectional nature of this survey limits measuring the job satisfaction and well-being of those who reported bullying and left their job. A longitudinal survey design could solve some of the problems highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 8 Conclusion: the importance of 'work' and 'place'?

A typical scenario? The "wild west" of employment relations

Fiona is 24 and has been working as a waitress in a small café for the last three years. She usually works around 30 hours per week. She is not a member of a trade union and is employed on a casual basis. The company do not have a formal policy on bullying and she says they handle the issue very poorly. She describes relationships between staff and management as very bad. The bullying, ongoing for the last two months, is perpetrated by Fiona's supervisor and takes place several times a week. Fiona feels that her boss has "issues" and is "power hungry". In her opinion, her boss lacks adequate communication skills and finds it difficult to work with others. The bullying is mainly verbal and includes undermining, being given unreasonable assignments, and excessive monitoring of her work. The bullying has caused her some stress and decreased her motivation at work and performance generally. At one stage, she considered leaving and finding another job, however, Fiona felt confident in her ability to handle it herself.

Bullying by colleagues: new work practices or plain old backstabbing?

Elisabeth, 42, is a public sector employee working in the health sector. She has been working for her current employer for the last eight years. She works full-time, is employed on a permanent contract and responsible for the supervision of a large number of staff. She describes relationships between staff and management as good. Elisabeth has been a member of a trade union for the last 20 years. She reports being bullied several times a month by a colleague for the last two years. The bullying mainly occurs when the bully doesn't "get their own way" and largely consists of verbal abuse. Elisabeth says that the bullying made work very difficult and created a great deal of extra pressure. In Elisabeth's workplace, there is both a formal policy on workplace bullying and an employee assistance program. To this end, she feels that bullying is handled well in her organisation. There is a "clear and formal process on how to deal with it, for managers and for victims", which is "available to all". Elisabeth made use of the formal policy and reported the bullying both to her manager and personnel. She reports that the bullying has been reduced by a formal investigation conducted by an external company.

The missing cases: migrant workers

Michael is a 29 year old foreign national and has been employed as a care worker for the elderly in the private sector for over a year. His employment contract is temporary and he works part time. Michael feels that staff and management relations in the organisation are quite bad. There is no formal policy on workplace bullying and the issue is very poorly handled in his organisation. Over the last month, Michael reports being bullied by a female supervisor. He says that his supervisor will often "tell you to do something

even when it is not your line of duty", for example, cleaning. In addition, he often discovers that he is "replaced by someone else and no reason given". He also indicates that the bullying has included exclusion, aggression and undermining. He feels the fact that he is a "foreigner" is a possible reason for the bullying. Michael has tried speaking to his boss about the matter, but has not been successful in resolving the bullying. He reports feeling constantly under strain and also unhappiness and depression. He has considered quitting and finding alternative employment. He is not a member of a trade union but is currently trying to contact other migrant workers in his situation.

8.1 What's the story? Workplace bullying in Ireland

This concluding chapter opens with a number of "pen stories", taken from the survey, making use of both the coded and open-ended questions.[135] These stories have been selected as they represent different aspects of workplace bullying. The first story concerns a worker employed on a casual contract in a café and highlights the importance of recognising that despite a higher risk of reporting bullying in the public sector, the private sector represents a greater proportion of the workforce: bullying is therefore as much an issue for private sector, as well as public sector, workplaces in Ireland. In terms of policy focus, this point is worth emphasising. We have seen that private sector workers have a greater likelihood of exit, and this could be one mechanism of "dealing" with negative behaviours in the workplace. The research finds that private sector workers reporting bullying are more likely to experience lower well-being, with one possible reason being the lack of adequate supports in this sector, especially in smaller organisations. Fiona's level of stress as a result of the bullying can be viewed in light of these results. Her perceptions that her boss is "power hungry" provides an insight into the stereotypical representations of bullying at work, however, this research argues that this case is far from unique, or related purely to the personality characteristics of a particular manager.

Elisabeth's case sits therefore somewhat in opposition to the previous one: she works in the public sector, reports bullying by a colleague (rather than a manager) and to all extents and purposes, appears to be well-protected in her workplace. The direction of the bullying has been differentiated in the research

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[135] These "pen stories" (although slightly rewritten here) also appear in O'Connell *et al.* (2007) however, the present author can claim authorship, although with recognition and appreciation of the valuable comments and guidance provided by the co-authors of the report. The names are anonymised and care was taken to remove any potential identifiers.

literature and this study, with some limitations, finds a higher prevalence in Ireland of bullying by colleagues, with bullying by supervisors the second most frequent. This positions Ireland more in line with Scandinavia than the UK, however, future research would be necessary to confirm this. These findings suggest that workers may be less at risk of downward bullying – the heavy handed manager – and more at risk of co-worker conflict, potentially owing to new work practices and job demands. However, information as to the prevalence and nature of team working could possibly illuminate the potential causes of *horizontal* bullying in greater depth. Elizabeth is a long serving trade union member and there is a formal policy as well as a staff welfare programme in place. It is argued that the increasing attention placed on "dignity" at work and "appropriate" conduct in the workplace may have partly raised expectations in the workplace. While this study finds that those with higher education are more likely to report bullying, formal policies are associated with a reduced risk of reporting bullying in the workplace.

Owing to data limitations, the last story is completely missing from the current study but worth highlighting. The survey does not provide a reliable measure of ethnicity or country of birth and so this was not pursued in the analysis. An attempt at post-coding the open-ended question relating to "minority status" did reveal a greater proportion of non-Irish employees reporting bullying.[136] The particular vulnerabilities of migrant workers should not be underestimated, and their potential for marginality within an organisation may make them at risk of inappropriate behaviours and indeed other work-related discriminations. The problems faced by migrants in the workplace has been addressed by much research, for example, the relationship between "low paid" and "foreign born" workers in London (Datta *et al.* 2007) as well as Irish research (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008). Future research should take account of the possible overlap of bullying, harassment and discrimination in the workplace relating to ethnicity (Fox & Stallworth, 2005).

[136] Respondents perceiving themselves to be members of a minority group in Ireland include LGBT, "swingers" and the happily married.

8.2 The changing workplace: haven or health risk?

The present study's sociological approach aims to contribute to the existing body of research on workplace bullying. It argues that it is imperative to consider how institutional characteristics shape the experiences of work in the public and private sector. This study has addressed the literature on the "changing workplace" which has been a major focus of much research in the contemporary period. Research has increasingly afforded prominence to the detrimental consequences for workers *of work*, rather than a lack of it, in the context of increasing economic globalisation, competitive pressures and the rise in female labour market participation, for example, job intensification, insecurity and work-life conflict.

The key debates concerning labour market change can be broadly considered in two main thrusts, an optimistic account of the workplace as a haven, whereby workers are afforded increased autonomy, "self-fulfilment" and "dignity" or a more pessimistic account where more flexible forms of work are represented as posing an increasing health risk to workers, particularly their well-being and stress levels. These debates have resonance for Irish workplaces. For example, part time employment, as elsewhere, has risen, associated with growing female labour market participation, and temporary employment has also increased. This raises the issue that some workers may be particularly vulnerable in the contemporary workplace. Furthermore, job intensification seems to also affect a large (if stable) proportion of employees. On the other hand, Ireland's workforce report higher levels of control over their work in 2007, compared to the previous wave of the survey in 2001. This could reflect Ireland's increasingly well-educated workforce, with growth in high skilled jobs with greater job autonomy; however, research has also suggested a process of skills polarisation. We see some evidence of this, with the high skilled more likely to report having increased control over the past year than low skilled workers.

To a certain extent, the public sector has embraced the "flexibility" goals of new public management (and related fiscal pressures) and is on the OECD-approved trajectory of modernisation. Arguably, the focus on the public-private divide may obscure differences amongst the economic sectors. For example, workers in the public administration sector are much more likely to report the

appointment of a new manager as well as substantial technological change than the public sector overall. The type, nature and experience of change may differentiate along economic sectors. For example, the onus placed on "reform" or "modernisation" may differ in a small secondary school, a hospital based in the capital and a rural local authority. Nonetheless, this study argues that under the umbrella of "new public management", the entire public sector has been faced with a broad range of initiatives and innovations which have a common theme of *change*. However, contrary to research in the early 2000s, in general, public sector workers do not appear more likely than private sector workers to report organisational change or job intensification; potentially this could reflect that the main modernisation drives have been instigated by this later point. As already highlighted, the public sector post-2007 has undergone significant changes in light of the economic crisis.

8.3 The "causes" of conflict: the importance of the workplace

The extent to which workplace bullying represents a new phenomenon or simply a new "label" for behaviours is open to debate: the present study has been concerned to address systematic patterns in reporting bullying using a cross-sectional, nationally representative study. While (historical) longitudinal data would be necessary to establish whether bullying is simply a new name for old behaviours, the current study has emphasised how the psychological well-being of workers has become a key issue in the contemporary period, and argued that it is important to place the growing attention focused on workplace bullying in this context. The dominance of the psychological research tradition is perhaps reflected in the interpretation of bullying as an interpersonal conflict, with a focus on psychological health outcomes. However, this study has highlighted the importance of job and organisational characteristics, suggesting that workers may be subject to new pressures and demands which open up possibilities of conflict. Arguably, these issues are less suitable for an investigation centred on the two parties involved in the "interpersonal conflict", but part of a larger picture concerned with the changing nature of work, as well as the changed industrial relations landscape.

This thesis has investigated the possible reasons for the higher reported rate of bullying in the public sector in Ireland. It argues that it is important to adopt a

macro-level perspective, focusing on the institutional characteristics that shape experiences of work. The literature on the "new public management" debates, centred on pervasive public sector change in recent decades, has been explored as well as how sectoral characteristics structure employee opportunities for employee voice and mobility. In Ireland, the public sector is associated with a wage premium, job security and pension provision, as well as a higher prevalence of family-friendly and staff welfare policies, including formal policies on workplace bullying. These factors could be associated with a greater likelihood of using "voice" rather than "exit", unlike their private sector counterparts who may be more likely to see alternative employment elsewhere. Occupational mobility is another factor, and while this was not able to be tested formally, descriptive analysis suggested that a higher proportion of public sector workers perceived their training to be less relevant in getting another job.

8.3.1 Change and conflict?

This study finds that organisational change and job intensification are strong risk factors for reporting bullying in the workplace. While organisational change is generally accompanied by higher levels of job intensification, the analysis suggests that change in itself is related to a higher likelihood of reporting bullying. Having more control at work, as well as having higher levels of task discretion is associated with a decreased likelihood of reporting bullying. This study illustrates the important role that autonomy plays in potentially reducing the risk of reporting bullying at work: those with the lowest levels of control or task discretion are at greater risk of reporting bullying. Autonomy also mediates the effect of working long hours on the likelihood of reporting bullying.

These findings suggest that workplace bullying is very much a feature of the "changing workplace" and a key issue for job quality debates in the contemporary period. However, taking account of job intensification and organisational change factors does not seem to "explain" the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector. The analysis reveals important within-sectoral differences relating to reporting bullying. Job autonomy does not appear to have the same effects in the public and private sector: increasing control only has strong negative associations in the private sector. This

potentially reflects the higher overall levels of autonomy in the public sector, as increasing control may not have the same effect from a higher "base". However, for public sector workers an *increasing pace* seems to be associated with an increased likelihood of reporting bullying whereas the relationship in the private sector is not as strong.[137] These results are consistent with previous research in Ireland which finds public sector workers more resistant to change, which potentially sheds light on this finding (O'Connell *et al.* 2004).

8.3.2 Great expectations?

As already mentioned, those with higher levels of education were found to be more likely to report bullying in the workplace, despite taking account of the increased job demands and working hours that these workers may also experience. This could suggest support for the "higher expectations" thesis, although it is possible that there is an aspect of these skilled jobs (unrelated to higher expectations) that the current survey does not measure which could relate to a higher risk of reporting bullying. This study suggested that formal policies may increase expectations and heighten awareness of the appropriate behaviours in the workplace, possibly leading to a higher rate of reported bullying. However, formal policies were found to be associated with a reduced risk of workplace bullying. From this data, it appears that formal policies do "work". However, future research could explore systematically the nature of the policy – whether formal, informal or uncertain which appears to differ along sectoral lines. Taking account of the higher education profile and the greater prevalence of formal policies does not adequately account for the higher rate of reported bullying in the public sector. The analysis reveals important sectoral differences in relation to the "higher expectations" argument, with females with low skilled jobs working in the public sector as likely as those with tertiary qualifications to report bullying. It is possible that female public sector workers irrespective of qualifications have high expectations as to appropriate conduct in the workplace, potentially relating to their protected terms and condition; as with wages, the distance between females in the public sector is "narrower" than in the private sector.

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[137] At the same time, however, while not significant, an intense pace seems to be linked with an increased likelihood of bullying in the private sector.

8.3.3 Public sector and permanent: we shall not be moved?

This thesis has explored sectoral patterns in employee mobility. Workers employed on permanent contracts in the public sector seem to be driving the increased likelihood of reporting bullying, potentially leading us away from the "vulnerability" explanation of marginally employed workers (which may indeed be more relevant for the private sector). It is suggested that permanent sector workers in the public sector may either have limited occupational mobility (relating to skills or transfer possibilities) or that this is effectively the "cost" of public sector employment in that these workers enjoy comparatively better terms and conditions with job security, flexible working arrangements, and pension provision, and are less likely therefore to leave. We could also potentially consider that these workers may have *less* of a financial orientation to work (O'Connell *et al.* 2004) but a stronger vocational orientation to their jobs, which may influence their decision not to leave. Private sector workers reporting bullying are much more likely to consider quitting their jobs than their public sector counterparts. Furthermore, modelling "exit" provides some support for the expectation that private sector employees are more likely to actually leave their employment where the bullying occurred.

8.4 What's the outcome? Stress and satisfaction

The media attention was considered at the outset, highlighting the newspaper coverage in recent years: "The hidden scourge of workplace bullying" (Irish Times, 19th September 2006), "Some suicides attributed to workplace bullying (Irish Times, 9th September 2006), "Workplace bullying described as cancer in society" (Irish Times, 8th August, 2005). However, this study has argued that there is need for careful empirical research when assessing the possible negative implications of workplace bullying. For example, it is important to draw on nationally representative surveys which have been designed to minimise potential bias. The possible negative implications of workplace bullying on job satisfaction and well-being was investigated. We have seen how job and organisational change is associated with the risk of reporting bullying in the workplace. However, these factors are *also* expected to impact negatively on stress and satisfaction: the focus of the present research is to disentangle these relationships in order to assess the potential implications of bullying on these outcome variables.

We find that as expected, there is a negative association with reported bullying and current job satisfaction. Importantly, while the introduction of individual, job and organisational characteristics reduces the bullying coefficient somewhat in size, these factors do not account for all of the negative association with job satisfaction. However, these results suggest that demotion has a stronger negative effect on job satisfaction than workplace bullying. The direction of the reported bullying was considered, and these results suggest that job and organisational characteristics account largely for the decreased job satisfaction for those respondents reporting bullying by *supervisors*. However, this is not entirely the case for bullying by *non-supervisors* and bullying by a *mixture* of sources. Thus downward bullying is more "explained" by job and organisational factors, while for example, bullying by non-supervisors (mainly colleagues) is not.

In terms of well-being, it was found that while the inclusion of "individual-level" characteristics had little consequence on the negative impact of reported bullying, the addition of job, organisational and sectoral indicators reduces the "effect" of reporting bullying quite substantially. However, these results do suggest that workplace bullying, even with controls, still has a substantive and statistically significant negative association with well-being. Strikingly, we can see that bullying has a much stronger negative relationship with well-being in the private sector. This could potentially relate to the lack of general supports in the private sector, especially amongst smaller firms. The workplace bullying literature suggests that workplace bullying has a hugely detrimental effect on job satisfaction and stress. These findings largely corroborate this, however, it was found that some of the negative effect of workplace bullying relates to important workplace characteristics such as job quality, job intensification and organisational change. In addition, important sectoral differences were found, suggesting that structural factors are important in potentially reducing the negative impact of bullying.

8.5 What next? Limitations and future considerations

There are a number of limitations to the current study, which could be addressed by future research. The present data is a cross-sectional survey and a

better understanding of workplace bullying could be provided by a longitudinal design. To an extent, the current survey collects past employment history for those who reported bullying in a previous workplace, thus relying on respondent recall to establish the characteristics of the job and workplace where the bullying occurred. It is suggested that the variables collected should be extended to include tenure as well as job demands/pressures in that job (although this presents difficulties relating to recall: Dex & McCulloch, 1998). A matched employer-employee survey would also provide the opportunity to explore the organisational context, for example, information on formal policies: this could highlight possible differences in levels of awareness between senior management and the individual employee. A number of suggestions with regards future survey research can be made, with particular reference to measurement issues. This would enable further exploration of the issues addressed by this thesis and provide confirmation or indeed, refutation of expectations that cannot be wholly tested here.

1. *Negative behaviours*. In addition to the definition, it is suggested that a list of negative acts is also presented to all respondents. This would allow a comparison between the perceptions of those labelling themselves as "bullied" and the acts they report they have experienced in the workplace (Salin, 2001). For international comparisons, these should be similar (if reduced) in scope to existing instruments, such as the *Negative Acts Questionnaire*. This would allow the research to ascertain a "threshold" at which negative behaviours are labelled as bullying as well as possible sectoral patterns.
2. *Direction, number and gender of perpetrator/s*. In order to adequately explore the direction of bullying, as well as the possible relationship between gender/perpetrator (which could reflect occupational segregation) these questions should be explicitly related to the latest episode of bullying.
3. *Ethnic origin/country of birth/length of time in the country*. This would provide the opportunity to systematically measure the relationship between reported workplace bullying and ethnicity, as well as how bullying overlaps with other types of harassment or discriminatory practices.
4. *Workplace disputes*. Information could be collected about other problems at work, which would fall under the rubric of equality legislation and

employment law. This would allow for overlaps with workplace disputes to be better understood.

5. *Work practices*. Team working and the ways in which tasks are divided among team members in terms of autonomy and accountability would allow for further insights into work organisation and new work practices. These new work practices are associated with the "delayering" of organisation and thus may have particular relevance for the direction of reported bullying.
6. *Occupational mobility*. This presents a problem with regards subjective assessments, similar to the debates in the over-education literature in terms of self-assessments of the skill content required by a job. However, a question relating to how mobile the respondent perceives themselves to be in terms of their skills would potentially allow the testing of the expectation outlined in this study. "Borrowing" the 2003 CWS question on the mobility of training may also be useful.
7. *Employment contract*. The distinction between agency workers, casual workers, fixed-term and permanent employees could reveal further insights into the relationship between precarity and reported bullying. Agency working is a particular employer/employee relationship which could have implications for workplace bullying given that management takes place through the agency.
8. *Job satisfaction*. It is suggested that this is expanded to job satisfaction across a range of domains, for example, working hours, wages, security and job role. This would allow for more detailed and nuanced analysis of this measure and its relationship with workplace bullying.
9. *Income*. Income is currently not measured in the survey. This would allow analysis to ascertain if this is a risk factor for workplace bullying, or indeed, helps explain exit decisions. Other financial benefits could also be collected, for example, pension entitlements.
10. *Time frame*. It is suggested that the time frame is extended to one year *as well* as six months. This may allow further sectoral dimensions to be uncovered and in particular issues of employee mobility in response to workplace bullying may be further addressed.

The survey at present collects open-ended answers for a variety of questions relating to the bullying which provide valuable and in-depth information regarding the reasons for onset of the workplace bullying as well as its effects. However, open ended questions present challenges for analysis. While serving a different purpose, vignettes are widely used in research and could provide an innovative mode of exploring perceptions of inappropriate behaviours at work, and the attendant sectoral differences, and could also generate significant insights (Alexander & Becker, 1978) with a slightly more recent example provided by Finch & Mason (1993). These vignettes would vary according to key variables (potentially behaviours experienced, time frame, perpetrator and victim characteristics).

The current analysis has drawn attention to systematic differences across the public and private sector, which are suggested to have implications for the prevalence of workplace bullying. This analysis has been limited to Ireland. However, a next step would involve testing these expectations across Europe. This would involve taking account of the different public/private sector characteristics in the countries across the EU. The EWCS data source drawn on in Chapter 4 also collects information regarding bullying/harassment in the workplace. This survey does not provide a definition and so this is one limitation of using this source, as knowledge and perception of bullying is likely to vary widely across countries. Furthermore, there is no opportunity to explore the workplace characteristics of those who have left the employment where the bullying occurred.

8.6 Final remarks

Mapping the bullying research field does not dichotomise neatly into two different approaches: personality-based approaches and perspectives emphasising job and organisational characteristics. Many psychological studies frame bullying as an interpersonal conflict, however, arguably this risks coming unstuck given the importance of work practices and organisational characteristics. This study has conceptually differentiated between bullying *in* and bullying *by* the organisation and disentangling this is problematic, as innovative studies in the field have shown (Liefooghe, 2003). Job demands, for example high performance targets, for which line managers assume

responsibility, may result in behaviours that some employees perceive as "bullying". Over monitoring and unreasonable deadlines may also be viewed negatively, however, these could also be considered as *work practices* which are part and parcel of the contemporary workplace. New forms of work organisation such as team working may also create new pressurised relationships between colleagues.

It is possible to conceptualise bullying as a complaint or mode of resisting the change in the contemporary workplace. Thus complaints about workplace bullying could be one mechanism through which workers try to limit management pressures; this may be particularly relevant in light of the arguable decline in trade union relevance at the workplace-level and growth in HRM. Bullying has been differentiated from the "normal" industrial relations issues (Expert Group on Workplace Bullying, 2005), however, given the importance of job demands, job quality and organisational change, this somewhat undermines its potentially collective nature. The opening chapter discussed the growth in discourses about "new risks" of stress, depression and harassment, as well as the tendency towards non-legislative "codes of conduct" promoting self-regulative guidelines regarding appropriate behaviour at work. As Furedi (2004) highlights, workers are more likely to be offered help with counselling than childcare. Thus we can see the predominance of the psychologically-based approaches to collective problems. This is especially of concern in terms of the resolution of bullying complaints in the workplace, which may involve mediators and external investigations which centre on the interpersonal conflict between the individual parties involved.

15th September, 2008 heralded a new financial climate. Since then, Ireland's economy has been radically altered, with unemployment at the time of writing around 14%. Of the sectors most hit, construction was particularly devastated and this has been associated with the return migration of A8 migrants and from elsewhere ("Numbers leaving Ireland at double the rate of the next EU state", Irish Times, 28th July 2010). However, it is not just migrants leaving, but Irish nationals as well (the Union of Students in Ireland has launched a campaign to stop the "exportation" of graduates). While not similar in scale to the 1980s, increases in emigration are projected (Bergin *et al.* 2010) leading to much

media commentary: "It is one of the great personal and social traumas to lose a generation to emigration. But it's happening again" (Irish Times, 23rd July 2010). Higher unemployment and greater uncertainty have particular implications for workplace bullying. If organisations are shedding employees and reducing their workforce through non-replacement of "natural wastage" and fixed-term staff (as well as cost-savings around replacement staff for sick leave/maternity cover) then this could potentially lead to increased job intensification, with implications for conflict at work. Depending on the unemployment rate and job opportunities, workers experiencing inappropriate behaviours at work may be less likely to take the exit route. The public sector in particular has taken a "battering" in very recent times, with a very different organisational context, particularly since 2009. These issues therefore present an interesting agenda for future research on bullying in the workplace.

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Appendix I: Tables

Table 5A Logistic regression of reported bullying, occupational group

	1 log odds		se
public sector	0.637	***	0.186
male	-0.144		0.165
divorce	0.486	*	0.249
ref: <10yrs tenure			
10-19yrs	-0.120		0.210
20yrs+	-0.264		0.222
ref: lower secondary/less			
tertiary	0.536	**	0.270
upper sec	0.429		0.266
ref: managers/administrators			
professionals	-0.009		0.267
associate professionals	-0.278		0.309
clerical	-0.028		0.305
personal/protective	0.208		0.333
sales	0.071		0.400
craft	-0.956	**	0.480
plant operatives	0.032		0.399
other	-0.851		0.587
permanent	0.204		0.231
ref: 31-50 hrs per wk			
part-time	-0.018		0.189
51hrs+	0.611	**	0.246
supervisor	0.203		0.166
union	0.322	*	0.178
>1 job	0.269		0.178
policy	-0.705	***	0.197
appraisal	-0.163		0.160
emp. assist.	0.042		0.184
new tech.	-0.079		0.157
new mangr.	0.252		0.158
org. chge	0.463	***	0.162
more contrl (1-4)	-0.455	***	0.102
incr. pace (1-4)	0.341	***	0.109
int. pace (1-4)	0.175		0.111
task dis(1-5)	-0.431	***	0.079
Constant	-1.612	**	0.657
Pseudo R Sq.	0.115		
N	2471		

Notes

1. These models also control for organisational size (not shown).
2. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5B Logistic regression of reported bullying, testing autonomy indicators

	1			2			3			4			5		
	log odds		se	log odds		se	log odds		se	log odds		se	log odds		se
public sector	0.586	***	0.172	0.603	***	0.173	0.583	***	0.174	0.644	***	0.176	0.660	***	0.177
male	-0.316	**	0.155	-0.267	*	0.156	-0.234		0.157	-0.259		0.159	-0.253		0.159
divorce	0.590	**	0.239	0.562	**	0.241	0.502	**	0.243	0.490	**	0.245	0.486	**	0.248
ref: lower sec/less															
tertiary	0.492	**	0.237	0.461	*	0.238	0.447	*	0.238	0.642	***	0.244	0.611	**	0.245
upper sec	0.421	*	0.252	0.404		0.253	0 408		0.254	0.459	*	0.258	0 452	*	0.259
permanent	0.044		0.223	0 030		0.224	0.026		0.224	0.172		0.228	0.198		0.229
ref: <9 yrs tenure															
10-19yrs	-0.105		0.202	-0.141		0.203	-0.175		0.204	-0.084		0.207	-0.142		0.209
20yrs+	-0.172		0.212	-0.213		0.213	-0.260		0.215	-0.162		0.219	-0 246		0.221
supervisor	0.063		0.149	0.012		0.150	-0.021		0.151	0.154		0.156	0.198		0.157
union	0.473	***	0.168	0.429	**	0.169	0.423	**	0.171	0.308	*	0.173	0.278		0.173
multijobs	0.211		0.173	0.208		0.173	0 198		0.173	0.156		0.175	0.226		0.177
policy	-0.705	***	0.192	-0.720	***	0.192	-0.690	***	0.192	-0.661	***	0.194	-0.688	***	0.196
ref: 31-50 hrs p/wk															
part-time	-0.047		0.181	0.009		0.182	0.033		0.182	0.045		0.183	0.035		0.184
51hrs+	0.591	**	0.238	0.543	**	0.238	0.503	**	0.239	0.590	**	0.243	0.617	**	0.244
appraisal	-0.234		0.154	-0.243		0.154	-0.241		0.155	-0.220		0.156	-0.144		0.158
emp. assist.	0.014		0.179	0.023		0.179	0.030		0.179	0 028		0.182	0.053		0.184
new tech.	-0.017		0.151	-0.087		0.152	-0.069		0.153	-0.115		0.155	-0.097		0.156
new mangr.	0.310	**	0.153	0.302	**	0.153	0.307	**	0.154	0.264	*	0.156	0.261	*	0.157
org. chge	0.471	***	0.156	0.429	***	0.157	0.405	**	0.157	0.483	***	0.160	0.447	***	0.161
incr. pace (1-4)				0.368	***	0.097	0.261	**	0.105	0.281	***	0.106	0.347	***	0.108
int. pace (1-4)							0.306	***	0.107	0.239	**	0.109	0.181		0.111
task dis(1-5)										-0.469	***	0.076	-0.433	***	0.077
more contrl (1-4)													-0.448	***	0.102
Constant	-2.952	***	0.345	-3.884	***	0.428	-4.289	***	0.452	-2.778	***	0.511	-1.771	***	0.560
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0568			0.0661			0.0712			0.0952			0.108		

Notes 1. These models also control for organisational size (not shown). 2. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 3. N=2476

Table 5C Logistic regression of reporting bullying, economic sectors

	1 log odds		se
ref: wholesale/retail			
hi tech manufacturing	-0.080		0.375
trad manufacturing	-0.802	*	0.487
construction	-0.601		0.431
business services	-0.798	**	0.393
transport & communications	0.164		0.385
financial services	0.026		0.388
public administration	0.707	**	0.328
personal	0.151		0.355
education	0.758	**	0.317
health & social work	0.849	***	0.296
male	-0.076		0.169
divorce	0.482	*	0.248
ref: < 10 yrs tenure			
10-19yrs	-0.099		0.211
20yrs+	-0.224		0.225
ref: lower secondary/less			
tertiary	0.482	*	0.247
upper sec	0.401		0.258
permanent	0.264		0.232
ref: 31-50 hrs per wk			
part-time	-0.105		0.191
51hrs+	0.696	***	0.249
supervisor	0.147		0.160
union	0.257		0.176
>1 job in last 3 yrs	0.297	*	0.179
policy	-0.797	***	0.200
appraisal	-0.100		0.162
emp. assist.	0.007		0.186
new tech.	-0.083		0.157
new mangr.	0.276	*	0.159
org. chge	0.476	***	0.164
more contrl (1-4)	-0.452	***	0.102
incr. pace (1-4)	0.298	***	0.110
int. pace (1-4)	0.220	**	0.112
task dis(1-5)	-0.415	***	0.078
Constant	-1.671	***	0.606
N	2447		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.124		

Notes

1. These models also control for organisational size (not shown).
2. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
3. Employees working in the agricultural sector have been dropped from the analysis (low cell size).

Table 5D Logistic regression of reported bullying, excluding the "exits"

	1		
	log odds		se
public sector	0.709	***	0.181
male	-0.227		0.163
divorce	0.368		0.260
ref: <9 yrs tenure			
10-19yrs	-0.153		0.212
20yrs+	-0.244		0.222
ref: lower secondary/less			
tertiary	0.553	**	0.250
upper sec	0.450	*	0.263
permanent	0.290		0.241
ref: 31-50 hrs per week			
part-time	0.072		0.188
51hrs+	0.548	**	0.255
supervisor	0.157		0.161
union	0.319	*	0.178
> 1 job in last 3 yrs	0.232		0.183
policy	-0.661	***	0.202
appraisal	-0.186		0.161
emp. assist.	0.055		0.188
new tech.	-0.065		0.159
new mangr.	0.228		0.160
org. chge	0.441	***	0.165
more contrl (1-4)	-0.454	***	0.104
incr. pace (1-4)	0.391	***	0.111
int. pace (1-4)	0.202	*	0.113
task dis(1-5)	-0.384	***	0.079
Constant	-2.227	***	0.580
N	2464		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.107		

Notes

1. These models also control for organisational size (not shown).
2. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5E1 Direction of bullying, without "more control"

	Column 1 By supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 2 By non-supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 3 By mixture/not reporting bullying			Column 4 By supervisors/By non-supervisors	
male	-0.015		0.310	-0.423	**	0.203	-0.266		0.227	0.408	0.364
public sector	0.434		0.314	0.680	***	0.201	0.414	*	0.227	-0.246	0.365
tertiary	-0.223		0.318	0.234		0.207	0.710	***	0.249	-0.457	0.372
permanent	0.973		0.614	0.071		0.280	-0.233		0.291	0.902	0.666
new mangr.	0.628	*	0.328	0.167		0.209	0.130		0.238	0.461	0.381
new tech.	0.385		0.322	-0.198		0.210	-0.351		0.242	0.584	0.377
org. chge	0.010		0.344	0.436	**	0.218	0.614	**	0.244	-0.426	0.399
nature1_4	0.231		0.212	-0.007		0.132	0.426	***	0.153	0.238	0.244
incr. pace (1-4)	0.186		0.249	0.422	***	0.153	0.091		0.170	-0.236	0.288
int. pace (1-4)	0.609	***	0.224	0.234		0.144	0.209		0.163	0.375	0.261
task dis(1-5)	-0.593	***	0.154	-0.346	***	0.100	-0.457	***	0.112	-0.247	0.180
Constant	-5.929	***	1.047	-3.990	***	0.618	-4.070	***	0.680	-1.939	1.193
N	2745			2745			2745			2745	
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0716			0.0716						0.0716	

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. Model controls for organisational size (over 100 people).

Table 5E2 Direction of bullying, with interaction term and without "more control"

	Column 1 By supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 2 By non-supervisors/not reporting bullying			Column 3 By mixture/not reporting bullying			Column 4 By supervisors/By non-supervisors		
male	-0.168		0.429	-0.403		0.291	-0.482		0.312	0.235		0.511
public sector	-1.877	*	1.112	1.018		0.729	0.076		0.793	-2.895	**	1.294
tertiary	-0.176		0.323	0.227		0.207	0.725	***	0.250	-0.403		0.377
permanent	0.961		0.614	0.068		0.281	-0.247		0.291	0.893		0.668
new mangr.	0.638	*	0.327	0.165		0.210	0.131		0.238	0.473		0.381
new tech.	0.367		0.323	-0.196		0.211	-0.359		0.243	0.563		0 378
org. chge	-0.012		0.344	0.438	**	0.218	0.617	**	0.244	-0.450		0.399
nature1_4	0.197		0.213	-0.005		0.132	0.425	***	0.153	0.202		0.245
incr. pace (1-4)	0.217		0.250	0.421	***	0.154	0.086		0.170	-0.204		0.289
int. pace (1-4)	0.602	***	0.224	0.234		0.145	0.211		0.162	0.368		0.261
task dis(1-5)	-0.870	***	0.209	-0.291	**	0.148	-0.475	***	0.155	-0.579	**	0.251
public*task disc	0.636	**	0.310	-0.093		0.193	0.041		0.213	0.730	**	0.357
public*male	0.466		0.623	-0.039		0.407	0.455		0.447	0.505		0.730
Constant	-4.988	***	1.105	-4.188	***	0.735	-3.891	***	0.769	-0.800		1.301
N	2745			2745			2745			2745		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0746			0.0746						0.0746		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. Model controls for organisational size (over 100 people).

Table 5F Logistic regression of reported bullying by supervisors compared to by non-supervisors

(2007 bullied employees only, excluding those reporting a mixture of directions)

	1			2		
	log odds		se	log odds		se
male	0.349		0.386	-0.097		0.571
public sector	-0.188		0.406	-1.601		1.987
tertiary	-0.569		0.402	-0.696	*	0.420
permanent	1.265	*	0.706	1.437	*	0.755
new mangr.	0.381		0.415	0.237		0.434
new tech.	0.549		0.404	0.647		0.428
org. chge	-0.488		0.426	-0.649		0.445
incr. pace (1-4)	-0.114		0.346	-0.258		0.373
int. pace (1-4)	0.388		0.299	0.410		0.309
nature1_4	0.148		0.239	0.169		0.249
more contrl (1-4)	-0.266		0.265	0.116		0.419
task dis(1-5)	-0.277		0.190	-0.745	**	0.298
public*more contrl				-0.783		0.575
public*task dis				0.925	**	0.408
public*male				0.785		0.799
Constant	-1.484		1.540	-0.493		1.955
N	161			161		
R Sq.	0.0950			0.137		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. Model controls for organisational size (over 100 people).

Table 5G Ordinal regression of the frequency of reported bullying

	1		
	log odds		se
public sector	-0.403		0.260
51hrs+	0.596		0.383
permanent	0.054		0.324
tertiary	-0.079		0.251
emp. assist.	-0.006		0.282
policy	-0.039		0.308
jobint1_4	-0.056		0.209
task dis(1-5)	-0.250	**	0.122
Cut 1	-1.809	**	0.753
Cut 2	-0.830		0.747
Cut 3	0.039		0.743
N	243		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.0172		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7A Regression models of job satisfaction

	Ordinal Logistic Regression (1-3)			Ordinary Least Squares Regression (1-4)			
	1			2			
	Log odds		se		b		se
bully	-0.539	***	0.163	bully	-0.149	***	0.041
public sector	0.364	***	0.105	public sector	0.096	***	0.027
male	-0.037		0.097	male	-0.007		0.025
divorce	0.063		0.181	divorce	0.024		0.047
ref: lower sec/less							
tertiary	0.216		0.132	tertiary	0.056	*	0.034
upper sec	-0.016		0.137	upper sec	0.001		0.035
permanent	0.302	**	0.138	permanent	0.079	**	0.036
ref: <3 yrs tenure							
3-9yrs	0.141		0.112	3-9yrs	0.039		0.029
10-19yrs	0.167		0.140	10-19yrs	0.045		0.036
20yrs+	0.298	*	0.155	20yrs+	0.080	**	0.040
supervisor	0.070		0.096	supervisor	0.023		0.025
ref: 31-50 hrs							
part-time	-0.004		0.114	part-time	0.012		0.029
51hrs+	0.238		0.175	51hrs+	0.080	*	0.045
union	0.060		0.104	union	0.006		0.027
policy	0.084		0 117	Policy	0.016		0.030
emp. assist.	0.238	**	0.104	emp. assist.	0.076	***	0.027
good staff rel.	0.519	***	0.149	good staff rel.	0.140	***	0.038
good man/staff rel.	0.768	***	0.121	good man/staff rel.	0.198	***	0.030
new tech.	-0.011		0.095	new tech.	-0.000		0.024
new mangr.	-0.148		0.099	new mangr.	-0.035		0.025
org. chge	-0.150		0.103	org. chge	-0.038		0.026
nature1_4	-0.025		0.063	nature1_4	-0.006		0.016
incr. pace (1-4)	0.028		0.068	incr. pace (1-4)	0.006		0.017
int. pace (1-4)	-0.398	***	0.073	int. pace (1-4)	-0.107	***	0.018
decide pace (1-5)	0.098	**	0.038	decide pace	0.017	*	0.010
decide tsks (1-5)	0.020		0.032	decide own tsks	0.004		0.008
decide break (1-5)	0.030		0.036	decide break	0.007		0.009
more contrl (1-4)	0.991	***	0.070	more contrl (1-4)	0.250	***	0.017
promotion	0.061		0.122	promotion	0.016		0.032
demotion	-1.752	***	0.590	demotion	-0.478	***	0.140
transfer	-0.357	**	0.180	transfer	-0.106	**	0.046
Cut 1	1.510	***	0.396	Constant	2.121	***	0.101
Cut 2	5.476	***	0.415				
N	2476			N	2476		
Pseudo R sq	0.140			Adj. R Sq.	0.221		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. Running the model on the full sample does not change the results substantially.

Table 7B Generalised ordinal logistic regression model of job satisfaction
(1 = Strongly disagree/disagree; 2 = Agree; 3 = Strongly agree)

	Strongly disagree/agree *Ref: agree & strongly agree* 1			Agree *Ref: strongly agree* 2		
	log odds		se	log odds		se
bully	-0.500	***	0.162	-0.500	***	0.162
public sector	0.372	***	0.106	0.372	***	0.106
male	-0.034		0.097	-0.034		0.097
divorce	0.073		0.182	0.073		0.182
ref: lower sec/less						
tertiary	0.204		0.132	0.204		0.132
upper sec	0.321		0.197	-0.153		0.152
permanent	0.314	**	0.140	0.314	**	0.140
ref: <3 yrs tenure						
3-9yrs	0.139		0.113	0.139		0.113
10-19yrs	0.162		0.141	0.162		0.141
20yrs+	0.293	*	0.155	0.293	*	0.155
supervisor	0.062		0.096	0.062		0.096
ref: 31-50 hrs						
part-time	-0.010		0.115	-0.010		0.115
51hrs+	0.240		0.173	0.240		0.173
union	0.050		0.105	0.050		0.105
policy	0.089		0.118	0.089		0.118
emp. assist.	0.243	**	0.104	0.243	**	0.104
good staff rel.	0.512	***	0.148	0.512	***	0.148
good man/staff rel.	1.111	***	0.160	0.477	***	0.143
new tech.	-0.001		0.095	-0.001		0.095
new mangr.	-0.444	***	0.158	-0.032		0.110
org. chge	-0.159		0.103	-0.159		0.103
nature1_4	-0.027		0.063	-0.027		0.063
incr. pace (1-4)	0.022		0.068	0.022		0.068
int. pace (1-4)	-0.390	***	0.073	-0.390	***	0.073
decide pace (1-5)	0.106	***	0.039	0.106	***	0.039
decide tsks (1-5)	-0.110	**	0.053	0.068	*	0.036
decide break (1-5)	0.034		0.037	0.034		0.037
more contrl (1-4)	0.995	***	0.071	0.995	***	0.071
promotion	0.056		0.122	0.056		0.122
demotion	-1.717	***	0.601	-1.717	***	0.601
transfer	-0.319	*	0.178	-0.319	*	0.178
Constant	-1.344	***	0.418	-5.436	***	0.433
N	2476			2476		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.148			0.148		

Notes
1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
2. Running the model on the full sample does not substantially change the results.

Table 7C Logistic regression model of job satisfaction, full sample

	1		
	Log odds		se
bully	-0.708	***	0.204
public sector	0.428	**	0.191
male	-0.254		0.169
divorce	0.136		0.302
ref: lower sec/less			
tertiary	0.187		0.218
upper sec	0.330		0.234
permanent	0.307		0.232
ref: < 3 yrs tenure			
3-9 yrs	0.212		0.208
10-19yrs	-0.072		0.239
20yrs+	0.292		0.274
supervisor	-0.034		0.171
ref: 31-50 hrs per wk			
part-time	-0.155		0.198
51hrs+	0.683	**	0.337
union	-0.086		0.185
policy	0.156		0.194
emp. assist.	0.485	***	0.186
good staff rel.	0.387	**	0.197
good man/staff rel.	1.147	***	0.168
new tech.	-0.079		0.164
new mangr.	-0.467	***	0.169
org. chge	-0.237		0.174
nature1_4	-0.094		0.109
incr. pace (1-4)	0.012		0.120
int. pace (1-4)	-0.484	***	0.118
decide pace (1-5)	0.035		0.059
more contrl (1-4)	0.849	***	0.116
promotion	0.186		0.240
demotion	-1.808	***	0.576
transfer	-0.083		0.251
Constant	-0.210		0.599
N	2498		
Pseudo R Sq.	0.217		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7D OLS of subjective well-being, full sample

	l b		se
bully	-0.107	***	0.024
male	0.024		0.015
ref: 45-54 years old			
18-24yrs	0.044		0.031
25-34yrs	0.010		0.021
35-44yrs	-0.021		0.019
55yrs+	0.026		0.026
health	0.035	*	0.021
divorce	-0.018		0.029
children	0.029	**	0.015
ref: lower sec/less			
tertiary	0.040	*	0.021
upper sec	0.028		0.022
public sector	0.029	*	0.017
permanent	-0.018		0.021
supervisor	0.009		0.015
ref: 31-50 hrs per wk			
part-time	-0.013		0.018
51hrs+	0.021		0.027
union	0.005		0.016
>1 job in last 3 yrs	-0.005		0.017
policy	0.001		0.018
emp. assist.	0.001		0.016
good staff rel.	0.030		0.023
good man/staff rel.	0.044	**	0.018
new tech.	0.001		0.015
new mangr.	-0.005		0.015
org. chge	-0.035	**	0.016
nature chg (1-4)	-0.005		0.010
incr. pace (1-4)	-0.003		0.011
int. pace (1-4)	-0.061	***	0.011
decide pace (1-5)	0.001		0.006
more contrl (1-4)	0.087	***	0.010
demotion	-0.158	*	0.081
promotion	0.037	*	0.019
transfer	-0.035		0.028
Constant	2.433	***	0.061
N	2383		
R-squared	0.113		

Notes

1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix II: Variable information

Variable short name	Variable description	Variable values
appraisal	appraisal or performance review which the respondent participates in	yes/no
emp. assist.	employee assistance programme – in the organisation where the respondent works	yes/no
new tech.	the introduction of substantial new technology	yes/no
new mangr.	the appointment of a new manager for the respondent	yes/no
org. chge	a change in ownership or restructuring	yes/no
more contrl (1-4)	I now have more control over my work than I did a year ago"	1-4, where 4 indicates strongly agree
incr. pace (1-4)	The pace of work in my job has increased over the past year	1-4, where 4 indicates strongly agree
int. pace (1-4)	The pace of work in my present job is too intense	1-4, where 4 indicates strongly agree
nature chg (1-4)	The nature of my work has changed over the past year or so	1-4, where 4 indicates strongly agree
task dis(1-5)	Task discretion index, mean of 3 items a, b & c	1-5, where 5 indicates higher task discretion
decide pace (1-5)	You decide what work you do or how fast you work	1-5, where 5 indicates this happens always
decide own tsks (1-5)	Your manager decides specific tasks	1-5, where 5 indicates this happens rarely/never
decide break (1-5)	You need permission to take break	1-5, where 5 indicates this happens rarely/never
promotion	Promoted within the last 12 mths	yes/no
demotion	Demoted within the last 12 mths	yes/no
transfer	Involuntary transferred within last 12 months	yes/no
good staff rel.	good staff-staff relations in the workplace	1-5, where 5 indicates very good
good staff/man rel.	good staff-management relations in the workplace	1-5, where 5 indicates very good

Appendix III: Questionnaire

Survey of Experiences in the Workplace

SECTION A: LABOUR MARKET DETAILS

A1 I would like to begin by asking you some general questions about your present position
regarding employment. How would you best describe your present situation regarding employment? Are you:

Has a job [Even if temp. absent] Does not have a job

Employee/Apprentice..... .. ☐1 Unemployed .....☐6
Self-employed..... ☐2 State training Scheme (e.g. FÁS) .... ☐7
Farming..... ☐3 Student ..... ☐8
Community Employment ..... Go to A3 Home Duties.....☐9 Go to A2
Scheme(CE)..... ☐☐4 Retired.....☐10
Unpaid family worker ..... ☐5 Other (specify).....☐11

A2 Did you work in the last 6 months? *[IF YOU HAD A JOB IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, ANSWER YES EVEN IF TEMPORARILY ABSENT FROM THE JOB DUE TO SICK LEAVE, MATERNITY LEAVE ETC.]*

Yes.....☐☐1 No.....☐2 —☐☐*END INTERVIEW*

A3 I am going to read you out 12 statements about the way you may have been feeling over the last few weeks. For each statement I will read out 4 answers. I would like you to tell me which of the answers to each of the statements best describes the way you have been feeling in the last few weeks

HAVE YOU RECENTLY....

more so than usual; same as usual; less than usual; much less than usual

a Been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

b Lost much sleep over worry ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

c Felt that you were playing a useful part in things ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

d Felt capable of making decisions about things? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

e Felt constantly under strain ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

f Felt that you couldn't overcome your difficulties? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3.....☐4

g Been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

h Been able to face up to your problems ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

I Been feeling unhappy or depressed ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

j Been losing confidence in yourself ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

k Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

l Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered ? .....
☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3..... ☐4

A4 Now I'm going to read a list of seven statements on the way people feel about things. I would like you to tell me whether or not you strongly agree; agree; disagree or strongly disagree with each of the statements.

Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Disagree

a I can do just about anything I set my mind to .....☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
b I have little control over the things that happen to me .....☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
c What happens to me in the future depends on me..... ☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
d I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life .....☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 .....☐☐4
e Sometimes I feel that I am being pushed around in life.....☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
f There is a lot I can do to change my life if I want to.....☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
g There is really no way that I can solve some of my problems ...☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 .....☐☐4

A5 In general, how good would you say your health is? Would you say it is ...
Very Good .....□□1 Good.....□2 Fair .....□□3 Bad .....□4 Very Bad.....□□5
A6 Do you have any chronic, physical or mental health problem, illness or disability?
Yes.....□1 No .....□2 □□*GO TO A8*
A7 Are you hampered in your daily activities by this physical or mental health problem, illness or disability?
Yes, severely ....□1 Yes, to some extent .....□2 No.....□3
A8 *[INTERVIEWER: CHECK Q1 AND Q2]*
Person currently has a job □1–□*GO TO A9* Had a job in past 6 months, but not currently □2–□*GO TO SEC. B*
A9 Now I would like to ask you some questions about your present job or business. When did you begin your present job or business? _____ month _____ year
A10 Please describe as fully as possible the exact nature of your current job. (If farmer please state acreage farmed. If relevant, e.g. Civil Servant, Garda or Army, please state grade or rank)? _____
A11 What is the main activity of the business or organisation where you work. *[INT. RECORD AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMPANY OR FIRM WHERE THE RESPONDENT WORKS.]*_____
A12 Do you work in the Public or Private Sector?
Public Sector – commercial semi-state ..... □1 Public Sector -other .....□2 Private Sector .. □3
A13 How many people work in the branch or outlet of the business or organisation in which you work *[INT. IF THE ORGANISATION HAS MORE THAN ONE GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLET OR BRANCH, EMPLOYEE NUMBERS SHOULD RELATE TO THE LOCAL OUTLET, LOCAL OFFICE, BRANCH ETC., WHERE THE RESPONDENT WORKS. INCLUDE THE RESPONDENT IF HE/SHE IS SELF-EMPLOYED]*
None .....□1 5 – 19 ..... □3 26 – 49 ..... □5 100 – 499 ..... □7
1 – 4.....□2 20 – 25 ..... □4 50 – 99 ..... □6 500+ ..... □8
A14 And now I'd like you to think in terms of the full enterprise or business in all its branches. How many people work, in all branches or outlets throughout the Republic of Ireland in the business or organisation in which you work? *[INCLUDE RESPONDENT IF SELF-EMPLOYED].*
None .....□1 5 – 19 ..... □3 26 – 49 ..... □5 100 – 499 ..... □7
1 – 4.....□2 20 – 25 ..... □4 50 – 99 ..... □6 500+ ..... □8
A15 Do you supervise or manage any personnel in your job?
Yes..... □1 –□□**A15a How many?** _____ No .....□2
A16 In general, how much influence do you have over your work in the following areas? You can answer by saying almost always; often; sometimes; rarely or almost never.
a You decide how much work you do or how fast you work during the day ...□1 .....□2 ....□3.....□4 ... □5
b Your manager decides the specific tasks you will do from day to day.....□1 .....□2 ....□3.....□4 ... □5
c You need permission to take a break during the working day .....□1 .....□2 ....□3.....□4 ... □5
A17 How many days do you normally work each week? _____ days per week
A18 How many hours do you normally work each week in your main job, including usual overtime?_____ hours per week □□*[IF LESS THAN 30]* **A18a Do you jobshare?**
Yes..... □1 No .....□2
A19 Please think back over the last four working weeks, not including holiday weeks. How many days, if any, were you absent from work because of illness or other reasons (except holidays) over the last four weeks.__days [If none write NONE-DO NOT LEAVE BLANK]
A20 Are you a member of a Trade Union? Yes.....□1 □□**A20a Since when**__(year)
No.....□2
A21 Are you employed on a permanent basis, on a temporary/contract basis or a casual basis? Permanent .....□1 Temporary/contract.... □2 Casual .....□3
A22 How many jobs have you held in the last 3 years? Please include all jobs including casual jobs._____jobs held in last 3 years
A23 I am now going to read out some statements about the way you feel about your work and various issues related to your work. For each statement I would like you to tell me whether you strongly agree; agree; disagree or strongly disagree.
a In general, I am satisfied with my present job .....□1.....□2 .....□3 ..... □4
b I now have more control over my work than I did a year ago.....□1.....□2 .....□3 ..... □4
c The pace of work in my present job is too intense .....□1.....□2 .....□3 ..... □4
d In general, I get on well with my colleagues at work .....□1.....□2 .....□3 ..... □4

e In general, I get on well with my supervisors at work .....☐1.....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
f In general, I get on well with those whom I supervise at work....☐1.....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
g My supervisor is usually satisfied with my work .....☐1.....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
h My supervisor respects me.....☐1.....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
i The nature of my work has changed over the past year or so .....☐1.....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4
j The pace of work in my job has increased over the past year .....☐1.....☐2 .....☐3 ..... ☐4

A24 Have any of the following organisational changes taken place in your job over the last 12 months

Yes No
a Appointment of new manager/supervisor .....☐1 .....☐2
b Change in the ownership of the organisation ..... ☐1 .....☐2
c Re-organisation of the company..... ☐1 .....☐2
d Introduction of substantial new technology incl computer systems etc. .. ☐1 .....☐2

A25 Broadly speaking, how would you describe the relationship between:

Very Good Neither Good Bad Very Not Good nor bad Bad Applicable
a staff and management in your workplace.....☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 .....☐4 .....☐5 .....☐6
b in general, between different staff members ....☐1 .....☐2 .....☐3 .....☐4 .....☐5 .....☐6

A26 Have you experienced any of the following at work in the last 12 months ... Yes No
a Been transferred to a different part of the organisation (not by choice) .....☐☐1 .....☐2
b Been demoted .....☐☐1 .....☐2
c Been promoted .....☐☐1 .....☐2

A27 Does the organisation where you work have .... Yes No
a a formal system of performance appraisal and review?.....☐1 .... ☐2
b an employee assistance program, that is a program for providing counselling or similar services to employees who may be experiencing difficulties? ..... ☐1 .... ☐2

A28 Does the company where you work have a policy to deal with bullying? Yes☐1 No.☐2

A29 *[IF YES]* **What form does the policy take?**

_____

A30 In general, how well is bullying handled in your workplace?

Very well .....☐1 Well ..... ☐2 Poorly .....☐3 Very poorly.....☐4

SECTION B: WORKPLACE EXPERIENCES IN THE LAST 6 MONTHS

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT BULLYING AT WORK *[INT: MAKE SURE TO READ THE FOLLOWING TO ALL RESPONDENTS].*

By bullying I mean repeated inappropriate behaviour, direct or indirect, whether verbal, physical or otherwise, conducted by one or more persons against another or others, at the place of work and/or in the course of employment, which could reasonably be regarded as undermining the individual's right to dignity at work. An isolated incident of the behaviour described in this definition may be an affront to dignity at work but is not considered to be bullying.

B1 In the last six months, have you yourself observed or witnessed any incident of bullying at work (in which you were not personally involved) ?

Yes .....☐1 No.....☐☐2

B2 Would you say that you have personally experienced bullying or any behaviour of this nature during the past 6 months at work?

Yes ..... ☐1 –☐☐*GO TO B4* No.....☐☐2 –☐☐*GO TO B3*

B3 During the last six months at work did you experience a SINGLE INCIDENT of inappropriate behaviour – whether verbal, physical or otherwise – at the place of work or in the course of employment that could be reasonably regarded as undermining your right to dignity at work?

Yes..... ☐1–☐☐☐*GO TO B4* No..... ☐2–☐☐*GO TO SECTION E*

B4 Over approximately how many weeks or months has this bullying taken place? How long has it been going on for? *[INT. NOTE THAT THIS CAN HAVE BEEN FOR LONGER THAN 6 MONTHS, PROVIDED THE RESPONDENT HAS EXPERIENCED THE BULLYING WITHIN THE LAST 6 MONTHS]*

_____ weeks or _____ months

B5 Is this bullying currently taking place? Yes .....☐1–☐☐☐*GO TO B8* No....☐2–☐☐☐*GO TO B6*

B6 When did it stop? _____ mth _____year

B7 Why did it stop? What made it stop? Please describe as fully as possible

_____ **B8**

Were you in the same job as you have just described above when this bullying took place?

Yes.....☐1 ☐☐*GO TO SECTION D* No.....☐2☐☐*GO TO C1*

[THOSE NOT CURRENTLY AT WORK BUT WHO WORKED IN LAST 6 MONTHS SHOULD BE CODED 'NO' ABOVE]

SECTION C: Job where bullying took place (if different)

C1 Please describe as fully as possible the exact nature of the job you were in when this bullying took place. *[IF FARMER, PLEASE STATE ACREAGE FARMED. IF RELEVANT, E.G. CIVIL SERVANT, GARDA OR ARMY, PLEASE STATE GRADE OR RANK].*

_____ **C2**

What was the main activity of the business or organisation where you worked when this bullying took place. *[INT. RECORD AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMPANY OR FIRM WHERE THE RESPONDENT WORKED WHEN THIS INCIDENT TOOK PLACE].*

_____

C3 Did you work in the Public or Private Sector when this bullying took place.

Public Sector – commercial semi-state ..... ☐1 Public Sector -other .....☐2 Private Sector .. ☐3

C4 How many people worked in the branch or outlet of the business or organisation in which you worked when this bullying took place? *[INT. IF THE ORGANISATION HAS MORE THAN ONE GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLET OR BRANCH, EMPLOYEE NUMBERS SHOULD RELATE TO THE LOCAL OUTLET, LOCAL OFFICE, BRANCH ETC. WHERE THE RESPONDENT WORKS. INCLUDE THE RESPONDENT IF HE/SHE IS SELF-EMPLOYED]*

None .....☐1 5 – 19 ..... ☐3 26 – 49 ..... ☐5 100 – 499 ..... ☐7

1 – 4.....☐2 20 – 25 ..... ☐4 50 – 99 ..... ☐6 500+ ..... ☐8

C5 And now I'd like you to think in terms of the full enterprise or business in all its branches. How many people worked in all branches or outlets throughout the Republic of Ireland in the business or organisation in which you worked when the bullying took place? *[INCLUDE RESPONDENT IF SELF-EMPLOYED].*

None .....☐1 5 – 19 .. .... ☐3 26 – 49 ..... ☐5 100 – 499 ..... ☐7

1 – 4.....☐2 20 – 25 ..... ☐4 50 – 99 ..... ☐6 500+ ..... ☐8

C6 Did you supervise or manage any personnel in your job when this bullying took place?

Yes..... ☐☐1 ☐☐**C6a How many?** _____ No .....☐2

C7 In general, how much influence did you have over your work in the following areas? You can answer by saying almost always; often; sometimes; rarely or almost never.

a You decided how much work you did or how fast you worked during the day ...☐1 ..☐2 ..☐3...☐4... ☐5

b Your manager decided the specific tasks you would do from day to day...☐1 ..☐2 ..☐3..4 .☐5

c You needed permission to take a break during the working day.....☐1 .☐2 ...☐3....☐4... ☐5

C8 How many days did you normally work each week when this bullying took place?

_____ days pw

C9 How many hours did you normally work each week in your main job, including overtime when this bullying took place?

_____ hours per week ☐☐*[IF LESS THAN 30]* **C9a Did you jobshare?** ....Yes ☐1....No ☐2

C10 Were you a member of a Trade Union when this bullying took place?

Yes..... ☐1 –☐☐**C10a Since when** _____ (year) No .....☐2

C11 Were you employed on a permanent basis, on a temporary/contract basis or on a casual basis when this bullying took place?

Permanent .....☐1 Temporary/contract.... ☐2 Casual .....☐3

C12 Why did you leave your previous job? Please describe as fully as possible.

_____

C13 To what extent was your decision to leave your previous job due to the bullying'

Completely ....☐1 Partly..... ☐2 Not at all .....☐3

Section D: All who experienced bullying

D1 How regularly would you say that this bullying takes place or took place?

Once Only occasionally Several times a month Several times a week About Daily

☐1 ☐☐2 ☐☐3 ☐☐4 ☐5

D2 What form does/did the bullying take? *[INT. PLEASE RECORD AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE. PROMPT ..***Anything Else?***]*

_____

D3 So do you think it is reasonable to say that the bullying took the form of:

Yes No Yes No

a Exclusion .....☐1 ...☐2 i. Threats (explicit/implicit).....☐☐1 ...☐2

b Verbal abuse / insults....☐☐1 ...☐2 j. Intimidation/harassment.....☐☐1 ...☐2

c Physical abuse.....☐1 ...☐2 k. Aggression.....☐☐1 ...☐2

d Sexual harassment.....☐1 ...☐2 l. Undermining..... .☐☐1 ...☐2

e.Being treated less favourably...☐1 ...☐2 m. Excessive monitoring of work.....☐☐1 ...☐2

f.Intrusion/pestering/spying/stalking.☐1☐2 n. Humiliation ..... ☐☐1 ...☐2

g Unreasonable assignments .☐☐1 ...☐2 o Withholding work-related info..... ..☐☐1 ...☐2

h Unreasonable deadlines/targets.☐1 ...☐2 p Blame for things beyond control.....☐☐1 ...☐2

[INT: TICK YES/NO IN RESPECT OF EACH]

D4 Who has been bullying you/is bullying you? Could you tell me who it is and whether or not they are male or female? *[INT. TICK YES/NO IN RESPECT OF EACH. IF YES PLEASE ENSURE THAT MALE OR FEMALE IS TICKED AS APPROPRIATE.]*

	No	Yes *(IF YES)*	Male	Female
(i) One single colleague	☐2	☐1	☐1	☐2
(ii) Several colleagues	☐2	☐1	☐1	☐2
(iii) One single supervisor/manager/boss	☐2	1	☐1	☐2
(iv) Several supervisors/managers/bosses	☐2	☐1	☐1	☐2
(v) One single subordinate	☐2	☐1	☐1	☐2
(vi) Several subordinates	☐2	☐1	☐1	☐2
(vii) Clients/customers	☐2	☐1	☐1	☐2

[INT: FOR A 'YES' TO CLIENTS/CUSTOMERS THERE MUST BE CONSISTENT BULLYING BY INDIVIDUAL OR SPECIFIC GROUP]

D5 In your opinion, does[did] the person or people who bullied you have any of the following characteristics? Please say to what extent you disagree or agree with each statement.

Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly Disagree

a Poor communication skills.....☐1..... ☐2 ..... ☐3 ..... ☐4 ..... ☐9

b Difficulty in working with others .....☐1..... ☐2 ..... ☐3 ..... ☐4 ..... ☐9

c Difficulty in delegating responsibility .....☐1..... ☐2 ..... ☐3 ..... ☐4 ..... ☐9

d Poor organisational skills .....☐1..... ☐2 ..... ☐3 ..... ☐4 ..... ☐9

9

e Low self-esteem .....☐1..... ☐2 ..... ☐3 ..... ☐4 ..... ☐9

D6 Have you been singled out as an individual for bullying or are you a member of a larger group which is being bullied in your work?

Individual.....☐1 Part of a larger group being bullied ☐2

D7 Why would you say that *you personally* have experienced this bullying at work? Please describe as fully as possible.

_____

D8 Have you done anything to try to stop or tackle this bullying?

Yes.....☐1 ☐D9 No.....☐☐2 ☐D10

D9 What have you done?

_____

D10 Why not?

_____

D11 Did you do any of the following in response to the bullying ...?

Yes No

a Discuss the problem with family ..... ☐1 .....☐2

b Discuss the problem with one or more friends..... ☐1 .....☐2

c Discuss the problem with one or more colleagues ..... ☐1 .....☐2

d Discuss the problem with a supervisor/manager..... ☐1 .....☐2

e Refer the problem to the personnel department..... ☐1 .....☐2

f Refer the problem to a union /staff association .....☐1 .....☐☐2

g Use a grievance procedure at work ..... ☐1 .....☐2

h Seek medical or similar professional help (e.g. counselling)..... ..... ☐1 .....☐2
i Seek legal advice..... ..... ☐1 .....☐2

D12 *[FOR THOSE WHO REFERRED THE BULLYING TO A SUPERVISOR/MANAGER; PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT; UNION; STAFF ASSOCIATION OR USED A GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE I.E. "YES" AT D, E, F OR G]* **As a result of this intervention would you say that the bullying stopped, was reduced or the intervention had no effect on the bullying or made the bullying worse?**
Bullying Stopped.....☐1 Reduced .....☐2 No effect .....☐☐3 Worsened..... ☐4

D13 Does [Did] the company where the bullying takes/took place have a bullying policy?
Yes.....☐1 No.....☐2
D14 What form does [Did] the policy take?

_____

D15 Was the policy implemented in your case?
Yes.....☐1 No.....☐2
D16 Why Not?_____
D17 Did the bullying stop, was the frequency of the bullying reduced, or did the implementation of
the policy have no effect on the bullying or make it worse?
Bullying Stopped... ☐1 Reduced ..... ☐2No effect .. ☐3 Worsened .☐4
D18 Why do you think the bullying was unaffected or worsened by the policy?

_____

D19 What effect does/did the bullying have on your WORK LIFE? Please describe as fully as possible. If None write 'NONE'

_____

D20 Would you say that this bullying has/had a negative effect on your LIFE OUTSIDE WORK, with your family, friends etc. Yes.....☐1☐D21 No.....☐2☐D22
D21 What effect does/did it have?

_____

D22 I would like you to think of the effect which this bullying has had on your life in general in terms
of a scale from 1 to 10. A '1' signifies that the bullying has/had only a very minor effect on your life in general, while a '10' indicates that it has/had a very significant detrimental effect on your life. Where do you think you would place yourself on this scale of 1 to 10 in terms of the impact of the bullying at work on your life in general?
Only Minor Effect - Very significant detrimental effect
☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6 ☐7 ☐8 ☐9 ☐10
[INT: PLEASE TICK ONE BOX FROM 1 TO 10]
D23 As a result of this bullying have you ever:
Yes No
a *Considered* seeking a transfer within the company..... . ☐1 .....☐2
b Sought a transfer within the company ..... ☐1 .....☐2
c *Considered* quitting your job to look for another one..... ..☐1 .....☐2
d Left a job to take up another one ..... ☐1 .....☐2
e Considered leaving work completely/withdrawing from the workforce altogether ☐1 .....☐☐2
f Taken sick leave .....☐1 .....☐☐2
D24 Did you approach any groups or agencies which offer support or advice to victims of bullying in the workplace?
Yes.....☐1☐☐E1 No.....☐☐2 ☐☐D25
D25 Why not? [Please record as fully as possible]

_____

SECTION E: ALL RESPONDENTS - BACKGROUND DETAILS
E1 Gender of respondent: Male..... ☐1 Female.....☐2
E2 Could I ask your age at your last birthday:_____ years old
E3 Which of the following best describes your present marital status:
Married.....☐1 Separated/Divorced..☐2 Widowed.....☐3 Single, never married .....☐4
E4 Which of the following best describes the highest level of education completed:
(i) None/Primary Certificate .....☐1 (iv) Leaving Certificate .....☐4
(ii) Some secondary (no exam) .....☐2 (v) Third level .....☐5
(iii) Junior/Inter certificate .....☐3 (vi) Other (specify) .....☐6
E5 How many adults aged 18 years or over, including yourself, live in your household?
_____ adults aged 18 years or over

E6 How many children aged less than 18 years of age live with you?
_____ children

E7 How many *dependent children* aged less than 18 years of age live with you?
_____ dependent children

E8 Finally, do you consider yourself to be part of any minority group in Ireland?
Yes..... □1–□□*E9* No..... □□2–□*End of Interview*

E9 Which one? _____