Understanding Stress and Bullying in New Zealand Workplaces

Final report to OH&S Steering Committee

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Executive Summary

This report presents the findings from a Health Research Council of New Zealand and Department of Labour funded study that sought to develop and evaluate a valid and reliable methodology for the measurement of workplace stress and bullying in New Zealand organisations. The research was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team, bringing together expertise in industrial/ organisational psychology, human factors, occupational health and safety, management and human resources. The research had a high level of industry engagement, with involvement from Stakeholder Groups for three industry sectors represented in the research: health, education and hospitality. A fourth sector, travel, also participated in the research, but with a limited level of engagement due to the late addition of this sector into the study.

The study was conducted in three distinct stages: Exploratory (Stage 1), Methodology design (Stage 2), and Prevalence study (Stage 3). Stage 1 involved engagement of the various industry stakeholders and Stakeholder Groups, a review of the international literature on workplace stress and bullying, and a key industry informant survey. Results from Stage 1 research were primarily used to inform and contextualise the design of the workplace stress and bullying measurement methodology in Stage 2, and included the following key findings and observations:

- The industry-level perspective was that workplace stress and bullying were relatively widespread across the health and education sectors, but that bullying was most evident in certain 'hotspots' within hospitality, notably the kitchen area
- Underlying problems within health and education appear to be structural. A wide range of organisational factors were associated with workplace stress and bullying risk – including ineffective leadership, resourcing problems, poor work organisation, human resources practices, and organisational strategies for the management of psychosocial hazards
- All sectors had limited understanding of the workplace bullying problem and how to address it through initiatives for its management and control.

Stage 2 involved the design of a methodology to measure workplace stress and bullying. Two research instruments were constructed: The *Survey of Work and Wellness*, and the Managers' Survey. The *Survey of Work and Wellness* included 133 items (including 11 items dealing with demographic characteristics of the sample), organised under 14 headings, that incorporated a number of well-used and validated scales to measure stress (GHQ12) and bullying (NAQ-R), along with a wide range of theoretical predictor and outcome variables. Three different workplace-based self-completion data collection procedures were utilised for the *Survey of Work and Wellness*: on-site laptop survey completion; on-line/web-based survey completion; and paper-based survey completion. The Managers' Survey was a qualitative tool, involving semi-structured interviews with managers at participating workplaces who had a responsibility for human resources and/or occupational health and safety. The Managers' Survey was primarily concerned with identifying strategies for the prevention of workplace bullying.

Stage 3 involved a prevalence study to field trial the *Survey of Work and Wellness* within 25 workplaces from across the health, education and hospitality sectors, together with a large number of individuals working within the travel sector. Some 1728 respondents completed the survey, approximately three-quarters of whom were women, with the largest representation from the health sector (n=727). Thirty six managers working with participating organisations completed the Managers' Survey. Workplace stress (75% - GHQ) and workplace bullying (18% - NAQ) prevalence was relatively high compared to international findings. Highest levels of stress and bullying were observed for the education and health sectors, while bullying was associated

with higher levels of laissez-faire leadership, lower constructive leadership, higher levels of stress, lower well-being, lower performance, higher turnover intentions, higher absenteeism, and lower levels of organisational support and commitment. Organisational strategies were perceived as more effective by non-targets of bullying than by those who felt that they had been bullied.

Findings from the Managers' Survey indicated managers' perceptions of the scale of the stress and bullying problem were out of line with evidence from the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, with most believing that bullying occurred infrequently in their workplace. Misunderstanding among both management and staff about what behaviours constituted bullying appeared to impact on management perceptions of the extent of the problem and activity to manage bullying in the workplace. Policies for bullying existed only as part of wider harassment or violence initiatives in most cases, while effective reporting strategies were rare. Human resources activities related to staff selection and the management of bullying appear inadequate in many participating organisations. Respondents noted that they would welcome best practice guidelines for the management of workplace bullying.

The report concludes by providing recommendations for a full national workplace stress and bullying prevalence study, and notes the urgent need for intervention research in the education and health sectors, where bullying and stress appear particularly prevalent. Of particular note was the importance of focusing on the role of organisational factors, such as leadership, human resource practices, bullying reporting, and work organisation, in the prevention of workplace stress and bullying.

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1. Introduction

Workplace psychosocial factors, notably stress and bullying, are known to be associated with negative consequences for individuals, organisations, industries, and the wider community. Psychosocial work factors are a national priority area under the Workplace Health and Safety Strategy for New Zealand to 2015, prompting the Occupational Health Research Strategy funding partners to identify a need for targeted research to investigate the prevalence of workplace stress and bullying in New Zealand workplaces. This report details findings from a pilot project to develop a valid and reliable methodology for the measurement of workplace stress and bullying prevalence. The project was funded by the Department of Labour and the Health Research Council of New Zealand, through the Joint Research Portfolio Partnership Program. The project took place between May 2008 and November 2009.

1.1   The project team

The project was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of researchers from across four New Zealand universities. The team offered complementary skills and experience in psychosocial factors, occupational health and safety, management, human resources, and quantitative and qualitative research in occupational health. Team members were:

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1.2   Research aims

The overall aim of the research was to develop a reliable and validated methodology for measuring the prevalence of workplace stress and bullying in New Zealand workplaces.

In addition, the project aimed to:

- Evaluate the methodology through a pilot prevalence study in a number of New Zealand workplaces
- Determine the prevalence and nature of workplace stress and bullying in these workplaces, their impacts, and preventive practices currently in use.

1.3   Participatory approach of research and project stakeholders

The engagement and participation of relevant industry representatives and other important stakeholders was vital to the aims of the project. The RFP for this research emphasised the requirement to engage industry stakeholders and to undertake the project in partnership with New Zealand workplaces. The purpose of industry engagement and participation in the research was to promote industry buy-in to the study, provide access to workplaces and employees for data collection, to assist effective dissemination of research findings, and for development of effective interventions suitable for the industry context where they are required.

Stakeholder engagement was achieved through the use of project Stakeholder Groups. The ACC-sponsored Safer Industry Forum was used as the Stakeholder Group for the hospitality sector, while the OSH Managers Group (part of the very large Health and Disability Safer Industry Forum) and the New Zealand Nurses Organisation comprised the Stakeholder Group for the health sector. Safer Industry Forums bring together stakeholders from specific industry sectors with the aim of identifying common causes of injury and finding ways to reduce these in their sector. The industry-owned Forums encourage industry-wide ownership of safety issues, and the sharing of knowledge and experience in developing safety management initiatives. The Forums include representation from a range of stakeholders including ACC, DoL, associations and unions. Forums are currently in place for a wide range of industry sectors, making the use of these stakeholder groups potentially suitable for a national prevalence study in the future. The research also involved the use of a Stakeholder Group that was not a Safer Industry Forum, to test the potential for stakeholder engagement and the recruitment process through a different process. Hence, the Stakeholder Group for the education sector included representatives from a number of industry organisations, including the PPTA. It is noted that this approach proved somewhat less successful as it was difficult to coordinate engagement with this group.

Project stakeholders who had some level of involvement in the study were:

- The New Zealand Nurses Organisation
- The New Zealand Occupational Health Nurses Association
- The Health Sector Safer Industries Forum
- The DHB OSH Managers Forum
- The Post Primary Teachers Association
- Tertiary Education Union
- The Hospitality Association of NZ
- The NZ Hotel Council
- The Restaurant Association of NZ
- WAVE – a workplace bullying advisory organisation
- The late Andrea Needham – workplace bullying expert/consultant
- The Workplace Group of the Department of Labour
- Accident Compensation Corporation
- Various individual organisations through consultation and Stage One engagement and data collection

The project also used an advisory committee, comprised of the following members:

- Giovanni Armaneo: Giovanni has expertise in conducting research with Maori participants. He is the Maori Research Advisor, Mo Wai Te Ora – Waitemata DHB.

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- Prof. Linda Cameron: Linda has expertise in self-regulation in regard to health, and health-promoting interventions (including stress management). She is a Health Psychologist in the Department of Psychology, University of Auckland.
- Dr. Margot Edwards: Margot has expertise in ethics in research with human participants and Maori research. She is in the Department of Management at Massey University at Albany.
- Ms. Catherine Poutasi: Catherine has expertise in the development and retention of Pacific employees. Catherine is a former employee of the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, Canterbury District Health Board (CDHB) and Auckland District Health Board (ADHB). She is presently a consultant and coach in the health sector, working with District Health Boards New Zealand (DHBNZ) and ADHB in areas of Immunisation and Pacific workforce development respectively.
- Prof. Marie Wilson: Marie has expertise in employment discrimination against potentially disadvantaged groups, and therefore her expertise is particularly relevant in relation to bullying. Marie is at Griffith Business School of Griffith University, Australia.

1.4 The nature and extent of the workplace bullying problem

As the problem of workplace bullying was the central focus of this research, and is very poorly understood in New Zealand, this brief section is included to provide an introduction to this phenomenon. Bullying is a very real workplace experience for many employees. According to one group of leading researchers, the majority of employees will, at some time during their careers, be exposed to workplace bullying directly, or indirectly as observers (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf & Cooper, 2003b). Exposure to workplace bullying is claimed to be a "more crippling and devastating problem for employees than all other kinds of work-related stress put together" (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf & Cooper, 2003a: 3). For many of the employees who become the targets of a bully, "the workplace has become a war zone" (Namie, 2007: 47).

Alongside the damage to individuals, bullying also affects the organisation through increased absenteeism, turnover, and decreases in productivity and employee performance (Rayner, Hoel & Cooper, 2002). There are also the opportunity costs that arise from effort being displaced into helping staff cope with bullying incidents, and costs to do with investigations of ill treatment and potential court action (Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Consequently, workplace bullying is neither 'harmless fun' nor 'tough management'. It is a damaging, debilitating and costly problem for both the individual concerned, and the organisation.

As the individual and organisation costs become apparent, interest in understanding and preventing workplace bullying has gained momentum. The media, business consultants, anti-bullying advocates, trade unions, industry groupings, and government agencies and legislators have all demonstrated concern about the issue of workplace bullying. Such a wave of interest (Rayner et al., 2002) has established workplace bullying as an important issue requiring research and policy initiatives. Not surprisingly, the topic of workplace bullying has also gained momentum as a research topic amongst the academic community.

Scholarly interest in bullying has its origins in childhood studies where the focus has been predominately on children bullying other children (Rayner & Cooper, 2006; Rayner & Keashly, 2005). In the late 1980's, as researchers turned their attention to adult bullying within the context of the workplace, such research provided guidance and a conceptual base (Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Since that time, workplace bullying has become a prominent topic in a number of scholarly fields across a number of countries

(Rayner & Cooper, 2006). Yet as Hoel and Beale (2006) make clear, there are a number of ethical, conceptual and methodological challenges that researchers will need to address to further advance understandings of workplace bullying.

This project examines these challenges and the research effort to date in order to provide a foundation for a New Zealand study of workplace bullying. Although a handful of small studies have been undertaken, knowledge about the phenomenon of workplace bullying in New Zealand is limited. However, anecdotal evidence, media reports and the claims of advocates suggest that New Zealand is not immune to the problem of workplace bullying. This evidence, along with the requirement for improved information about psycho-social problems in New Zealand workplaces, indicates the need for a strategic research programme to establish the extent and nature of workplace bullying.

1.5   Acknowledgements

2. Project method

This project was conducted in three stages that comprised an exploratory study, methodology design, and a prevalence study. Figure 2.1 outlines these stages and the specific activities within each.
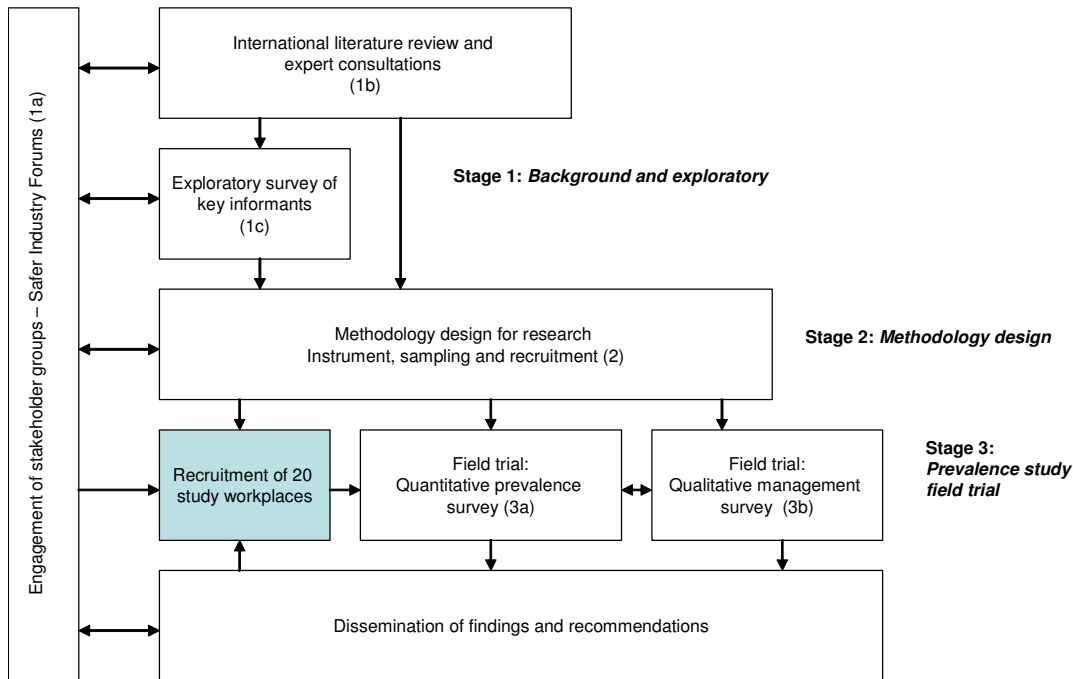
Figure 2.1. Stages of the research

The following sections outline the method associated with each stage.

2.1 Engagement process and the role of stakeholder groups (Stage 1a)

Safer Industry Forums/Stakeholder Groups were engaged in each stage of the research. Following initial engagement briefings took place within scheduled Forum and stakeholder meetings. The briefings outlined the aims of the research and the methods to be used, and discussed how members would be involved in a range of research activities including: identifying key industry issues and risk factors in relation to workplace stress and bullying (Stage 1c); discussing research decisions, issues and findings; helping to facilitate the process of accessing industry organisations and their workforces (Stages 3a and 3b); disseminating findings within the three industries; and influencing future industry initiatives and decisions that have a bearing on preventing workplace stress and bullying.

The research team reported back to the Safer Industry Forums/ stakeholder groups at scheduled meetings, including information on the progress of the research and key findings. At these meetings, the Forums/groups participated in discussions around issues of importance, providing important context to the findings of the research, and increasing buy-in of key industry stakeholders as a result of participation in the research process.

2.2   Literature review (Stage 1b)

A review of the international literature was undertaken to understand what is known about the international and New Zealand prevalence of workplace stress and bullying, risk factors/antecedents for workplace stress and bullying, individual and organisational outcomes, and management of psycho-social hazards. The review also sought to identify established overseas methodologies for the measurement of workplace stress and bullying prevalence, and other measures relevant to the research.

A detailed search of the New Zealand and international literature on workplace stress and bullying was conducted. The review involved advanced searches on databases such as 'Psycinfo', 'Medline', 'Web of Science', Business Source Premier' and Scopus, and covered industrial and organisational psychology, safety science, occupational health and safety, human factors and ergonomics, human resource management and business discipline areas. A wide range of relevant keywords was used in the search, including: 'workplace bullying', 'workplace violence' and 'workplace harassment'; 'workplace stress', 'measurement of workplace stress', 'psycho-social factors'. The search focused on international peer-reviewed articles and other scholarly sources, together with reports of research bodies such as the UK's Health and Safety Executive (HSE), the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) in the US, and various centres for stress and/or workplace bullying, harassment or violence.

The literature was analysed and a report produced providing an up-to-date understanding of the research problem in New Zealand and internationally. The report includes sections on the prevalence of workplace stress and bullying, methodologies for the measurement of these constructs, risk and protective factors/antecedents, the management of psycho-social problems in workplaces, and interventions to reduce workplace stress and bullying.

Researchers also liaised with international researchers and research centres where the research team have excellent contacts to gather up-to-date information on research, provide for peer-review and further refine the research methodologies to be used in the proposed project (see Section 2.4 below).

2.3   Key informant survey (Stage 1b)

The key informant survey sought to explore industry perceptions from senior industry representatives working across the health, education and hospitality industry sectors included in the study (the fourth, travel, was added at a later date), along with the views of specialist consultants and those working in government organisations and unions who had a stake in the project. This information was considered to be vital in the design of the prevalence survey (*Survey of Work and Wellness*) and Managers' Survey, conducted in Stage 3 of the project.

2.3.1   Study samples

2.3.1.1 Hospitality

Two group interviews were undertaken with *Safer Industry Forum* members for hospitality - an ACC sponsored, but industry owned, high-level industry group that acted as the industry stakeholder group for the project. These groups comprised between eight and 10 members, and also included a small number of government (ACC, DoL) representatives who chaired and contributed to discussions. Individual interviews were undertaken with a total of six key informants from the hospitality sector. Respondents

were mostly industry group leaders and offered a high level perspective on the industry in terms of the problems in question. Two respondents worked in operations and human resources for major hospitality organisations.

2.3.1.2 Health

The industry stakeholder group was comprised of the DHB OSH managers group (10-15 members), as the *Safer Industry Forum,* of which this group was one part, was much too large, disparate and political to serve the purposes of a stakeholder group for the project. In addition, a number of smaller group interviews with nurses' groups and others were undertaken. Individual interviews were undertaken with 10 respondents, with a further two respondents completing questionnaires containing the same questions as used for interviews. Respondents were mainly high level industry stakeholders, including representatives from nursing, rest home associations, DHBs, human resources and health and safety. A number of interviews were also undertaken with individuals working in the health system who had suffered either bullying or stress. These interviews resulted from approaches by the respondents to the research team, and while they provided useful information, this data was treated separately from the survey findings reported here.

2.3.1.3 Education

Respondents came predominantly from the secondary and tertiary education sectors. The primary sector did not take up a number of offers to be involved in this study. A group interview was conducted with representatives from the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA), a voluntary trade union and professional association for secondary school teachers. This group comprised four members of the PPTA including a member who had authored a report on teachers as targets of bullies in 2004. A group interview was also conducted with four members of the professional association for staff employed in New Zealand universities (AUS), all of whom had represented targets of bullying in the tertiary sector. Individual interviews were conducted with five respondents, representing: the Open Polytechnic of New Zealand, the Human Resource Institute of New Zealand (HRINZ), the Maori and Pacific Island community, Workplaces Against Violence in Employment (WAVE) (who offer solutions for workplace bullying, harassment and occupational violence in the workplace), and a consultant psychologist involved in investigating and advising on harassment, bullying and manipulation in the workplace in the public and private sectors. Seven additional individual interviews were conducted with targets of bullying in the university sector who had voluntarily responded to an article on the present study, although again this data was treated separately from the survey findings reported here.

2.3.1.4 Other respondents

A range of other non-industry specific stakeholders were also surveyed and/or consulted as part of this data collection exercise. These included workplace bullying consultants and experts, Department of Labour personnel responsible for workplace stress and occupational health policy, ACC programme managers associated with the industries included, and union representatives.

2.3.2   Data collection procedure and interview schedule

Group interviews were conducted with key stakeholders described in Section 2.2.1. For the hospitality sector, group interviews took place within regular Safer Industry Forum meetings in Auckland and Wellington. For the health sector, group interviews took place within a regular OSH managers' meeting via teleconference, along with a number

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of other small group interviews (n=3), conducted face-to-face. Participants in both sectors were provided with information at an earlier meeting and asked whether they would be happy to participate in the study. Information sheets and consent forms were provided to all participants, in keeping with Massey University's Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) requirements for the study.

The group and individual interview sessions were divided into two parts. The first part of the session involved the researchers outlining the project and the role of participating industry stakeholder groups in a formal PowerPoint presentation. The second part of the session was a facilitated discussion around the following key points:

i)   Key hotspots and risk factors for bullying
ii)   Key hotspots and risk factors for stress
iii)   Industry initiatives, policy, practices to manage bullying
iv)   Industry initiatives, policy, practices to manage stress

Two researchers facilitated the group discussions, with one researcher asking questions and the other taking detailed notes. No video or audio recordings were taken.

For education, group interviews involved the PPTA and AUS at their offices. The first part of the session involved outlining the project and the role of participating industry stakeholder groups to the participants after having sent them information sheets and consent forms. As with the Health and Hospitality sectors, the second part of the session was a facilitated discussion around the key points noted above.

The remaining individual interviews were mainly conducted face-to-face, and were semi-structured. Other data collection methods involved a small number of telephone interviews and emailed questionnaires. Interviews lasted no more than 40 minutes, and respondents were provided with information sheets and consent forms. All respondents were aware of the confidential nature of their involvement and that comments or findings would not be identified with any individual. Interviews took place at the respondent's place of work in a private setting.

The interview schedule included questions covering the following issues:

i)   The extent of workplace bullying and stress problems (treated separately)
ii)   The nature of the problems – including some case examples
iii)   Hotspots or key areas of risk
iv)   Risk factors
v)   Interventions, initiatives, policy and practice to manage bullying and stress

Analysis involved qualitative thematic content analysis to identify key areas of risk and constructs to be included in subsequent research stages. Findings are reported in Chapter 3 of this report, as well as in a journal publication (Bentley et al, 2009), and in a number of industry media publications, including *Safeguard* and *Hospitality Magazine*.

2.4   Methodology design for the *Survey of Work and Wellness* (Stage 2)

2.4.1   Introduction

The aim of this stage of the research was to develop a research methodology appropriate for measuring the prevalence, nature, and impacts of workplace stress and

bullying in New Zealand workplaces, and initiatives to manage bullying. This involved designing the research instrument (sampling and recruitment strategies for the quantitative field trial studies were conducted alongside this stage). The methodology developed reflected current thinking and theoretical models of stress and bullying, and involved tailoring established methodologies for measuring workplace stress and bullying, as identified in the literature review, to fit the New Zealand context, as determined from stages 1b and 1c.

The methodology design process was iterative, involving liaison between research team members and with international experts or organisations, the industry stakeholder groups/Safer Industry Forums, and the project's advisory team (see Section 1.3). Key considerations in the design of the research instrument for the quantitative field trial included: coverage of the research questions set out in the RFP, adequate coverage of issues identified as important, including individual, social and organisational factors impacting upon the prevalence and outcomes of workplace stress and bullying, length of the survey, the data collection technique selected, and cultural and ethical issues. The survey instrument and scales are detailed in Section 5.

2.4.2   Construction of the Survey of Work and Wellness and scales used

The *Survey of Work and Wellness* comprised a combination of validated scales and, where existing scales and items were not available or unsuitable, items developed by the researchers to investigate specific issues. In addition to scales measuring workplace stress and workplace bullying, a number of scales and individual items relating to theoretical predictor and outcome variables (correlates to stress and bullying) were also included. Scales used and their origin are shown in Table 2.1.

2.4.2.1 Measuring bullying prevalence

The revised edition of the Negative Act Questionnaire (NAQ) was used to measure how often during the previous 6 month period respondents have been subjected to various negative acts, which when occurring on a frequent basis, might be experienced as bullying (Einarsen & Hoel, 2001). Agreement was reached with these researchers for the use of their scales. For the purposes of this research, bullying was operationally defined as 'exposure to at least two negative acts, at least weekly, within the last 6 months'.

All the items in the NAQ are described in behavioural terms without reference to the word bullying. It contains items that refer both to direct (e.g. verbal abuse, offensive remarks, ridicule) or indirect (e.g. social isolation, slander) behaviours. This approach to the collection of data on bullying is important, as use of the term 'bullying' from the outset might have led to either (a) priming effects or (b) range restriction effects because people do not think of the negative interpersonal behaviours as bullying (Hoel & Cooper, 2000; Hoel et al., 2004). Alongside this method, a single item measure asking respondents if they had been subjected to bullying at the workplace during the last six months was also utilised (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996). Using both methods allowed data to be collected on the perception of being bullied and the exposure to different negative acts (Salin, 2001).

2.4.2.2 Measuring workplace stress and wellbeing

The two major 'outcomes' of interest were workers' experience of psychological strain (stress) and their feelings of overall psycho-social well-being. These variables were assessed with two widely-used and validated instruments. The measure of psychological strain was the General Health Questionnaire (12 item version)

constructed by Goldberg (1972). This instrument has been extensively used in research on work-related stress (Whaley, Morrison, Payne, Fritschi, & Wall, 2005) and has strong psychometric properties (Makikangas et al., 2006). It includes both positively and negatively worded items which assess various aspects of psychological strain.

The second outcome of primary interest was individuals' overall psychological well-being. To assess levels of well-being, we used an instrument constructed by Warr (1990). This measure comprises 8 positively worded adjectives, such as 'calm', 'enthusiastic' and 'motivated', and 7 negatively worded adjectives, such as 'tense', 'worried' and 'miserable'. Respondents indicated how frequently (over the past 6 months) they had experienced these feelings. The Warr instrument has been extensively used and validated in previous research on psycho-social well-being (e.g., Makikangas, Feldt, & Kinnunen, 2007).

2.4.2.3 Piloting the *Survey of Work and Wellness*

Once the *Survey of Work and Wellness* had been constructed, the survey was piloted by our contractor, UniServices, Survey Research Unit. Eight participants responded to a laptop-based survey. Participants included a range of ethnicities, including Maori, Pacific, and European, and one participant with English as a second language. As a result of the pilot the stress questionnaire, GHQ, was shortened from the 20-item to the 12-item version, as several questions on the longer version were found to be too intrusive. One typo and one skip command omission were identified and corrected. Participants emphasised the benefit of having a confidential space for completing the survey.

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Table 2.1. Measures of constructs in the *Survey of Work and Wellness*

Name of scale	Number of items	What it measures	Authors/source
Negative Acts Questionnaire - Revised	22	Workplace bullying – exposure to negative acts	Einarsen & Hoel (2001)
Organisational commitment	6	Employees' feelings of emotional commitment to their organisation	Meyer & Allen (1997)
Organisational support	7	Feelings of support from the organisation	Djurkovic et al. (2008)
Leadership	16	Perceptions of manager's leadership, communication, and conflict solving	Bass & Avolio (2004); Ekvall & Arvonen (1991); Kristensen & Borg (no date)
Sense of community	3	Perceptions of work climate	Kristensen & Borg (no date)
Social support	8	Perceptions of support from supervisor and work colleagues	O'Driscoll (2000)
Psychological well-being	15	Sense of well-being at work	Warr (1990)
General Health Questionnaire	12	Psychological strain	Goldberg (1972)
Absenteeism	1	Number of days absent from work over past 6 months	Developed for this study
Turnover intentions	3	Intentions to leave the job	O'Driscoll & Beehr (1994)
Job performance	3	Perceived level of job performance	Kessler et al (2003)
Bullying	5	Self-reported experiences	Developed for this study
Coping	10	Self-reported coping with bullying at work	Kristensen & Borg (no date)
Coping effectiveness	1	Perceived effectiveness of coping with bullying	Developed for this study
Organisational responses	14	Perceived actions taken by the organisation to deal with bullying	Developed for this study

2.5   Work and Wellness – quantitative prevalence survey (Stage 3a)

2.5.1   Sample for the Survey of Work and Wellness

The project used a workplace based approach to data collection. Thus, individuals (employees and managers) responding to the survey were employed within participating workplaces, rather than being drawn randomly from the wider working population. This was done to comply with the requirement of the original RFP that the prevalence methodology be trialled within a number of New Zealand workplaces.

The workplace sample comprised 28 workplaces: health (n=9), education (n=10), and hospitality (n=9). In addition, individuals working throughout the New Zealand travel sector were invited to participate in the research (note, this sector was added during Stage 3 of the project, and was not subject to the workplace data collection strategy employed for the other three sectors). Table 2.2 details the sub-sectors within each industry sector from which the sample of organisations/workplaces were drawn, and numbers of workplaces and the sample recruitment method for each sub-sector.

Different recruitment techniques were used to access respondents (see column 3 of Table 2.2), with initial invitations coming through the relevant Stakeholder Group, and follow-up directly to a number of organisations. The sample of workplaces was not randomly selected. Rather, a stratified Upper North Island regional sample was used, with invited organisations/workplaces selected on the basis of suitability in terms of sub-sector representation, job roles within the workplaces, number of employees (balance of SMEs and larger organisations), and convenience in terms of location. Additionally, two large out-of-region workplaces were selected to provide a wider geographical coverage.

2.5.2   Data collection procedure for the Survey of Work and Wellness

Researchers administered surveys to respondents using a number of different data collection techniques, using the same data collection instrument (*Survey of Work and Wellness*). The three data collection methods used were:

1. Electronic version delivered on laptop computers at workplaces
2. Electronic version delivered on-line (administered through the organisation's human resources or OH&S function)
3. Paper-based surveys provided in workplaces.

The laptop-based surveys were administered in workplaces at a centralised data collection site. Use of this data collection procedure has achieved excellent response rates in overseas studies of bullying and harassment. In addition, this approach is a cost effective way to maximise participation while also ensuring anonymity and confidentiality of respondents, and reducing biases that relate to the under-reporting of workplace bullying and other negative outcomes.

On-line surveys were used where workplaces could not readily make arrangements for an onsite visit to collect data using laptops or paper-based surveys. The on-line survey was administered to respondents through the organisation's intranet or internal email facility. This strategy was most popular within the health, education and travel sectors.

Paper-based surveys were used in workplaces where the majority of employees did not have access to computers (notably in hospitality), and as an alternative survey completion medium for individuals preferring not to use computers.

Table 2.2. Sub-sectors from which sample drawn, and number of workplaces and respondents in each

Industry sector/sub-sector	Number of participating workplaces	Sample recruitment
Health - DHB regional hospitals - Nursing/ residential care homes	4 (from 2 DHB regions) 5 (from 2 large organisations)	*DHBs:* Step 1: General invitation through Health and Disability Forum, OSH Managers Forum Step 2: Follow-up to OSH Managers working for DHBs (2/4 accepted invitation; 1 remained undecided, 1 declined) *Residential care/nursing homes:* Direct approach to HR manager of two major sector organisations (both accepted)
Education - Tertiary - Secondary - Primary - Union	3 4 1 2	Step 1: Dissemination through stakeholders Step 2: Direct written invitation to school principals and tertiary HR managers
Hospitality - Hotel - Restaurant	5 4	Step 1: General invitation through Hospitality Safer Industry Forum Step 2: Follow-up with organisations directly
Travel - Retail - Corporate - Etc.	n/a – data collected at individual respondent level through direct invitation	Emailed and newsletter invitation to participate across entire industry
Other	n/a – data collected from individuals who responded without invitation (i.e. not from one of the survey workplaces)	n/a

Arrangements to undertake the workplace surveys were made through initial invitations at the industry level, made through the Safer Industry Forums/Stakeholder Groups, and subsequently the human resource or health and safety manager of individual workplaces (see Table 2.2). Where laptop data collection was to be used, an arrangement was made for the researchers to visit the workplace at a time suitable to the organisation, that allowed data collection while the greater number of employees would be at work, and to cover two shifts where relevant. A room was made available, containing several laptop computers loaded with the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, and researchers were available to provide an introduction to the survey and technical assistance for use of the laptops. Signage around larger workplaces was used to indicate the location of the room where the survey could be completed. Screen dividers were used to provide privacy to individuals completing the survey, while individuals completing the on-line or paper-based option were able to do so in the privacy of their own office or home. All respondents received written information sheets outlining the project and the rights of participants, according to the MUHEC requirements.

The survey data were loaded into SPSS. "No opinion," "not applicable," and "do not know" responses were recoded as missing data. All scales were checked by assessing their factor loadings (with factor analyses conducted on groups of similar scales) and reliabilities. In all cases these were acceptable. There was very little missing data and no cases were deleted. Data were analysed by looking at distributions, with comparisons calculated through Pearson's correlation chi-square or independent sample *t*-tests.

2.6 Managers' Survey – qualitative management survey (Stage 3b)

The Managers' Survey followed the same respondent recruitment process as described for the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, in Section 2.5. Two respondents working in either Human Resources, OH&S, or senior management, identified as being primarily responsible for either human resources or OH&S at each of the 28 participating workplaces, were invited to participate in the study. Of these, 36 accepted the invitation.

The Managers' Survey involved semi-structured interviews conducted at the respondent's place of work. The interview schedule comprised three sections: Section A: About you and your organisation; Section B: Your perceptions about workplace stress in your organisation; Section C: Your perceptions about workplace bullying in your organisation. The interview schedule comprised 21 questions in total, and interviews typically took no more than 40 minutes to complete. The major emphasis of the survey was to address the issue of how the organisation understood and managed these psychosocial hazards. A copy of the interview schedule is provided in Attachment 2.3. Participant information sheet and consent forms are provided in Attachment 2.4.

Analysis of interview responses involved thematic content analysis, with some triangulation between findings of the *Survey of Work and Wellness* and Managers' Survey for related content, in particular perceptions of the extent of the bullying problem and organisational measures to manage psychosocial hazards.

3.   Literature review

This chapter summarises the key findings of the literature review undertaken to identify:

• How workplace bullying is defined and measured

• The prevalence of workplace bullying internationally

• The individual and organisational factors that shape workplace bullying

• The relationship between workplace bullying and stress

• Intervention strategies to prevent and manage workplace bullying

3.1   What is workplace bullying?

There is no single, universally accepted definition of workplace bullying. Instead a variety of definitions have been utilised dependent on the research perspective or professional interest (Rayner & Cooper, 2006). These definitions do have, however, a number of commonalities; that bullying at work is about systematic, interpersonal abusive behaviour which may cause severe social, psychological and psychosomatic problems in the target (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf & Cooper, 2003a; Rayner & Cooper, 2006). As a number of researchers make clear (e.g. Einarsen, 2000; Einarsen et al., 2003a), it is the negative, unwanted and enduring nature of the behaviour directed at the target that forms the essence of the concept of bullying.

3.1.1   Behaviours

There is no definitive list or agreement on the specific behaviours that constitute bullying at work. However, based on their review of the empirical findings, Zapf, Einarsen, Hoel & Vartia (2003) concluded that 'organisational measures' that affect the targets' tasks and competencies, 'social isolation', 'attacking the private person', 'verbal aggression' and 'spreading rumours' are typical categories of bullying. In contrast, 'attacking attitudes' and 'physical violence' appear to occur only occasionally in the context of bullying, thus underlining that bullying is predominately psychological rather than physical in nature (Zapf et al., 2003). Rayner & Cooper (2006) make similar comments regarding bullying behaviours in their overview, but note that what is also important is the behaviours that bullies do *not* do such as withholding task related information – minutes, meeting dates and email communication – from the target.

Consequently, workplace bullying behaviours can be overt and covert; work-related or personal. However, the destructive nature of bullying may be less about the actual behaviour and more about the frequency and duration of the behaviour and the target's perception of it. As Leymann (1990) argues, it is the persistency of the unwanted behaviour that ultimately drains the target's coping resources.

3.1.2   Persistency

It is the persistent exposure to behaviours which is the key definitional criteria of bullying and serves to demarcate it from similar constructs such as conflict and workplace violence (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf & Cooper, 2003b; Hoel & Beale, 2006; Hoel, Rayner & Cooper, 1999; Leymann, 1996; Rayner & Cooper, 2006). In most research projects, persistency is operationalised in terms of 'intensity', 'frequency' and 'duration'.

As Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy & Alberts (2007: 841) explain, intensity is used to refer to the number of different negative behaviours that a target reports. Leymann (1996) operationalised this as exposure to one negative behaviour and this has been widely accepted in studies using inventories of negative behaviours such as the Leymann Inventory of Psychological Terror and the Negative Acts Questionnaire (see, for example: Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Hoel, Cooper & Faragher, 2001; Neidl, 1996; Nielsen, Skogstad, Matthiesen, Glasø, Aasland, Notelaers & Einarsen, 2009; Notelaers, Einarsen, De Witte & Vermunt, 2006; Vartia, 1996).

To constitute bullying, exposure to negative behaviours must also occur frequently with one-off incidents explicitly disregarded (Agervold, 2007; Einarsen et al., 2003a; Hoel et al., 1999; Leymann, 1990; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007). In addition to being experienced frequently, the behaviours also need to be experienced over a duration or period of time (Agervold, 2007; Einarsen et al., 2003a; Hoel et al., 1999; Leymann, 1996; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007). Leymann (1990, 1996) defined the frequency and duration thresholds as 'weekly' and 'at least 6 months' and these thresholds have been adopted by most researchers. As Rayner & Cooper (2006: 127) write, "typically, the experience of weekly behaviours in the last 6 months is judged to be bullying in academic studies." While, as the likes of Agervold (2007) and Einarsen et al. (2003a) note, the temporal thresholds seem arbitrary, they do reflect the rationale of differentiating bullying from more episodic conflicts. These thresholds also emphasise the process characteristics of bullying where it is precisely the frequent and long-lasting exposure to negative acts that produces injury (Agervold, 2007; Einarsen et al., 2003a).

3.1.3 Intent

Rayner & Keashly (2005) contend that for European researchers the parameter of actor intent has been discarded as a key criterion although it remains a hotly debated topic in the North American literature relating to aggression. A number of the leading reviews of the literature concur that intent is not an important part of an operational definition (Einarsen et al., 2003a; Hoel et al., 1999; Rayner, Hoel & Cooper, 2002). As Einarsen et al., (2003a) explains, intent can be linked to both the intentionality of the negative action and the outcome of the behaviour. It is, therefore, nearly impossible to independently verify the presence of intent, and almost all bullies would deny intent (Einarsen et al., 2003a; Rayner & Cooper, 2006; Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Furthermore, bullying is typically defined in terms of the experience of the target which makes the intentions of the perpetrator irrelevant. This reasoning is consistent with the rationale for excluding intent from most definitions of sexual harassment (Einarsen et al., 2003a).

3.1.4 Power imbalance

According to Einarsen et al. (2003a), the imbalance of power between the target and the bully is also a central feature of many definitions. For Leymann (1990, 1996), a power imbalance, where the target is forced into a defenceless or helpless position against the bully, is one of the key characteristics that demarcates bullying from conflict. That is, in contrast to a more general conflict situation, the target perceives they have little recourse to retaliate in kind against the bully (Einarsen et al., 2003a). As Einarsen (1999: 18) reports, these "inescapable interactions" may contribute as much to the anxiety, misery and suffering experienced by the target as the actual conduct does. Furthermore, the inability to defend oneself is argued to play a role in forming the target's perception of whether the behaviour should be regarded as bullying (Einarsen, 1999).

In contrast, other leading reviews of the definitional parameters downplay the importance of an imbalance of power on several grounds. Concern has been expressed

that drawing a sharp distinction between bullying and conflict is no longer useful (Rayner & Cooper, 2006), that emphasising a power imbalance only serves to confuse the situation and the behaviour, or that the understanding of power is too general (Hoel et al., 1999). Despite these concerns, the imbalance of power is a common element of studies investigating the prevalence of workplace bullying, especially in those studies that use self-labelling to investigate bullying.

3.2   Defining workplace bullying

While there is a range of definitions of workplace bullying, a review of the studies investigating prevalence indicates commonalities. Bullying involves a range of negative behaviours directed at a target. These behaviours are often covert and nonverbal, and can be task-related or personal attacks. Importantly, it is the persistent nature of the negative behaviours that gives bullying its destructive force. Bullying is typically not regarded as a 'one-off' event or an 'either/or' phenomenon but as an evolving process. The issue of intent has essentially been discarded as a definitional parameter but still has an important role to play in advancing theoretical understandings of workplace bullying. The issue of a power imbalance is more vexed, although it remains a feature of studies that investigate the prevalence of workplace bullying using a self-labelling approach. Consequently, based on this review, a typical definition of bullying used in prevalence studies is:

> We define bullying as a situation where one or several individuals perceive themselves to be on the receiving end of negative actions from one or more persons *persistently* over a period of time, in a situation where the targets have difficulty defending themselves against these actions. We do *not* refer to a one-time incident as bullying (Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007: 847 emphasis in original).

3.3   Measuring the prevalence of workplace bullying

Most studies investigating the prevalence of workplace bullying adopt one of two – or increasingly, both – methods: perceived victimisation from bullying or perceived exposure to bullying behaviours (Einarsen et al., 2003a) which makes the perceptions of the target central to the studies of prevalence. These two methods are also known as the subjective (or self-labelling) method and the operational (classification) method (Notelaers et al., 2006). Both these methods take the form of items in a self-report questionnaire. While these large scale questionnaires are credited with highlighting the problem of bullying (Coyne, Smith-Lee Chong, Seigne & Randall, 2003), a number of researchers have expressed concern about the reliance on self-report data, and the two methods generally (Agervold, 2007; Cowie, Naylor, Rivers, Smith & Pereira, 2002; Hoel et al., 1999).

3.3.1   The self-labelling approach

At its simplest, the self-labelling approach is a one item measure in which the respondent is asked in whether they have experienced workplace bullying (Cowie et al., 2002). The rationale for adopting the approach is explained in Einarsen & Skogstad (1996) who maintain that measurement of workplace bullying should incorporate the target's perception and evaluation of the behaviour. To this end, they believed that the respondents needed to possess "a common and precise definition" (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996: 187). In a later work, Einarsen (2000) argues that to have a psychological effect on the target, bullying has to be perceived and evaluated. The value of a subjective method therefore lies not only in understanding the perception of the pain suffered by the target, but also in how the target perceives their interaction with significant others in the workplace (Einarsen, 2000). Similarly, Agervold (2007)

comments that it is only when targets admit that what is taking place is bullying, that they also realise that the acts involved have been deliberate. Hoel et al. (2001) reinforce this point in their contention that any experience which the target perceives as being in line with a given definition emphasising the persistent and long-term nature of the negative experience, should be considered valid. This approach has been adopted in a number of prevalence studies of workplace bullying (e.g., Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Eriksen & Einarsen, 2004; Hansen, Hogh, Persson, Karlson, Garde & Ørbæk, 2006; Hoel et al., 2001; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Nielsen et al., 2009; Salin, 2001; Vartia, 1996; Vartia & Hyyti, 2002).

3.3.2   The classification approach

In contrast, the classification approach is a more elaborate measure in which respondents are asked if, and how often, they believe they have been exposed to each of an inventory of negative behaviours. Pioneered by Heinz Leymann, prevalence is measured by counting the number of respondents who conform to criteria that defines when a person is being bullied (Einarsen et al., 2003a). Within this approach the two most utilised instruments are the Leymann Inventory of Psychological Terror (LIPT) and the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ) (Einarsen et al., 2003a).

The LIPT contains an inventory of 45 negative behaviours as well as sections relating to the demographics of the respondents, questions on the number, position and sex of the aggressors, and a catalogue of stress symptoms (Neidl, 1996; Niedhammer, David & Degioanni, 2007). The classification of bullied/non-bullied is determined by using Leymann's (1990, 1996) criterion of exposure to at least one of the 45 behaviours at least once a week for at least six months. Several studies have used the LIPT to investigate the prevalence of workplace bullying (e.g., Leymann, 1996; Neidl, 1996; Niedhammer et al., 2007; Vartia, 1996).

As with the LIPT, the NAQ also measures exposure to each of an inventory of negative acts that are associated with bullying. As Mikkelsen & Einarsen (2001) explain, all items are explained in behavioural terms with no mention of the word bullying to preclude 'cueing' the respondents. The NAQ refers to both direct and indirect behaviours of three broad inter-related types: negative actions that target the role and/or work of the employee, negative actions that target the person, and negative actions that are physically intimidating (Einarsen, Hoel & Notelaers, 2009). In a recent study, Einarsen et al. (2009: 38) investigated the validity of a revised version of the NAQ and concluded that it "comprises a reliable and valid measure of exposure to workplace bullying." The NAQ is currently a widely used instrument for investigating the prevalence of workplace bullying (e.g., Agervold, 2007; Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Einarsen et al., 2009; Hoel et al., 2001; Lewis & Gunn, 2007; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Nielsen et al., 2009; Notelaers et al., 2006; Salin, 2001). Consequently, Lutgen-Sandvik et al. (2007: 857) concludes that the NAQ "seems best poised to assess whether differences in bullying rates exist across international samples."

3.3.3   Measurement issues

The debate regarding how far subjective experience should be taken into account has played (and continues to do so) a central role in the issue of construct development and the subsequent measurement of workplace bullying (Hoel et al., 1999). As the previous section indicated, bullying behaviours are often subtle, discrete, sometimes private, and sometimes of a significance known only to the target (Einarsen, 1999; Einarsen et al., 2003a). Bullying, as Einarsen et al. (2003a) conclude, is often a subjective process of social reconstruction. This should not be read, however, as a dismissal of the

requirement for more 'objective' conceptualisations which are necessary for legal and disciplinary actions.

While the problems of relying on self-report data and questionnaires are well documented (see, for example, Cowie et al., 2002), attempts to provide more 'objective' measures of workplace bullying have their own limitations. Hoel & Beale (2006) comment that observational studies are not feasible because bullying is experienced by the target over a period of time, and observers may have a limited ability to understand the significance of the observed behaviours without complete knowledge of the previous interactions between the actors. Utilising peer observations is limited by the fact that colleagues often find it difficult to stay 'neutral' in cases of bullying (Einarsen et al., 2003a), and that workplace power relations make it difficult for peers to provide a candid assessment (Björkqvist, Österman & Hjelt-Bäck, 1994). In addition, the social perceptions of the victim can change to the extent that a third party can perceive bullying as 'fair treatment' of a difficult person, or as a situation of the target's own making (Einarsen et al., 2003a; Leymann, 1990, 1996).

The self-labelling and classification methods have both been the subject of substantive commentary regarding their merits. With respect to the self-labelling approach, there is no assurance that the respondent is using the provided definition and not their own (Cowie et al., 2002) which, argues Liefooghe & Olafsson (1999), has some basis. In addition, respondents may not want to label themselves as bullied because of the stigma or are unaware that they are being bullied, or see it as a 'normal' part of the job (Agervold, 2007; Cowie et al., 2002; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Rayner et al., 2002). Consequently, there is the risk of underreporting the prevalence of workplace bullying (Agervold, 2007).

As discussed in the prior section, the value of the classification approach is seen in its ability to provide more 'objective' findings, but as Agervold (2007) maintains, the classification approach can only be described as a quasi-objective as there is no independent observation of the negative behaviours. Agervold (2007: 48) writes:

> [the] ideal definition of other people's negative acts as the permanent core of bullying is incapable of being utilised in practice, because bullying occurs so relatively seldom and occasionally in such hidden forms that it is empirically impossible to register bullying unless registration is based on the person's own experience of being bullied and/or of being exposed to negative social acts.

Criticism has also been levelled at the sorts of behaviours contained in the LIPT and the NAQ. As Salin (2001) explains, these two inventories are not exhaustive of all bullying behaviours, nor can the individual behaviours be regarded as being of equal severity. Salin (2001) argues that the target's ability to defend themselves or tolerate a situation is also not taken into account – that is, there is no opportunity for the respondent to rate the perceived effect of the exposure (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001). As Salin (2001) points out, some behaviours (e.g. been given an unmanageable workload, or being ordered to do work below your level of competence) can be experienced on a regular basis without being perceived as bullying while others which are experienced only occasionally can produce long-lasting effects (see also Agervold, 2007; Hoel, Faragher & Cooper, 2004; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001).

Consequently, the LIPT and the NAQ which were designed to avoid the problem of under-reporting may actually over-report it (Agervold, 2007). Authors such as Agervold (2007), Mikkelsen & Einarsen (2001) and Salin (2001), contend that this problem is exacerbated by the reliance on a criterion of one behaviour to define bullying. Agervold (2007: 171) argues that the 'Leymann criterion' of exposure to one negative act is "too

broad." Instead, Agervold (2007: 171) suggests that at least three or four negative acts a week should be the criterion. Similarly, Lutgen-Sandvik et al. (2007) adopt a two-criterion operationalisation for the same reasons.

The ability to make comparisons between the different reported prevalence findings has also been complicated by the variance in the operationalisation of duration. While the criterion of six months is standard in most studies, careful attention needs to be paid to the researcher's interpretation. Leymann's (1996: 168) original wording for duration was "at least six months" although periods of twelve months are not unknown (see for example, Niedhammer et al., 2007; Salin, 2001). In contrast, the NAQ-revised as described by Einarsen et al. (2009: 28), contains the wording "within the last six months" with this interpretation seemingly more common (Einarsen et al., 2009; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Neidl, 1996; Vartia, 1996; Zapf, Knorz & Kulla, 1996).

Studies that have set out to compare the self-labelling and classification methods have consistently reported that the self-labelling method produces a lower bullying rate than the classification method (see for example, Agervold, 2007; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Nielsen et al., 2009; Salin, 2001). According to Mikkelsen & Einarsen (2001: 405), the disparity in the reported rates is evidence of "a significant methodological problem that many victims of bullying are either unaware of the fact that they are being bullied or will not admit that this is the case." Mikkelsen & Einarsen (2001) also note that respondents who self-label reported exposure to a wide range of specific bullying behaviours. This finding, argue Mikkelsen & Einarsen (2001), supports the validity of the one-item measure of the approach although it may produce a conservative estimate of the prevalence of workplace bullying. In contrast, Agervold (2007) sees the disparity – in conjunction with the absence of validation studies – as evidence that the inventory scales are not valid (a claim refuted by Einarsen et al., 2009). Alongside these concerns, both Rayner & Cooper (2006) and Salin (2001) highlight the fact that not only are the numbers different but different *people* meet the criterion of being bullied or not.

With these concerns in mind, several authors have recommended the using both the self-labelling and classification methods when investigating the prevalence of workplace bullying (Einarsen et al., 2009; Einarsen et al., 2003a; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Salin, 2001). Adopting both methods addresses some of the limitations of relying on a single method (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001), and provides information on the nature and the intensity of the perceived behaviours and the subjective perception of being victimised (Einarsen et al., 2003a). That is, information relating to the identity of the perpetrator, the duration of the bullying and so on, can be collected along with behavioural examples (Einarsen et al., 2009). Salin (2001: 428) makes the same point, writing that "using both strategies simultaneously also allows for a comparison between the perception of being bullied and the exposure to different negative acts."

3.3.4   *A method for investigating the prevalence of workplace bullying in New Zealand*

Based on the review of the literature relating to the methods for investigating the prevalence of workplace bullying, it is possible to devise an approach which is valid and allows for international comparisons. Firstly, the literature's recommendation should be accepted to adopt both the self-labelling and classification methods. Secondly, because of its validity and widespread use, the NAQ Revised should be used as the inventory of negative behaviours. In terms of operationalising the self-labelling method, bullying should be defined using a duration period of "the last six months" and a frequency of "at least weekly." The same criterion for duration and frequency should be

used for the classification method. As Rayner & Cooper (2006: 127) write, "typically, the experience of weekly behaviours in the last 6 months is judged to be bullying in academic studies." Finally, the intensity criterion should be defined as exposure to at least two negative acts.

3.4   The prevalence of workplace bullying

Given the fluid nature of definitions and concerns about the way workplace bullying is measured, it is not surprising that cross-country comparisons are difficult. Researchers have not only adopted a variety of different measurement tools, but the operationalisation of scales has also varied. In addition, studies have also focused on either particular occupational groupings or cross-sections of the general working population. As Table 3.1 indicates, this plurality of approaches is reflected in the range of prevalence figures reported in the literature. Consequently, it is vital that a careful reading precedes claims relating to international comparisons.

Table 3.1. The prevalence of workplace bullying

Author	Year	Country	Sample	Population	Approach	Scale	Prevalence
Rutherford & Rissel	2004	Australia	311	Health Care Employees	Behavioural Exposure		50%
Neidl	1996	Austria	368	Public Hospital Employees	Behavioural Exposure	LIPT	26.60%
Notelaers et al.	2006	Belgium	6175	Private and Public Sector Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ Revised (16 items)	3.0 - 20.6%
Hogh & Dofradottir	2001	Denmark	1857	Employees	Behavioural Exposure	Self-developed	2.00%
Mikkelsen & Einarsen	2001	Denmark		Tertiary Postgrads	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ Revised (23 & 22 items)	2.0 - 16%
Agervold & Mikkelsen	2004	Denmark	186	Food Manufacturing Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ Revised (12 items)	1.6 - 13%
Agervold	2007	Denmark	3024	Public Sector Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ derived	1.0 - 26.9%
Vartia	1996	Finland	949	Municipal Officials	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	LIPT	10.10%
Kivimaki et al.	2000	Finland	5655	Hospital Employees	Self-Labelling		5.00%
Salin	2001	Finland	377	Business Professionals	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ Revised (32 items + 2 LIPT)	24.1% & 8.8%
Vartia & Hyyti	2002	Finland	895	Prison Officers	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	Self-developed	11.0 - 20%
Niedhammer et al.	2007	France	7694	Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	LIPT	10.95 - 21.84% Men; 12.78 - 26.81% Women
Health and Safety Authority Ireland	2001	Ireland	5252	Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure		7%
O'Moore et al.	2003	Ireland	1057	Trade Union Employees	Self-Labelling		6.2% - 16.9%
O'Connell et al.	2007	Ireland	3579	Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure		8%
Foster et al.	2004	New Zealand	40	Nurses	Behavioural Exposure	Self-developed	90%
Scott et al.	2008	New Zealand	123	Doctors	Behavioural Exposure	Self-developed	50%
Einarsen et al.	1994	Norway	2215	Trade Union Employees	Self-Labelling		9.69%
Einarsen & Skogstad	1996	Norway	7986	Employees	Self-Labelling		8.60%
Eriksen & Einarsen	2004	Norway	6485	Nurses (Union membership)	Self-Labelling		4.5% Overall; 4.3% women; 10.2% me
Nielson et al.	2008	Norway	2539	Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ Revised (22 items)	2-14.3%
Leymann	1996	Sweden	2400	Employees	Behavioural Exposure	LIPT	3.50%
Voss et al.	2001	Sweden	3470	Postal Employees			8% of women
Hansen et al.	2006	Sweden	437	Employees	Self-Labelling		5% overall; 5% Women; 4.9% Men
Archer	1999	UK	760	Firefighters	Self-Labelling		20.00%
Hoel et al.	2001	UK	5288	Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ Revised (29 items)	10.60%
Coyne et al.	2003	UK	288	Public Sector Employees	Self-Labelling		3.9% - 39.6%
Baruch	2005	UK	649	MNC Employees	Self-Labelling		22.80%
Rayner	1997	UK (England)	1137	University students	Self-Labelling		53.00%
Quine	1999	UK (England)	1100	NHS Employees	Behavioural Exposure	Self-developed	38.00%
Power et al.	1998	UK (Scotland)	707	Young Offenders	Self-Labelling		29.00%
Lewis	1999	UK (Wales)	415	Academics	Self-Labelling		18.00%
Lewis & Gunn	2007	UK (Wales)	247	Public Sector Employees	Behavioural Exposure	NAQ Revised (18 items)	20.00%
Lutgen-Sandvik et al.	2007	USA	403	Employees	Self-Labelling & Behavioural Exposure	NAQ revised (22 items)	9.4 - 28%

3.5 The effects of workplace bullying: Consequences for individuals and organisations

3.5.1 Individuals

Workplace bullying has a range of substantial negative effects on targets. Targets are likely to have lower self-esteem, more negative emotion, anxiety, stress, fatigue, burnout and depression than non-targets (see for example, Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Cassitto, Fattorini, Gilloli, Rengo & Gonik, 2004; Djurkovic, McCormack & Casimir, 2006; Einarsen, Matthiesen & Skogstad, 1998; Harvey, Stoner, Hochwarter & Kacmar, 2007b; Hoel et al., 2004; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Namie, 2003, 2007; Neidl, 1996; Nielsen, Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2005; O'Moore, Seigne, McGuire & Smith, 1998; Vartia, 2001; Vartia & Hyyti, 2002; Zapf, 1999). Bullying has also been associated with threats to individual identity (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008), post-traumatic stress disorder (Groeblinghoff & Becker, 1996; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002; Scott & Stradling, 2006; Tehrani, 2004; Zapf, 1999) and changes in daily cortisol levels (Kudielka & Kern, 2004).

Bullying can also affect the quality of life outside work and is associated with increased feelings of helplessness and reduced feelings of personal control (O'Connell, Calvert & Watson, 2007). While it has been found that employees with disabilities or long-term illnesses are more likely to be bullied, it is also possible that some conditions (e.g. heart, blood pressure and circulation problems, or skin conditions and allergies) are the result of experiencing negative behaviour at work (Fevre, Robinson & Jones, 2008). Hoel et al. (1999) argues that being singled out for bullying could potentially be more damaging than being one of a group experiencing bullying where the stigma of victimisation is possibly reduced. The effects of bullying can be of long duration, with those who had experienced bullying within the last 5 years but were not currently experiencing it having worse self-reported health than those who had never been bullied (Hoel et al., 2004; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002).

3.5.2 Organisation

Workplace bullying also has substantial negative consequences for the organisation. Targets of workplace bullying take more days off, have reduced job satisfaction, organisational commitment and work motivation, and have an increased likelihood of leaving the organisation (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Burnes & Pope, 2007; Cassitto et al., 2004; Einarsen et al., 1998; Harvey et al., 2007b; Keashly & Neuman, 2004; O'Connell et al., 2007; Parent-Thirion, Fernández Macías, Hurley & Vermeylen, 2007; Quine, 1999; Rayner, 1999; Tepper, 2000; Vartia & Hyyti, 2002; Zapf, 1999). Coercive or bullying behaviours from managers during restructuring have a detrimental effect on employee health and well-being and can result in substantial amounts of absenteeism (Sheehan, McCarthy & Kearns, 1998).

Negative health effects have also been found among those who have witnessed bullying but have not been personally targeted (Burnes & Pope, 2007; Hoel et al., 2004; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Mayhew, McCarthy, Chappell, Quinlan, Barker & Sheehan, 2004; Vartia, 1996; Vartia, 2001; Willingstorfer, Schaper & Sonntag, 2002). As well as reporting more symptoms of anxiety than those not exposed to bullying, witnesses reported lower support from supervisor (Hansen et al., 2006). Bullying may affect bystanders and victims in similarly serious ways both when events occur and later in life (Janson & Hazler, 2004).

Not all bullying is equally harmful. Targets of bullying by superiors may experience more harm than targets of co-worker bullying (Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007), especially

when high unemployment or other factors reduce the ability of targets to find alternative employment (Tepper, 2000). Different types of negative behaviours may have different impacts. The behaviours most likely to relate to health effects were those suggesting marginalisation or exclusion such as criticism, ignoring or hints to quit (Hoel et al., 2004), judging work unjustly or in an offending manner, restricting the expression of opinions, and assaults on private life (Vartia, 2001). The most damaging forms of bullying were those such as undermining and belittlement which harmed a targets' self-image and reduced the ability to use effective coping strategies. Inability to use adaptive coping, and habitual use of maladaptive coping strategies were related to negative effects from workplace bullying (Rammsayer, Stahl & Schmiga, 2006). Lee & Brotheridge (2006) found that being targeted was not directly linked to burnout or ill-health but operated through a sense of self-doubt which, in turn, affected targets' wellbeing. Belittlement may give rise to feelings of self-doubt which in turn are related to burnout and ill-health (Lee & Brotheridge, 2006; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001). The presence of perceived organisational support reduced bullied employees' intentions to leave the organisation (Djurkovic, McCormack & Casimir, 2008). The interpretations that targets place on the reasons for bullies behaving as they do are also likely to be important. Whether behaviour is seen to be motivated by malice or greed has a significant impact on how severe the negative behaviour is considered to be, on how targets react emotionally to the behaviour and on whether targets respond with revenge, avoidance or attempts at reconciliation (Crossley, 2009).

Cross-sectional studies cannot establish which factors are causal and which are outcomes of bullying. While there is evidence that targets are higher in stress, lower in self-esteem and use poorer coping strategies than non-targets, few studies have controlled for stress and coping before bullying, or for the duration and intensity of the bullying. There is similar confusion about the role of stress. Findings that targets and perpetrators reported elevated levels of stress associated with unclear or conflicting expectations at work indicate that role ambiguity may be a cause, an outcome, or both, of bullying (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001).

3.6 Individual factors that shape workplace bullying

3.6.1 Characteristics of targets

A great deal has been written about the characteristics of bullying targets, although most of it is anecdotal. Few studies have compared a wide range of characteristics between those who are and who are not targeted, or looked at changes in target characteristics such as self-esteem over a period of time during which bullying was experienced. It is also difficult to identify characteristics that may predispose individuals to being targeted from those which may be the result of experiencing bullying.

3.6.1.1 Age, gender and status

Few studies have found consistent differences in rates of bullying experienced by men and women, although it has been argued that women may be more vulnerable than men as a result of being concentrated in high-risk occupations such as nursing, social work and teaching (Di Martino, Hoel & Cooper, 2003). Women may be more likely to experience intimidation and psychological violence than men, while men may be more exposed to physical violence and assault, although there is the potential for differences in the willingness to label experiences as bullying that will affect findings (Di Martino et al., 2003). Other researchers have found no gender differences in experiences of bullying (Hogh, Henriksson & Burr, 2005; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007; Ólafsson & Jóhannsdóttir, 2004; Scott, Blanshard & Child, 2008; Vartia, 1996). It has also been

found that men are generally bullied by men and women by women but this can be at least partly explained by structural factors, such as men primarily working with other men and women with other women (Lee, 2002; Leymann, 1996; Namie, 2007; O'Moore et al., 1998; Willingstorfer et al., 2002).

Few links have been found between the target's age and bullying. Foster, Mackie & Barnet (2004) found that younger nursing students experienced higher rates of bullying while Scott et al. (2008) reported that younger and more junior doctors experienced more bullying. Younger employees may be of lower status and may also be in a minority group in a workplace. There may also be an association, although relatively small, between education and bullying with targets in an Irish study generally being better educated than non-targets (O'Connell et al., 2007).

3.6.1.2 Minority groups

Targets of bullying have reported that they were bullied because they were 'different' (Vartia, 1996) and did not fit in with the norms of their work groups (Archer, 1999; Strandmark & Hallberg, 2007), or were high achievers (Zapf, 1999). Gender minority groups, such as male nurses and kindergarten teachers (Eriksen & Einarsen, 2004) and female and non-white male firefighters (Archer, 1999) may experience more bullying, along with those who may be singled out because of ethnicity, smoking, marital status, physical fitness and health (Einarsen, 1999; Eriksen & Einarsen, 2004; Lewis & Gunn, 2007). Disabled employees and those with long-term illnesses are more likely to experience negative behaviours at work, especially those with 'psychological' rather than 'physical' illnesses and disabilities (Fevre et al., 2008).

3.6.1.3 Occupational status

Despite the large amount of research showing that higher-status employees are more likely to be perpetrators of bullying, few studies have found differences in amounts of bullying experienced by people of different status within organisations. A number of Nordic researchers have reported that the bully was a colleague of the target (Hogh & Dofradottir, 2001; Leymann, 1996; Vartia, 1996). However, Einarsen & Skogstad (1996) report that Norwegian employees were equally bullied by colleagues and superiors. In the UK and Ireland, Rayner (1998) and (O'Moore et al., 1998) found that employees were mostly bullied by their superiors. Upwards bullying has also been examined, in which managers are bullied by their direct reports (Branch, Ramsay & Barker, 2007). This suggests that formal organisational status is not a prerequisite for bullying but that bullies acquire or gain for themselves some form of power over their targets.

3.6.1.4 Personality

A 'cluster' of personality traits among targets has often been suggested, with stereotypes of weak, anxious victims and provocative, aggressive victims identified in school bullying and organisational bullying contexts (Aquino, 2000). Adult targets of workplace bullying have been characterised as conscientious, over-achieving, introverted, and unrealistic with the assumption that others may perceive them as patronising or annoying, thereby provoking bullying (Einarsen, 1999). Targets may be more conscientious than non-targets and this has been related to the notion of a "provocative" victim – someone who, by being more rule-bound, organised and dependable may also be seen as moralistic rigid, traditional and perfectionist which may annoy colleagues and lead to the individual being bullied (Coyne et al., 2003). The link between being bullied and conscientiousness has, however, not been found consistently.

Targets of bullying tend to reveal lower levels of self-esteem and social competency than non-targets (Aquino, 2000; Einarsen, 2000; Harvey & Keashly, 2003; Matthiesen &

Einarsen, 2007; Vartia, 1996; Zapf, 1999) as well as lower emotional stability (Coyne, Seigne & Randall, 2000), and dominance (O'Moore et al., 1998). Targets may also be higher in anxiety, sensitivity, negative affectivity (the tendency to experience more negative emotions), submissiveness (Coyne et al., 2000) and depression (Aquino, Grover, Bradfield & Allen, 1999; O'Moore et al., 1998; Zapf, 1999) and may be less extraverted and outgoing (Coyne et al., 2000). This creates a picture of someone who is less socially adept and more anxious who may be more likely to feel bullied and finds it difficult to deal with interpersonal conflicts (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001). However, it is also possible that those who are higher in anxiety, negative affectivity and neuroticism may be more likely to see themselves as targets and to report bullying (Aquino et al., 1999; Coyne et al., 2000). In contrast, some studies have found that many targets of bullying have no distinctive characteristics in terms of personality (Djurkovic et al., 2006; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Zapf, 1999)

The issue of personality traits in relation to bullying remains controversial. Personality differences between targets and non-targets may be a consequence and not a cause of bullying (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996) and this is evident in some case studies (Groeblinghoff & Becker, 1996) and in a longitudinal study of Danish employees (Hogh & Dofradottir, 2001) although more longitudinal research is needed to examine these changes. It is likely, however, that those already suffering from psychological problems are more likely to suffer long-term psychological and physical problems from bullying (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001).

3.6.1.5 Coping

The target's reaction to bullying tends to be complex. Studies conducted in Britain and Ireland found that the most popular responses were: confronting the bully, doing nothing, consulting HR or colleagues, or leaving the organisation. The least popular responses were seeking counselling or outside help (O'Moore et al., 1998; Rayner, 1998). Several other studies report that the majority of targets took no action or complained informally and that very few took formal action (Keashly & Neuman, 2004; Lutgen-Sandvik, Namie & Namie, 2009; Namie, 2007)

Targets who confronted a bully or complained to the bully's boss were frequently threatened with dismissal, or labelled as troublemakers. Not only was the bullying rarely resolved in this way, it frequently got worse. Seeking support from human resources was slightly more likely to result in a positive outcome for targets, and less likely to result in threats of dismissal. Targets who responded with aggressive counterattacks tended to escalate the bullying while those who reacted with other, more indirect means such as humour tended to avoid escalation (Lee & Brotheridge, 2006). However, Zapf & Gross (2001) report that targets are generally unsuccessful in coping with bullying.

Coping strategies also vary with the duration of bullying. Initially targets often respond with active coping strategies such as problem-solving, working harder or talking to supervisors, then over time there is a tendency to adopt more passive strategies such as suppressing feelings, waiting, leaving (Einarsen, 2000; Hoel, Giga & Davidson, 2007; Hogh et al., 2005; Neidl, 1996; Ólafsson & Jóhannsdóttir, 2004; Zapf & Gross, 2001), or even or even contemplating suicide (Yildirim & Yildirim, 2007). Paradoxically, active coping strategies such as working harder may be less successful while strategies such as cognitive restructuring, relaxation and avoidance may help targets reduce stress (Lee & Brotheridge, 2006). Hoel et al. (2007) reports that passive strategies can actually perpetuate bullying behaviour.

Ólafsson & Jóhannsdóttir's (2004) Icelandic study found that males sought help less and used avoidance less than females with males were more likely to use assertive strategies. In Ireland, females were more likely to use informal support through talking to friends, family and colleagues while men were more likely to seek legal or trade union advice (O'Connell et al., 2007). For targets, seeking social support at work may be problematic as social isolation is often used as a bullying behaviour (Hogh et al., 2005; Rayner & Hoel, 1997). Targets of less severe bullying who could use humour to defuse a situation, found that it made the situation better (Hogh et al., 2005). Different forms of bullying may be associated with different coping styles and outcomes: verbal abuse was related to problem solving but belittlement was related to passive coping which was, in turn, related to ill-health (Lee & Brotheridge, 2006).

3.6.2   Characteristics of perpetrators

There has been less research focused on the characteristics of those who perpetrate bullying, and the characteristics they do posses is open to debate. There is debate as to whether bullies have low or high self-esteem; are acting to meet personal goals to cover for personal insecurities, or because they feel it is legitimate behaviour; whether bullies are bright and competent workers or inadequate workers concealing deficiencies; whether they have high or low political and interpersonal skills; are acting strategically or tactically, and so on (Coyne et al., 2003; Ferris, Zinko, Brouer, Buckley & Harvey, 2007). There is some indication that bullies may be less able to cope with personal criticism, are more easily upset, and view the world as threatening (Coyne et al., 2003). The dispositional approach to the characteristics of bullies has also led to 'typologies' of bullies, as exemplified in the likes of Locander & Luechauer (2005) and Namie & Namie (2000). However, these typologies are more prevalent in the popular literature and tend to have little empirical support.

There is little evidence of gender differences between bullies. However, one study found that women bullies were more likely than men to recruit others into the bullying (Namie, 2003, 2007). Bullying tactics may also differ by gender, with women more likely than men to engage in covert tactics such as sabotage and abuse of authority, while male bullies may be more openly physically or verbally abusive, but these differences were slight (Namie, 2007). There may also be indications that women choose less 'direct' bullying behaviours than men, such as gossip and slander (Leymann, 1996).

3.6.2.1 Target's perceptions

Some research has examined how targets explain the reasons for why they were bullied. Targets describe a bully as 'difficult'; envious or uncertain of themselves or as bullying because of their personality (Einarsen, 1999, 2000; Namie, 2003, 2007; O'Moore et al., 1998). Targets also identified organisational change, competition for job positions, inadequate supervision and their own lack of coping resources and self-efficacy as contributing factors but few blamed contextual factors such as a stressful work situation (Einarsen, 1999). Attribution theory suggests that people prefer to blame other people for an action rather than attribute it to factors such as time pressures or job complexity (Hoel et al., 1999; Zapf, 1999) and so targets' explanations of bullying need to be treated with caution.

3.6.2.2 Status

There is growing recognition that bullying behaviour is a combination of individual and situational factors. One situational factor that has been relatively well studied is the relative status of bully and target, as there is often a real or perceived imbalance of power between target and bully (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004). Studies have indicated

that the bullying is often done by a superior (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Hoel et al., 2001; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2009; O'Moore et al., 1998; Quine, 1999; Rayner, 1999; Rayner & Hoel, 1997), and by colleagues or peers (Hogh & Dofradottir, 2001; Leymann, 1990; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2009; Namie, 2007; Vartia, 1996). However, downwards bullying has also been reported in several different professions such as health workers (Einarsen et al., 1998; Foster et al., 2004; Scott et al., 2008; Yildirim & Yildirim, 2007) and prison officers (Vartia & Hyyti, 2002).

At present there is little information to explain the differences in relative proportions of bullying by managers/supervisors and peers. In general, it is argued that power differentials are important for bullying therefore bullies are more likely to be those in higher positions, but a countervailing view is that bullying behaviour is likely to be incompatible with promotion to higher level positions, although some behaviours associated with bullying may in fact be those associated with organisational success and promotion (Einarsen, 1999). Power differences may not always be reflected in formal power or organisational status (Hoel et al., 1999) but there has been little research into other forms of organisational power that may be related to bullying.

3.6.2.3 Personality

Perceptions of the work situation appear to be important predictors of bullying behaviour. When work situations are perceived negatively, then employees are more likely to demonstrate negative behaviour such as bullying, counterproductive work behaviour or abusive supervision. However, the relationship between work context and bullying is not straightforward as it is affected by individual differences. Some of those studied are: leadership style (Aryee, Chen, Sun & Debrah, 2007) socialization, impulsivity (Henle, 2005) , self-esteem (Cohen-Charash & Mueller, 2007), the personality traits of agreeableness(Colbert, Mount, Harter, Witt & Barrick, 2004; Mount, Ilies & Johnson, 2006) and conscientiousness (Salgado, 2002); hostile attribution bias (Hoobler & Brass, 2006); negative reciprocity beliefs (Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007); justifications used for aggressive behaviours (Bing, Stewart, Davison, Green, McIntyre & James, 2007), trust, workgroup cohesion (Thau, Crossley, Bennett & Sczesny, 2007); self-control (Marcus & Schuler, 2004); job satisfaction (Mount et al., 2006); narcissism, negative affectivity, anger (Penney, 2003); personal mastery, avoidance orientation, perceptions of organisational constraints (Diefendorff & Mehta, 2007); antisocial behaviours of co-workers (Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly, 1998); attributions about causes of workplace events (Martinko, Gundlach & Douglas, 2002); social competence and social anxiety (Einarsen et al., 2003a) and aggressiveness (Aquino, Galperin & Bennett, 2004; Coyne et al., 2003; Einarsen et al., 2003a; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007). However, few firm conclusions have as yet been drawn from research into individual differences among perpetrators.

Bullies may learn or copy the behaviours of others. Aggression, including bullying, can be a response by targets to regain the sense of control lost when they were bullied, displaced anger in response to perceived unfairness in the organisation or a learned behaviour in imitation of bullying experienced or observed (Lee & Brotheridge, 2006). In general, no clear profile of either bullies or targets has emerged (Di Martino et al., 2003). Bullying is a function of individual characteristics in combination with work circumstances that either prompt bullying or fail to inhibit it

3.7   Organisational factors that shape workplace bullying

The attribution of bullying to personal pathology or other characteristics of bullies (the 'bad apple' analogy) is popular but limiting. In contrast to this perspective, is the 'bad barrel' view which argues that dynamics within the organisation foster or cause bullying

(Sperry, 2009a, 2009b). This perspective has been gaining momentum as research focuses on work environments and work organisation based on the understanding that stressful and poorly organized work can create conditions conducive to bullying (Cassitto et al., 2004; Hauge, Skogstad & Einarsen, 2007). Research into situational factors associated with bullying is less extensive than that into the individual factors, but has important implications for organisational interventions to address bullying (Flaherty & Moss, 2007).

3.7.1   Leadership

One of the factors frequently found to be associated with workplace bullying is leadership (Einarsen, Raknes & Matthiesen, 1994; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007). The targets of workplace bullying frequently report that organisational leadership is weak and indistinct (Strandmark & Hallberg, 2007), or helpless and uninterested (Leymann, 1996). Leadership that avoids intervening and managing conflict allows it to escalate (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Hauge et al., 2007).

Tyrannical and laissez-faire leadership seem to be the most common leadership deficiencies (Nielsen et al., 2005). Tyrannical leadership styles which are authoritarian, rule-based and inflexible are often associated with bullying (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Coyne, Craig & Smith-Lee Chong, 2004; Coyne et al., 2003; Foster et al., 2004; O'Moore et al., 1998; Vartia, 1996). Subordinates can feel bullied by these behaviours which can make tyrannical leadership a direct source of bullying, but indirect connections may arise through perceptions of injustice or betrayed expectations (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Blau & Andersson, 2005; Strandmark & Hallberg, 2007; Tepper, 2000). Weak or laissez-faire leadership is unlikely to be seen as bullying in itself but can create conditions for bullying to flourish. Laissez-faire leadership is likely to be associated with increased levels of role conflict and role ambiguity, creating uncertainty about goals, responsibilities, and work tasks which are all precursor of bullying (Skogstad, Einarsen, Torsheim, Aasland & Hetland, 2007).

Social exchange theory argues that mistreatment by supervisors prompts retaliatory behaviour among employees, but not all bullied employees engage in counterproductive work behaviour. Some research has indicated that negative acts may be more likely to be reciprocated when leadership is seen as relatively weak and uncertainty is high (Thau, Aquino & Wittek, 2007). Weak leadership can also promote conflict by prompting competition for the leaders' favour and approval (Vartia, 1996). When mangers are ineffective, or perpetrators of bullying, the likelihood of a fair outcome for the target is greatly reduced.

3.7.2   Organisational change

Conditions of rapid or widespread organisational change can facilitate bullying (O'Connell et al., 2007). Change can contribute to confusion and ambiguity around roles and responsibilities that creates opportunities for the abuse of power (Einarsen, 1999; Hodson, Roscigno & Lopez, 2006; Sweeney, 2007). Even anticipation of future major changes can promote bullying (Vartia, 1996). Restructuring in particular creates uncertainty regarding redundancies and extra demands on remaining employees (Ferris et al., 2007; Liefooghe & MacKenzie Davey, 2001). Poorly managed change is also linked to ineffective leadership (Vandekerckhove & Commers, 2003) and poor communication (Terry & Jimmieson, 2003).

Organisational changes are often prompted by economic downturns where restructuring and downsizing can increase employees' vulnerability and anxiety, which can in turn prompt bullying (Foster et al., 2004). Job insecurity may also increase the

likelihood of engaging in bullying behaviours perhaps by increasing frustration and insecurity (De Cuyper, Baillien & De Witte, 2009). Inappropriate managerial behaviours (e.g. coercion) are often apparent during organisational restructuring perhaps because managers themselves experience reduced job prospects and increased workload (Sheehan et al., 1998). Employees, however, tend to interpret such behaviours as arising from lack of communication skills, power and self-aggrandisement and scapegoating (Sheehan et al., 1998).

3.7.3   Work environment

Much more research into work environment has been conducted in Europe (especially Scandinavia) than elsewhere. Some of the specific work environment factors that have been found to be associated with bullying are outlined below.

- Lack of control over work tasks, time and behaviours has frequently been associated with bullying (Browning, Ryan, Thomas, Greenberg & Rolniak, 2007; Einarsen, 2000; Ferris et al., 2007; Foster et al., 2004; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Rayner, 1997; Zapf, 1999). Removing control by micro-management or excessive supervision can be a form of bullying in itself as it increases feelings of powerlessness in the targets (Vartia, 1996). Lack of control over work is often associated with high workloads, also associated with bullying, and with lack of time control (Branch et al., 2007; Einarsen, 2000; Einarsen et al., 1994; Rayner, 1997). Conflict management is a time-consuming process and those pressed for time may be less effective in resolving bullying (Zapf et al., 1996). High levels of exhaustion may also contribute (Blau & Andersson, 2005).

- Lack of clarity around work roles and goals, and inadequate information and communication are linked to bullying (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Einarsen, 1999; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007; Strandmark & Hallberg, 2007; Vartia, 1996). Role conflict and role ambiguity can lead to incompatible or conflicting demands and expectations, which in turn can give rise to frustration and stress. Poor communication, deliberate miscommunication (which is a bullying strategy), or conflicts that affect information flow are all associated with bullying (Zapf, 1999).

- Uninteresting, unchallenging or meaningless work may give rise to frustration (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Einarsen et al., 1994) although the importance of this for bullying has been challenged (St-Sauveur, Duval, Julien, Rioux, Savoie & Brunet, 2004; Vartia, 1996). Poor working environments may increase the likelihood of interpersonal conflicts which may result in bullying (Zapf, 1999), however the role of conflict as a mediator in the work environment-bullying relationship has rarely been explored.

- Work with high requirements for co-operation between individuals and groups can provide sources of conflict (Einarsen, 2000; Zapf et al., 1996) as can work that requires competitiveness for tasks, status or advancement (O'Moore et al., 1998; Vartia, 1996). Unsatisfactory social situations, with a lack of social support, perhaps due to friction, cliques and conflicts, are frequently associated with bullying (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Hauge et al., 2007; Rayner, 1997; Sheehan & Barker, 1999; Vartia & Hyyti, 2002; Zapf et al., 1996). A supportive work environment can reduce targets' intentions to quit. Although bullying and organisational support can co-exist, they are unlikely to come from the same source and so some targets may be able to acquire social resources to buffer against the effects of bullying (Djurkovic et al., 2008).

Several explanations have been presented as to why work environment factors may be related to bullying (Einarsen, 2000). Frustration-aggression reasoning argues that stressful work leads to aggressive behaviour, while a social interaction approach argues that stressors indirectly affect aggression as stressed workers come to act in ways that elicit aggressive behaviour in others. It can also be argued that negative work environments can be a result, as well as a cause, of bullying (Zapf, 1999). Little research has attempted to find theoretical explanations for the links between work factors and bullying.

3.7.4   Workplace culture

Organisational culture is implicit, elusive, hard to define and often taken for granted but it can play a key role in governing day to day behaviours (Deal & Kennedy, 1993; Schein, 2004) – including bullying. Organisations may fail to recognise that bullying is occurring if there are inadequate policies, procedures and training in place. Organisational cultures also exist that tolerate bullying, perhaps by blaming victims or failing to implement sanctions – even where relevant policies exist – against bullies.

Hostile work environments which allow aggressiveness in social interactions are likely contexts for bullying to occur (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Branch et al., 2007; Einarsen, 1999, 2000). These environments can be self-perpetuating as group members match their behaviour to that of the group (Glomb & Liao, 2003; Robinson & Greenberg, 1998), to the extent that bullying becomes normalised and self-perpetuating (Branch et al., 2007; Hoel & Beale, 2006). Organisations may also condone and support bullying behaviour if there is a 'get the job done at all costs' culture (Ferris et al., 2007) or where productivity and competitiveness are emphasised at the expense of well-being or job security (Sperry, 2009a). Performance management processes such as pay and promotion reviews can provide opportunities for managers to bully staff (Foster et al., 2004). Emphasis on managerial prerogatives may make managers more likely to engage in bullying and less concerned about workplace ill health (McIntyre, 2005).

3.7.5   Multi-causal models

There is little evidence that the work environment is the sole cause of bullying. Work conditions may account for only around 10% of the variance in bullying (Einarsen, 2000) and adding personality dimensions significantly increases explained variance (Simard, St-Sauveur, LeBrock, Lafreniere, Leblanc, Duval, Girard, Savoie & Brunet, 2004). Both individual and situational factors predict aggression (Hershcovis, Turner, Barling, Inness, LeBlanc, Arnold, Dupré & Sivanathan, 2007) as situations can facilitate or inhibit bullying and individuals may be more or less predisposed to or vulnerable to bullying. Also relevant are external environmental factors such as whether legislative and other frameworks recognise bullying and provide protection for employees (Sperry, 2009a). Bullying is likely only to arise when individual and situational factors are present in combination (Einarsen, 2000). Consequently, models of bullying that include multiple causal factors and consequences are increasingly being developed.

3.8   Organisational responses to bullying

Employer responses to reports of bullying have consistently been found to be inadequate. In many cases bullying only ends when the target loses their job, and only rarely when the bully experiences negative consequences for the bullying (Namie, 2003, 2007). Targets may often seek assistance from human resources (HR) personnel to deal with bullying. Evidence on the effectiveness of HR in dealing with bullying is mixed (Ferris, 2009). HR personnel may feel that bullying is an issue they are untrained and

unprepared to deal with and may find that their role is to support management expectations rather than employee welfare (Ferris, 2009). A lack of effective organisational responses to counter bullying can mean that the practice is normalised as permissible (Heames, Harvey & Treadway, 2006).

3.9   The organisation as bully

Organisational culture reflects market pressures (Hoel & Beale, 2006). This has led to the notion of the 'organisation as a bully' in which organisations are not necessarily seen as the cause of the bullying but as conducting bullying directly by means of their power structures, as organisational interests conflict with those of individuals (Hodson et al., 2006; McIntyre, 2005). In this view, organisational bullying facilitates interpersonal bullying but managers may be unfairly scapegoated and held responsible for organisational practices that are out of their control (Liefooghe & MacKenzie Davey, 2001). In a study of a call centre, Liefooghe & MacKenzie Davey, (2001) reported that systems of organisational control such as strict time management, numerical performance measures, regulation of sickness absence and job insecurity led to perceptions of the organisation, rather than individuals, as a bully. However, as Rayner & Cooper (2006) writes, the issue of organisations as bullies has not received detailed and sustained attention and requires further exploration and analysis.

3.10   Work-related stress

Work-related stress has been clearly linked with effects on individual and organisational health. Job strain – the combination of high job demands and low job control – has been shown to predict cardiovascular disease in men and depression and anxiety in women, in a range of prospective studies (LaMontagne, Louie, Keegel, Ostry & Shaw, 2005; Marchand, Demers & Durand, 2005). Job stress is also linked to organisational outcomes such as increased absenteeism and employee turnover (LaMontagne et al., 2005). Increasing levels of stress at work have been widely reported, especially in jurisdictions such as Australian states where employees may be entitled to workers' compensation for stress. Increasing rates of stress claims may be related to organisational policies which have reduced workforce numbers, increased the numbers of part-time, casual and contract labour and left many employees experiencing more intense work, increased work pressures, longer hours and more job insecurity, all of which can cause stress (Caulfield, Chang, Dollard & Elshaug, 2004).

Stress is defined as a "relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing…and endangering his or her well-being" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984: 19). Work related stress is defined by the World Health Organization as "the response people may have when presented with work demands and pressures that are not matched to their knowledge and abilities and which challenge their ability to cope" (Leka, Griffiths & Cox, 2004: 3). In New Zealand, a recent change to Health and Safety legislation has made it possible for organisations to be held liable for psychological harm to their employees. Stress is therefore identified as a workplace hazard and employers need to take 'all reasonably practicable steps' to avoid their employees experiencing harm caused by workplace stress.

Research has highlighted two major sets of work factors that contribute to psychological distress. The first relates to organisational structure and status, with some studies showing that white- and blue-collar workers, semi-professionals, supervisors, and unskilled workers experience more stress than senior executives, professionals, and middle managers. This finding however has been challenged by research showing very little variation in strain among occupational groups once work context factors and personality are taken into account (Marchand et al., 2005). Work resources and

conditions are the second major set of work factors related to stress and these are not equally distributed among occupations.

Factors associated with work stress have often been listed but there is little consensus. The UK Health and Safety Executive focus on six categories: demands, control, support, relationships at work, role and organisational change (Cousins, Mackay, Clarke, Kelly, Kelly & McCaig, 2004). Excessive workload has long been recognised as a major cause of stress, but there is increasing recognition that this relationship is complex (Macdonald, 2003). Work demands are not uniformly related to stress: when appropriately resourced, demands contribute to positive stress, aptitude development and sense of mastery (Marchand et al., 2005). The World Health Organization provides a list of causal factors for work-related stress. These factors relate to work content (job content, workload and work pace, working hours, participation and control), work context (career development, status and pay, role in the organisation, interpersonal relationships, organisational culture, home-work interface) (Leka et al., 2004). These are also reflected in the New Zealand *Healthy Work Assessment Tool* (Department of Labour, 2003). Research has tended to support these categories (see, for example, Blewett, Shaw, La Montagne & Dollard, 2006; Dollard, Dormann, Boyd, Winefield & Winefield, 2003).

Most psychological models of stress aim to establish links among demanding aspects of work (stressors); perceptions and appraisals of these; and outcomes such as strain, including physiological, psychological, and behavioural changes (Caulfield et al., 2004; Huntington, Bidewell, Gilmour, Chang, Daly, Wilson, Lambert & Lambert, 2008; Kemeny, 2003; Kivimaki, Leino-Arjas, Virtanen, Elovainio, Keltikangas-Jarvinen, Puttonen, Vartia, Brunner & Vahtera, 2004). Some theories focus on stressors such as the demand–control/support model (Karasek, 1979; Karasek & Theorell, 1990) while others focus on imbalances among organisational requirements and rewards (Siegrist, 1996, 1998; Siegrist, Peter, Jung, Cremer & Seidel, 1990), the balance between demands and the resources available to employees (Hobfoll, 1988) or individual differences in appraisal and coping with demands (Lazarus, 1999). However, the dominant view is that understanding stress requires a focus on contextual factors such as work and work environments, and individual factors such as personality which can affect how work demands are perceived and managed.

The legislative environment in NZ (and elsewhere) requires that attention is paid to the work context and factors that give rise to stress rather than to the susceptibility of individuals. This provides an incentive to look at work factors which are harmful to health and wellbeing (Leymann, 1996). Most models emphasise the need for 'fit' or compatibility between individuals and their work situations. One dominant model focusing on cognitive and affective processes associated with stress is that of Lazarus and Folkman (Lazarus, 1966, 1999; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). This model emphasises that demands within the work situation need to be matched by resources required to enable adaptive coping. Although this is currently the most widely used model of work stress (Sulsky & Smith, 2005), it has received little attention in the context of workplace bullying.

3.11 Stress and bullying

There is considerable evidence that workplace bullying is associated with increased levels of stress (O'Connell et al., 2007). It has been argued that the harm resulting from bullying at work is largely stress-related (Rayner & Keashly, 2005) and that cost data from stress is useful for estimating the effects of workplace bullying (Rayner & Hoel, 1997), but much research into the links between stress and bullying is cross-sectional and causation is not clear. It is possible that stress leads to bullying, that bullying leads

to stress, that there is reciprocal causation or that work environment factors contribute to both stress and bullying (Leymann, 1996).

3.11.1 Bullying as a cause of stress

There is an extensive body of research into the factors that can contribute to workplace stress (Colligan & Higgins, 2005). Interpersonal difficulties including bullying have often been found to be among the most severe sources of stress at work (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006; Chen & Spector, 1992; Dollard, LaMontagne, Caulfield, Blewett & Shaw, 2007a; Hoel & Giga, 2006; Kivimaki et al., 2004; Marchand et al., 2005). Studies of daily cortisol levels of bullying victims provided evidence of altered cortisol levels in people who had experience bullying at work (Kudielka & Kern, 2004). People exposed to bullying also report more psychological stress and mental fatigue, and take more sick leave than non-bullied colleagues (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004). Targets also experienced more psychosomatic and psychological stress symptoms, and depression (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001). Bullying from supervisors correlates with psychological distress especially when there are perceptions of organisational injustice and few opportunities to seek another job (Tepper, 2000). As well as higher levels of stress, targets report more negative work environments and lower levels of job satisfaction (O'Moore et al., 1998; Willingstorfer et al., 2002). The New Zealand Department of Labour guidelines on *Healthy Work: Managing Stress in the Workplace* and *Occupational Health Tools* list poor relationships with supervisors and fellow workers and interpersonal conflict and violence at work among potential causes of stress to employees (Department of Labour, 2003, 2009).

3.11.2 Stress as a causal factor in bullying

It is often assumed that stress can lead to rudeness (Johnson & Indvik, 2001), workplace violence and abuse (Koonin & Green, 2004). Stress tends to have a negative impact on relationships with colleagues (Einarsen, 2000) and may be related to interpersonal aggression and hostility (Chen & Spector, 1992). The reasons for the association between stress and bullying have yet to be established. Stress may give rise to frustration which leads directly to aggression, or stressed employees may display poorer performance or poorer social skills which prompt others to act in a way which is interpreted as bullying (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004). It is likely that stress and bullying interact in mutual causation. Those who experience more conflict at work experience more negative emotion at work, including stress, but also engage in more counterproductive behaviours themselves (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006; Tidwell, 1998).

3.11.3 Work environment factors that lead to both stress and bullying

Many factors associated with work stress are also associated with bullying. Role stress arising from role ambiguity, role conflict or role overload is known to give rise to stress (French, Caplan & Van Harrison, 1982) and also bullying (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007; Skogstad et al., 2007). High demands and low control at work are causal factors in work stress (Karasek, 1979) and bullying (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Einarsen, 2000; Einarsen et al., 1994; Rayner & Hoel, 1997). Perceived injustice is also identified as a stressor (Kivimaki et al., 2004) and also a correlate of bullying (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004). Interpersonal conflict is another factor correlated with both stress and bullying (Tidwell, 1998). Links between job stressors and interpersonal conflict appear to be particularly strong for those high in negative affectivity (Penney & Spector, 2005).

The causal links among work stressors, stress and bullying are not yet clear. Poorly designed work with role conflict and lack of control can create stress and frustration which gives rise to conflict and poor interpersonal relationships which in turn give rise

to job dissatisfaction and poor psychological health (Einarsen, 2000). However bullying in turn worsens the social climate at work and reduces social support and information flows, which in turn increases stressors such as uncertainty and loss of control (Zapf, 1999). In addition, effects of bullying including depression and social withdrawal can also erode social support and access to relevant work information, further increasing work stress. Appraisal processes are important in assessing bullying as well as other stressors: targets may appraise behaviour differently when it comes from different sources – negative behaviour from supervisors or colleagues may be rated more negatively than that of patients or customers (Rayner & Keashly, 2005).

Few theoretical models exist to explain these interrelationships. Spector's model of counterproductive work behaviour outlines a process in which work stressors elicit negative emotions. These in turn increase the likelihood of counterproductive work behaviours and aggression, depending on the individual's personality, levels of anger and anxiety, and sense of control (Spector & Fox, 2002, 2005). Aggression need not always be associated with negative emotions, however. Affective aggression has as its goal to harm a target, while instrumental aggression may intend harm to another as a means to an end such as "getting ahead" at work (Spector, Fox & Domagalski, 2006). Bullying could therefore be expected to arise as a result of negative emotions prompted by work stressors, but also as a means to an end in itself.

3.12 Intervention strategies to address work-related stress

There is increasing recognition of the risks to wellbeing posed by psychosocial risks and working conditions. Based on public health models, interventions in stress management are typically classified into *primary*, *secondary*, or *tertiary* approaches (Quick, Cooper, Nelson, Quick & Gavin, 2003). Primary approaches include strategies that aim to prevent the occurrence of work stress, secondary approaches are activities designed to change an individual's reaction to stressors, and tertiary approaches treat the symptoms of stress after they have been identified (Caulfield et al., 2004). Interventions can also focus on the individual, the organisation or the interface between them (De Jonge & Dollard, 2002). A range of initiatives will be discussed followed by a review of evidence for their effectiveness.

3.12.1 Primary prevention approaches

The theoretical foundations for preventing stress include work design theory with a focus on job enrichment and teamwork, and psychosocial models focusing on job demands, control and support (Karasek, 1979) or conservation of resources (Hobfoll, 1988). Individual-level initiatives aimed at preventing stress include career development and attention to person-job fit through selection, recruitment and performance management (Caulfield et al., 2004; Giga, Cooper & Faragher, 2003b; Taris, Kompier, Geurts, Schreurs, Schaufeli, de Boer, Sepmeijer & Wattez, 2003) as well as leader development and physical fitness programs (Lovelace, Manz & Alves, 2007). Other initiatives need to be task-specific, such as provision of mobile phones to staff who work out of the office (Taris et al., 2003).

Organisational-level initiatives include improving job conditions with increased control/autonomy and social support, reduced demands, appropriate rewards, social support and teamwork (Dollard et al., 2003; Dollard et al., 2007a; Wiezer & Oeij, 2009). The World Health Organisation recommends clear organisational structure and practices, appropriate selection, training and staff development, clear job descriptions, communication and social environment, and work redesign to change demands, improve knowledge, skills and abilities, improve control and support; ergonomics and environmental design, management development and organisation development (Leka

et al., 2004). With regard to change initiatives, consultation with those affected by initiatives is essential as individuals differ in the importance they place on different aspects of work including pay, responsibility, autonomy and workload (Black, 2008; Wiezer & Oeij, 2009). Finally, strategies that focus on the interface between individuals and the organisation tend to consider enhancing resources by training, leadership, time management, interpersonal skills, work/home balance and leave policies (Cassidy, 1996; Eden, 2001; Murphy & Sauter, 2003).

3.12.2 Secondary prevention approaches

The majority of secondary prevention approaches involve worker education and training. Systems to enable individuals to more effectively manage existing stressors include peer support, coaching, career planning (Dandeneau, Baldwin, Baccus, Sakellaropoulo & Pruessner, 2007) and, in health or customer service work, appropriate levels of emotional involvement (e.g. 'detached concern' which allows a focus on the client/patient while remaining detached from the customer's emotional state) (Dollard et al., 2003). During organisational change, employee participation and appropriate communication with relevant information can also assist in managing demands (Terry & Jimmieson, 2003).

Individual-level approaches to help people manage stressors include cognitive-behavioural techniques, relaxation training (De Jonge & Dollard, 2002) and effective use of leisure time (Cassidy, 1996; Eden, 2001). A more recent approach is that of stress inoculation training aimed to build resistance to stress (Sheehy & Horan, 2004). Secondary prevention at the organisational level can include improving communication and decision making, building effective systems for conflict management and handling grievances, and appropriate leave policies (Caulfield et al., 2004).

3.12.3 Tertiary prevention approaches

Individual level tertiary strategies include rehabilitation and psychotherapy to address the effects of stress. Employee assistance programs (EAPs) can provide counselling or support to staff affected by stressors. EAPs can assist employee mental health and are generally seen as desirable by employees but can shift responsibility from the organisation to the affected employee and reduce the need for employers to address stressors, unless the EAP is able to focus on organisational as well as individual change (Kirk & Brown, 2003). Other interventions included stress self-management programs, healthy lifestyle programs, relaxation, meditation, biofeedback and training in coping strategies, cognitive-behaviour therapy, (Caulfield et al., 2004; Giga et al., 2003b), and Critical Incident Stress Debriefing (Devilly & Cotton, 2003). At the organisation level tertiary strategies may include redeployment or outplacement of affected employees (De Jonge & Dollard, 2002), occupational rehabilitation services, and return to work programs (Blewett et al., 2006), HR policy and measures addressing absenteeism, working conditions etc, and stress management programs (Wiezer & Oeij, 2009).

3.12.4 Other relevant approaches

3.12.4.1 National surveillance systems

Most research into stress management interventions has focused on individual and/or organisational level initiatives, but there is increasing recognition that job conditions are changing in ways that affect employees' health and wellbeing across countries, industries and sectors. Information about individual and organisational-level initiatives is insufficient to identify broader patterns of change or to identify effective and long-term interventions that require changes driven by governments and other regulatory

bodies. Increasingly, information is available from national surveys into work design and risk factors in the workplace and employees' levels of mental health and wellbeing. One review identified 35 national surveillance systems in 20 countries, which included information on job characteristics, social and organisational factors, and work-related health outcomes (Dollard, Skinner, Tuckey & Bailey, 2007b) but many countries (including New Zealand) have yet to develop an in-depth surveillance system for psychosocial risks.

3.12.4.2 Management systems frameworks

The World Health Organisation argues for a risk management approach based on an analysis of the situation and an assessment of risk, the design of an action plan to reduce the risk of work stress, the implementation of that action plan and evaluation of its outcomes, and learning and follow-up based on the results of the evaluation (Leka et al., 2004). In the United Kingdom for example, the Health and Safety Executive has developed such a framework to identify stressors and develop and implement appropriate interventions (Health and Safety Executive, 2007). As yet there is little information on the effectiveness of these types of systems although initial feedback has been positive (Cousins et al., 2004; Webster & Buckley, 2008), and some factors associated with success have been identified including commitment from senior management and compatibility with existing human resources policies and processes (Cousins et al., 2004).

In New Zealand, the Department of Labour has developed the Healthy Work framework, recognising that a focus on healthy work is more useful than a focus on stressors (Department of Labour, 2003; Walls & Darby, 2004). The framework provides tools to identify elements of healthy work and emphasises shared responsibility among employers and employees. The framework considers work content, workplace relationships, employee involvement and employee support. It recognises that some work is intrinsically more demanding than others and suggests that work can be divided into four categories: (1) healthy work which has a balance between demands and resources; (2) work in which stress is self-generated by personal choices; (3) work that is free of intrinsic stressors but is organised such that it is stressful for most people; (4) work that is intrinsically stressful because it is emotionally challenging, draining, repugnant, requires prolonged concentration or has high consequences of error. Stress from the fourth category of work is considered to be foreseeable and employers should take reasonably practicable steps to address it (Walls & Darby, 2004). Related to the focus on healthy work and identifying strengths within workplaces is the Future Inquiry approach of Blewett et al. (2006) which focuses on identifying existing positive approaches including relevant activities, helpful legislation, constructive attention to psychosocial risks, effective consultative arrangements, awareness, strategic planning, accountabilities for managers and training within a risk management framework.

3.13 Implementation of initiatives

Reviews have generally found that interventions are focused on individuals rather than organisations and are reactive, aiming to reduce the effect rather than the occurrence of stressors. This has been found in the USA (Murphy & Sauter, 2003), the United Kingdom (Giga, Noblet, Faragher & Cooper, 2003c), the Netherlands (Taris et al., 2003) and Australasia (Beehr & O'Driscoll, 2002; Caulfield et al., 2004; Dewe & O'Driscoll, 2002). Many organisations take no action to address stress (Beehr & O'Driscoll, 2002; Nigam, Murphy & Swanson, 2003; Taris et al., 2003). However, there is some evidence of increasing use of interventions with a systems approach focusing on both individual and organisational factors (Giga et al., 2003b; LaMontagne et al., 2005). It is also unclear whether organisations with stress management programs are also those with more

problems related to work stress: Nigam et al (2003) found no differences on the number of accidents, harassment complaints, or discrimination complaints among organisations with and without stress management programs, while other research has found that organisations with poorer work characteristics took more measures to reduce job stress (Taris et al., 2003).

3.14 Evaluation of effectiveness

There has been relatively little systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of stress management interventions. An Australian review (Caulfield et al., 2004) found only six studies in the last 10 years in which a specific intervention to reduce stress had been implemented and evaluated. Reviews in Europe and the United Kingdom have also found a lack of empirical evaluation (Giga, Faragher & Cooper, 2003a).

Overall, individually focused interventions do not seem to help with reducing stress in the long-term, although they may have short-term benefits in reducing symptoms such as reductions in blood pressure, psychological distress and emotional exhaustion and increases in self-reported wellbeing (Blewett et al., 2006; Caulfield et al., 2004; Giga et al., 2003c). There appears to be little effect on job satisfaction and productivity (Kirk & Brown, 2003). Approaches focused on helping individuals develop their skills and abilities to deal with work demands do not aim to change the sources of stress in the work environment and can create the impression that the source of the problem lies within employees who are affected by stress (Giga et al., 2003b; LaMontagne et al., 2005). Findings for the strategy of Critical Incident Stress Debriefing have been particularly mixed. While originally recommended as a way to assist those involved in traumatic events, more recent reviews have concluded that the effectiveness of CISD is unproven and that it may result in paradoxical outcomes by increasing rather than decreasing the impacts of traumatic events (Caulfield et al., 2004; Devilly & Cotton, 2003). In addition, while individually-focused interventions can reduce stress symptoms in the short term, it is likely that not all employees will take part in programs that are offered. Consequently, while stressors at work remain unchanged, those individuals will remain exposed to the risk of stress.

Organisational changes will affect more employees and, if appropriately designed and implemented, can reduce the sources of stress (Caulfield et al., 2004). As LaMontagne et al. (2005) maintain, it is generally argued that interventions that focus on organisational factors will have positive effects at the individual and organisational level (see, for example, Blewett et al., 2006; Morrison & Payne, 2003; Taris et al., 2003). However the means by which organisational changes affect stress have yet to be clarified and may involve employee perceptions of the work situation which in turn is affected by emotional states, skills and personality (Morrison & Payne, 2003).

Effective stress management programs are designed through a consultative process between employees and management and are appropriate to the organisation's culture, situation and needs (Giga et al., 2003b). Effective programs are comprehensive and multifaceted and address both individual and organisational factors, and involve good communication, analysis of requirements and flexibility in adapting plans to ongoing situations. Employees need to be involved in the planning, implementation and evaluation of change for change to be effective, and genuine support from top management is essential.

3.15 Intervention strategies to address work-related bullying

In many jurisdictions, including New Zealand, bullying is not addressed explicitly in health and safety legislation but is covered under the general requirements for

employers to identify, assess and control hazards at work (Department of Labour, 2009). Internationally, few jurisdictions have legislation aimed specifically at workplace bullying, with the exception of Sweden (Djurkovic et al., 2006). In New Zealand, employers have a duty under the Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992 to take all practicable steps to ensure that employees are not harmed while at work. That includes ensuring that an employee does not harm others.

Several court decisions in Australia and New Zealand have ruled in favour of the targets of bullying and provided a further incentive for organisations to address bullying. These decisions have emphasised the employers' non-delegable duty to provide a safe working environment (Catanzariti & Byrnes, 2006; State Services Commission, 2003) with the organisation, rather than the bully, held legally responsible. As bullying can be subtle procedural and open to debate around interpretation and meaning, it is less amenable to regulation than more overt forms of harassment, discrimination and violence (McCarthy & Barker, 2000). Targets who resort to grievance procedures are likely to find themselves involved in lengthy and uncertain processes with possibilities of further victimisation and stress (McCarthy & Barker, 2000).

Unfortunately, research into bullying has done far more to identify ineffective approaches to bullying than to identify and evaluate effective strategies. When HR professionals are obliged to protect employers' rather than employees' interests, or when bullies are senior to the HR professionals, targets can be left to deal with bullies alone or to seek other solutions such as leaving the organisation (Hoel & Beale, 2006; Rayner, 1998, 1999). Organisations may be more likely to invest in programmes that enhance their image inside and outside the organisation than to address their problems, and anti-bullying programs cannot easily be used to improve the image of a firm (Resch & Schubinski, 1996).

Ineffective strategies are commonplace and include siding with the bully, trivialising the target's concerns, threatening the target with dismissal, accepting and normalising negative behaviour, blaming the target, labelling the issue as a personality conflict, telling the parties to sort it out themselves or denying any problem because the behaviours did not fall under policies relating to harassment or human rights (Ferris, 2004; Glendinning, 2001; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008; Namie & Namie, 2009; Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Organisations may be reluctant to enforce anti-bullying policies when bullies are otherwise effective and productive – in fact, such bullies may be rewarded with promotion (Leck & Galperin, 2006). Those who have been targeted are often less confident about the effectiveness of anti-bullying initiatives than non-targets (Leck & Galperin, 2006).

Ferris (2004) reports that in the US, organisations with effective anti-bullying approaches tended to be those that had previously experienced a serious allegation of bullying which was mismanaged and resulted in negative consequences for the organisation. In Ireland, O'Connell et al. (2007) report that formal policies were more likely in larger organisations and in the public rather than the private sector. Although little research has investigated the effectiveness of interventions to address bullying, research into work stress as well as bullying gives some indication as to what may work. Most recommendations for intervention propose a range of initiatives at individual, team and organisational levels. Possibilities include (Knox, 2008):

- Management role modelling of consultative/ respectful behaviour

- Effective feedback systems and performance appraisal with genuine confidentiality of feedback

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- Workplace climate surveys, with appropriate follow-up

- Policies around bullying, discrimination and harassment

- Management responsiveness to complaints

- Adequate supervision and training around the prevention of bullying

- Effective performance management and disciplinary processes

- Training/counselling/support for perpetrators

- Ensuring perpetrators are provided with enough information to refute claims without the safety of complainants being compromised

- Appropriate legal advice

- Return to work plans where appropriate.

3.15.1 Primary prevention

One of the most widely recommended strategies is the creation of an anti-bullying culture (Duffy, 2009; Needham, 2003; Yamada, 2008), by means of changes in values, attitudes, verbal expressions and ways of interacting (Cassitto et al., 2004). Organisational culture change is a slow process, however, and requires a multi-faceted approach. The development of a policy that addresses bullying is almost universally recommended. Such a policy may define bullying and cover the just and fair treatment of all employees, the tolerance of diversity, and the non-acceptability of, and serious consequences for, workplace bullying (Djurkovic et al., 2006; Duffy, 2009; Gardner & Johnson, 2001; Holme, 2006; Interagency Roundtable on Workplace Bullying, 2005; Leymann, 1996; O'Connell et al., 2007; State Services Commission, 2003). In contrast, some organisations focus on what should be done, promoting dignity at work through a positive working environment with good working relationships that values difference and diversity (Health and Safety Authority Ireland, 2001; Rayner, 1999; Rayner & Keashly, 2005; State Services Commission, 2003). However, as awareness of existing policies is often low, policy initiatives need to be part of an integrated program of culture change within the organisation (McCarthy & Barker, 2000).

While policies set out the formal processes, they may also emphasise the use of informal processes. Informal procedures allow negative behaviours to be dealt with quickly before they escalate and often involve a third party to help resolve the situation by facilitating discussion between the complainant and the person complained about. A formal complaints and appeals process is also required, led at a senior level by an appropriate person and evaluated and reviewed (Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Formal procedures require a written complaint and formal investigation, with disciplinary consequences if the complaint is upheld. Bullying should be regarded as serious misconduct so that individuals can be dismissed if necessary but this should not replace an examination of the situational factors that may support or facilitate bullying. Support and counselling may also be required for those accused (Rayner, 1999; State Services Commission, 2003). In addition there is a need to promote the costs of bullying to inform senior managers who may be resistant to 'valuable' but bullying line managers. Where bullies are senior managers there may be little change within the organisation (Knox, 2008).

The existence of a policy is not a sufficient preventative measure without credible enforcement processes and restorative interventions for targets and bullies (Catanzariti & Byrnes, 2006; Crawford, 1999; Keashly & Neuman, 2004; Namie, 2008; State Services Commission, 2003; Yamada, 2008). Furthermore, policy must be supported by other

forms of communication including training, socialisation and induction processes (Harvey, Treadway & Heames, 2006; Harvey, Treadway & Heames, 2007a; Holme, 2006; Leymann, 1996; Rayner & Keashly, 2005; State Services Commission, 2003). Policy-specific training for managers can include recognising bullying, options open to bullies and targets, managers' responsibilities, handling interviews, reasons for non-reporting, and preventative strategies (State Services Commission, 2003). A particular challenge is often to break the "collusion of silence" among colleagues about what is happening (Knox, 2008). For this, surveys, risk audits, interviews or employee discussions may be of assistance (Ferris, 2009). Results need to be fed back to employees and managers with discussion of results and development of actions to address problems, enabling employees to develop comprehensive and meaningful actions. Progress should be followed up, tracked and reported upon (Ferris, 2009).

Management can also benefit from training in conflict management, interpersonal communication, negotiation, stress management, team-building, recognising signs of bullying (Gardner & Johnson, 2001; Leymann, 1996; Resch & Schubinski, 1996; Sheehan, 1999; Sheehan et al., 1998) and managing low performance without being accused of bullying (Holme, 2006). Managers can act as a role model by demonstrating appropriate behaviour (Resch & Schubinski, 1996; State Services Commission, 2003) as well as by using organisational systems to address inappropriate behaviour by others (Djurkovic et al., 2006).

Training for employees and supervisors is important, although in the short term it may appear counterproductive if there are an increased number of complaints (Ferris, 2004). Training topics are suggested to include awareness and recognition of the problem, psychological and economic consequences of bullying, definition and clarification of dysfunctional behaviours, prevention, and effective and fair responses at individual, team, organisational and other relevant levels (Ferris, 2009; Fox & Stallworth, 2009). Training needs should be identified for employers, managers, union representatives, directors, human resource personnel, legal, health and mental health professionals who are involved with the workplace, and those whose role includes responding to reports of bullying including HR staff, EAP providers, coaches and others (Fox & Stallworth, 2009).

It has also been suggested that employees can be trained to be 'bully-proof' by analogy with school anti-bullying initiatives (Leck & Galperin, 2006; Lee & Brotheridge, 2006). Such initiatives focus on developing assertiveness, finding opportunities to form teams and social networks, identifying reporting systems and developing effective coping strategies. Although they may perpetuate a 'blame the victim' approach they may arguably provide short-term help for targets or decrease the frequency of bullying if they address the reasons for targets being selected (Leck & Galperin, 2006). Training can also help employees learn to manage, and respond to aggression at work (Gardner & Johnson, 2001; Grenyer, Ilkiw-Lavalle, Biro, Middleby-Clements, Comninos & Coleman, 2004), but while this may be appropriate in dealing with aggression from patients/clients and customers it is not an appropriate strategy for dealing with bullying.

Another primary prevention strategy suggested by some is to use staff selection systems to screen out those with undesirable traits or motives (Blackman & Funder, 2002; Fodchuk, 2007; Gardner & Johnson, 2001; Glendinning, 2001) or to select those with desirable qualities such as integrity (Ferris, 2009) or emotional intelligence (Yamada, 2008). These approaches should be used with care due to their potential for adverse impact, and all selection measures must be valid and job-related. Selection should be used to assess job-related knowledge, skills, and abilities rather than to address bullying by identifying either bullies or targets (Fodchuk, 2007; Rayner & Keashly, 2005).

Bullying is likely to be covert and hard to detect making it difficult to identify a problem before harm has been done. Consequently, there has been an emphasis on the strategy of developing an organisational culture in which targets feel able to speak up about their situation (Glendinning, 2001). Anonymous hotlines have been suggested as a means for voicing concerns, along with emails with anonymous user names but these can create problems in their own right including difficulties in verifying claims. Anonymous surveys may be another useful source of information (Tepper, Moss, Lockhart & Carr, 2007). In addition, a workplace bullying risk audit tool has been developed in Queensland and this approach may have value for identifying areas in which change is needed (McCarthy & Barker, 2000).

To the extent that bullying arises out of suboptimal work conditions, systems that manage bullying may fail if they do not change the organisational environment that fosters negative interactions (Glendinning, 2001). It is important that policy initiatives focus on organisational as well as individual and interpersonal factors, as bullying is often an organisational issue. As with work stress, changes that address leadership, work pressure, appraisal and reward systems as well as other aspects of organisational functioning are required (Liefooghe & MacKenzie Davey, 2001; Lockhart, 1998; Resch & Schubinski, 1996) and change processes need to involve in-depth consultation throughout the organisation (Keashly & Neuman, 2004).

3.15.2 Secondary prevention/intervention

Once bullying has been identified, systems and procedures need to be in place to address it. There may be many people engaging in marginally bullying behaviours, and a range of severity may be evident (Rayner, 1999). Appropriate responses to bullies may depend on the type of bullying. With unconscious bullying, for example it may simply be enough to inform the bully that their behaviour is unacceptable.

A range of conflict resolution or alternative dispute resolution processes has been suggested including direct negotiation, mediation or adjudication (Fox & Stallworth, 2009). Developing such systems requires detailed knowledge of the ethical and legal issues involved including selection of mediators/arbitrators, ensuring access to systems for all employees, availability and access to legal advice, and costs. There should be multiple pathways by which targets can access the required assistance, and clarification that the use of conflict or dispute resolution systems will not result in retaliation. Without clarification of these issues a program is unlikely to be of use to those who may need it (Fox & Stallworth, 2009). The effectiveness of mediation has yet to be established but it is clear that mediators and others involved in resolving bullying issues need to be trained and skilled in the role, and be aware of power differentials and organisational politics (Ferris, 2009). If bullying has become entrenched, mediation may be ineffective or provide a bully with further opportunities to victimise the target (Department of Labour, 2009). In these situations other approaches are required.

Bullies need to be notified of a complaint against them and given opportunities to present their own perspective. Bullies may require counselling, training to build interpersonal skills, or transfer or dismissal (Glendinning, 2001; Sheehan, 1999). Incidents need to be fully and fairly investigated and bullies, as well as targets, need to be treated fairly (Lucero & Allen, 2006). Employees are unlikely to trust an organisation to change its approach to bullying until there are examples of cases which have been addressed fully and fairly (Namie, 2008). This is especially relevant as it is possible that a complaint can worsen the bullying for the target.

Employees who have experienced bullying need to be aware of the resources available to them. One strategy is to seek help from within the organisation from a supervisor or

human resource (HR) personnel but research has generally found that managers and HR personnel are ineffective when dealing with bullying (Ferris, 2004). Targets may have a range of options including seeking a transfer, collecting evidence, finding allies and sharing experiences with others who have undergone a similar situation (Cassitto et al., 2004). Trained peer supporters may be of value, providing advice and support in confidence and also information about other sources of assistance (Holme, 2006; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008; State Services Commission, 2003). Supporters and contact people need to be trained for their role and may need support themselves to perform it effectively (Resch & Schubinski, 1996; State Services Commission, 2003).

3.15.3 Tertiary prevention/intervention

Coaching, counselling, and performance management including terminations for bullies may be required to effectively resolve the issue (Ferris, 2004; Harvey et al., 2006; Lockhart, 1998; Namie & Namie, 2009). Targets who feel supported by the organisation respond well to short term counselling that provides support during the investigation and intervention by the organisation (Ferris, 2004; Lockhart, 1998). Counselling on stress-coping strategies may have some value (Lewis, Coursol & Herting Wahl, 2002; Rammsayer et al., 2006) but this is likely to be appropriate only in the short term rather than with bullying that persists. When bullying has had severe psychological outcomes, psychological or psychiatric treatment may be required (Groeblinghoff & Becker, 1996). Suggestions for training to help targets boost their self-worth, externalise blame and learn from the experience (Lee & Brotheridge, 2006) may have some value but are yet unproven. There is mixed evidence as to whether an apology is useful when dealing with bullying, as the effects of apologies vary with the source of the apology, the nature of the behaviour being apologised for and ethnic differences among the recipients of the apology (Fodchuk, 2007). Training to help targets cope or to build resilience is often recommended along with supportive websites to reduce social isolation (Gardner & Johnson, 2001; Jackson, Firtko & Edenborough, 2007) but while these may provide short-term help to targets, they are unlikely to resolve bullying.

4.   Results: Key Informant Survey (Stage 1)

4.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the semi-structured interviews and focus groups with key industry informants. Methodology, including the study sample, is described in Section 2.3. Findings are presented by industry sector, and address perceptions of the extent and nature of workplace bullying and stress across each sector, risk factors for these psychosocial hazards, and current and planned initiatives and interventions to manage workplace stress and bullying in each sector.

4.2   Findings for the hospitality industry

Respondents from the hospitality sector argued that the industry experienced a lot of bullying, but this tended to be focused around a few specific 'hot spots' rather than being a general problem across the sector. Bullying was not a well-recognised problem according to some respondents. When bullying occurred, it was often accepted as part of the way of doing things, that is, it was considered as part of the hospitality culture, and not thought of as a problem of work. Hence, there appears to have been a process of 'normalising' bullying within the industry.

4.2.1   Bullying in the hospitality industry

4.2.1.1 Hot spots/high risk areas and risk factors for workplace

The kitchen
The most commonly mentioned area for bullying was the kitchen. This was described by all respondents as a high stress environment, with very hot, cramped conditions and a lot of pressure to perform to a high standard against the clock. The bullying source is usually the chef or head cook, who directs negative behaviour towards front-of-house, waitresses and junior kitchen hands. There is a significant power imbalance between chefs and others in the kitchen and front-of-house environments, and some respondents believed there was an acceptance of rude and bullying behaviour under pressure, particularly where waiting staff made 'silly mistakes'. Several respondents noted that bullying by chefs did not continue after the high-pressure work periods, as everyone relaxed once the pressure was off.

It was also noted that bullies may be more frequently hired in small organisations as recruitment practices can be less rigorous, and a shortage of talent in the labour pool makes owners desperate to employ 'anyone with a heartbeat – who can cook'. In one of the group interviews, respondents agreed that chefs are employed on the basis of their reputation as a chef, and that 'no one cares if the chef is a bully as long as there's food on the tables and customers in the restaurant'.

The problem of bullying in the kitchen environment was not thought to be a major problem in most large restaurants as they had appropriate hiring methods and strong management that would never tolerate bullying behaviour. The relationship between size of organisation and bullying may be reversed in the hotel sector, however, where problems were perceived by the focus group to be for large hotels – small hotels are more of 'a family' and could deal with potential problems through direct communication.

Other areas for bullying

A further area for bullying was between management and staff. Some managers are bullies who put pressure on people to perform. In this respect there was a strong relationship between stress, pressure and bullying behaviours in the sector. Two respondents noted that management to staff bullying was quite prevalent. The focus group also noted that groups of staff may bully individuals that take time away from work or are on long-term rehab programmes, putting pressure on other staff who have to cover for them. A further issue may be ethnicity, and while no individual respondents mentioned any aspect of ethnicity in their comments, the issue was put forward by the focus group who believed a minority ethnicity may take over an area and ostracise and exclude anyone from another ethnicity; trying to keep that work area as belonging to their ethnicity. In addition, bullying of staff from customers who had been drinking was perceived by several respondents as a major source of intimidation, that could come from groups or individual customers.

In summary, bullying appears to derive from three main sources: chefs, management, and customers. Each reflects a power imbalance, with waiting staff and other relatively junior personnel being the victims of such behaviour. Ethnicity may also be an issue, but may relate more to harassment, while staff who are under pressure due to others taking sick leave may collectively bully the staff member who has been absent as a group. An acceptance of bullying behaviour from chefs may reflect a poor culture in the sector, although this was disputed by one respondent. Larger restaurants and smaller hotels may have significantly lower levels of bullying due to certain protective factors, including better HR practices.

It should also be noted that much of the aggressive behaviour evidenced in the hospitality industry would probably fit poorly with theoretical models or definitions of workplace bullying, as they occur only at times of high pressure, and appear more located in the demands of work than the deliberate and sustained targeting of individuals with negative acts. It is also likely, however, that some of aggressive and abusive behaviour by individuals with power advantages, including chefs and management, is constantly directed to certain targets, and would therefore be considered to be bullying.

4.2.1.2 Perceived risk factors for workplace bullying

Risk factors can only be inferred indirectly from comments of respondents and are noted here as a guide for further empirical study. Organisational and industry-level risk factors were more commonly mentioned than interpersonal factors, with cultural and group factors also mentioned. However, it is likely that many of these situational or contextual factors act as latent conditions that underlie interpersonal bullying. Hence, factors such as: an industry culture that is accepting of bullying under certain conditions; absence of strong leadership to address workplace bullying; poor hiring and other HR practices; and poor work organisation such as work intensification due to workflow or staffing issues, can interact to create the conditions where interpersonal bullying behaviour can occur relatively unchecked. From this perspective, prevention is likely to be most effective where it addresses latent conditions as primary risk factors that influence bullying risk associated with interpersonal factors, rather than focusing purely at an interpersonal level.

4.2.1.3 Interventions/initiatives within the industry to manage bullying

There is presently little in the way of industry-level policy and support in this area, although some industry umbrella organisations do offer HR advice in relation to hiring and firing. Industry guidelines for harassment exist, but probably not for bullying

specifically. Many individuals working in management go on WAVE courses for bullying, which are reported to be very good. Larger organisations tend to have a zero tolerance policy on bullying and strong personal grievance program and employee assistance programs. At least one large hotel uses an employee advocate who is from management but located beside the staff café, and their role is to provide a neutral and impartial stance in mediation/discipline meetings, and to provide advice and counselling to staff. This has worked well in one very large organisation where the advocate has earned a reputation for retaining neutrality. Policy and resources appear less frequent at smaller organisations.

4.2.2   Stress in the hospitality industry

4.2.2.1 Extent of workplace stress

Respondents from the hotel sector argued strongly that staff shortages often created a very stressful work environment. Within the restaurant sector, stress appears linked to kitchen work in particular, although front-of-house interactions with customers could also be very stressful. The industry was perceived to be highly stressful and pressurised in certain areas and at certain times of the year (notably Christmas).

4.2.2.2 Hot spots/high risk areas and risk factors for workplace stress

The kitchen environment
The kitchen environment was described by respondents as highly pressurised and subject to high levels of stress and physical activity, with poor environmental conditions, including hot, often cramped working space and hard, concrete floors. It was also noted that chefs rarely stayed in the industry or in chef roles after middle age as the work was highly physical – 'an Olympic sport'. Respondents from one group interview noted that chefs sometimes burnt out after the age of around 25

Hours of work and other work organisation issues
Long and unsociable hours were considered stressful by most respondents, and reduced the likelihood of individuals staying within the industry for long. Within the hotel environment, long hours and chronic staff shortages were perceived as the major source of stress. It is common for managers and others to cover the shifts of absent employees, as the industry does not provide cover for sickness and absenteeism.

Most entrants to the hospitality sector do not see it as a career – many come in unskilled and at entry level because they cannot get a job elsewhere, or they want flexibility or up-skilling before they move on. Hence, there is much turnover which increases staffing pressures. Tourism competes with other industries in New Zealand on remuneration and working conditions ('a bidding war'). This creates a transient workforce, including students. Some hotels are bought and sold fairly frequently, leading to staff insecurity and difficulty for management under different brands.

As mentioned in the discussion of bullying risk factors, operators of smaller concerns may lack business and people management skills. In addition, compliance issues were perceived as creating stress for management, such as health and safety legislation.

4.2.2.3 Interventions/initiatives within the industry to manage stress

The hotel industry has a number of employment initiatives in the pipeline (e.g., a hotel career structure for school leavers). A number of respondents emphasised that larger organisations across the industry are good at representing staff in relation to stress, resolution, counselling, etc., and it may be that the problem is more with smaller

independent organisations that lack the size, knowledge and resources to deal with these problems.

4.3   Findings for the health sector

4.3.1   Bullying in the health sector

4.3.1.1 Extent and nature of workplace bullying and bullying reporting/monitoring

Respondents from across all parts of the health sector indicated that high levels of bullying occur. Several respondents stated that bullying was endemic, particularly in large organisations, while others indicated that it was an everyday occurrence. Residential care respondents perceived bullying to be a significant problem in their sector, although respondents provided mixed views as to the extent of the problem.

Electronic reporting systems had been introduced in some organisations, leading to a large increase in reporting of bullying in one DHB. Occupational Health and Safety managers participating in a group interview noted that a move to an electronic format for reporting may lead to the perception that it was now safer to report bullying and harassment, although it was also noted that bullying was often not reported through the existing Critical Incident Reporting system.

The health sector is less accepting of bullying than is hospitality, and several respondents commented that people working in the sector are more aware of their rights and are more likely to challenge bullying behaviour than in the past. Some groups, however, are still significantly at risk of bullying due to their low position power and status as part-time, contingent or immigrant workers.

Bullying was perceived to occur at all levels of the organisation, from senior management to lower-level staff, between clinicians at different levels of the hierarchy, and bullying between peers. Additionally, several respondents mentioned the problem of 'organisational bullying' or 'institutional bullying', involving poor treatment from management through policy in relation to issues such as staffing, responsibilities and resourcing generally. As with hospitality, it is likely that a lot of behaviours reported as examples of bullying in this study do not involve systematic repeated harm towards targets, but rather are more related to people reacting (inappropriately) under pressure.

Much of the aggressive behaviour evidenced in this sector may arguably not fit with established definitions of workplace bullying as it is linked to situations rather than people, and involves inappropriate responses under pressure rather than systematic and repeated bullying.

4.3.1.2 Hot spots/high risk areas for workplace bullying

Hierarchical and peer-to-peer bullying
Respondents within the residential/aged care sector indicated that bullying was a significant problem in residential care work, particularly for care workers who were bullied by nurses, patients, relatives and doctors. The autocratic nature of workplace relations involving doctors, nurses and carers was identified as a key factor in the experience of bullying. Two respondents believed that carers and nurses from overseas were more likely to be bullied due to their lower status and cultural differences. Part-time and contingent workers across the health sector appeared to be the subject of bullying from full-time and permanent staff.

A number of health sector respondents noted that the big problem was within nursing specifically, with manager to nurse and consultant/doctor to nurse being the main directions of bullying, although peer-to-peer bullying was not uncommon. A strong illustration of the nature of bullying in this sector was given relating to the operating theatre, where targets of bullying cannot physically escape the situation and are highly concerned that if they seek to challenge the surgeon, they risk upsetting him or her, creating fears s/he may make an error or walk out .

Clients, patients and relatives
Within the primary health area, it was perceived that bullying can be a problem for vulnerable workers who are exposed to the risk of going into people's houses – although this might be more accurately described as the risk of acute violence or aggressive behaviours/harassment. Residential care staff and general nursing staff were also perceived to be at risk from harassment and bullying involving clients and relatives, including pressure from patients who have certain expectations of health professionals, whereas where nurses and others are constrained by available resources – particularly time factors – to meet expectations.

4.3.1.3   Perceived risk factors for workplace bullying

Risk factors inferred from interviews with respondents related to industry, organisational/ situational, cultural, group, and interpersonal factors. Leadership was a perceived risk factor mentioned by the majority of respondents, including a strong consensus among group interview participants. The common view held by participants was that bullying would not be challenged and made unacceptable unless there was strong leadership present to lead the culture away from such practices. A common response was that clinically and technically proficient individuals get promoted to management, yet there is no guarantee they have the necessary leadership or people skills to do the role effectively. There are also poor role models for individuals rising up through the system who see bullying as accepted or legitimate behaviour, and no coaching currently available for managers and senior clinicians, nor alternative models of leadership. This view was countered to some extent by the view that younger staff accept less readily bullying and are more likely to resist adopting bullying behaviour.

The hierarchical nature of the health sector was also highlighted by most respondents as a key factor in creating the conditions for bullying. It was noted by several respondents that autocratic relationships were the norm for many organisations – including those run by DHBs. Senior management, consultants and senior clinicians were among those seen as being in a strong position to bully individuals with less power, especially those who had significant concerns about their job security, and where bullied individuals were unsupported by their managers. The rotational aspect of many jobs in the sector was seen by some to erode the power of groups to form alliances in resisting poor treatment from management and senior clinicians. Countering these arguments, two respondents noted that groups of nurses are now standing together in some DHBs against bullying doctors. In addition, doctors are more aware of the need to look after staff because of staff shortages. Lower-level staff such as carers tended to experience bullying from their supervisors, nurses, doctors and employers within the residential care sector. Ethnic minorities and part-time/contingent workers often experienced bullying as they were seen by some as second-class citizens in the workplace, and easy targets for aggressive behaviours.

In conclusion, as for hospitality, it is noted that the majority of perceived risk factors identified by respondents are situational/contextual in nature, and represent latent

conditions that underlie and create conditions for the risk of interpersonal workplace bullying.

4.3.1.4 Interventions/initiatives within the industry to manage bullying

Policy for workplace bullying was not applied consistently across the DHBs, and without leadership on this issue from the MOH, individual DHBs developed their own policies and procedures in this area. Most DHBs appear to include bullying within the general harassment policy, while critical incident and other reporting of bullying and aggressive behaviours are not well-used by staff.

Development of strong leadership and coaching for effective leadership and to give people skills to resist bullying were high on the list of recommended interventions, although only one DHB respondent noted that such systems were currently being developed. Other respondents noted that leadership was being emphasised nationally in developing senior people. This is seen as a key step in addressing the bullying problem by the OSH and HR group interview respondents. Senior nursing respondents noted that good support in resisting and countering bullying can be provided by senior nurses/nurse managers who will stand up to doctors or managers and provide a line of protection as well as mentoring to more junior nursing staff.

Other interventions and initiatives mentioned included training, notably the WAVE course, and the Safer Industries Forum where problems are discussed with colleagues – although for most workers this support is not available. DHBs also have a 'Working Alone' project that addresses violence and bullying problems.

4.3.2 Stress in the health sector

4.3.2.1 Extent of workplace stress

Respondents consistently noted very high levels of stress across the health sector, including primary health and residential care. Stress was an area where most respondents felt more confident and knowledgeable than for bullying, and the causes of stress are fairly well understood by health workers. One respondent responsible for occupational health and safety noted that the problem of stress is often used as a flag to resist change and it was difficult to judge claims, while another management respondent noted that there was an over-emphasis on the negative aspects of stress in the sector.

4.3.2.2 High risk areas and risk factors for workplace stress

A large number of perceived risk factors were identified by respondents: Work pressure, lack of resources (human, equipment, budget), and staff shortages. Specific stressors mentioned included: working long hours, competition for scarce resources, taking risks that are unacceptable but necessary, and experiencing significant role conflict and anxiety about performance and quality of care issues.

One respondent stated that it is well-known that the health sector runs on minimum staffing, but fails to even achieve this minimum level due to shortages and other factors. This can mean overseas staff are brought in along with temporary staff to fill the gaps. These staff may be paid less and work extra shifts, their passports can be taken away and they can be threatened with immigration authorities – this being more common in the aged care sector than elsewhere. Additionally, temporary or agency staff are less likely to know how the organisation, work area and work group function, the culture of the group, and the specific issues concerning individual patients, further adding to the pressure on staff.

One respondent noted that patients who are in hospitals are getting sicker, as stays in hospital are getting shorter and as a result patients tend to be more acutely or seriously ill and require more care as a consequence. This has led to an intensification of the care patients require, although nurses and others do not have the resources to cope with this intensification of care.

Nurse managers and service managers appear to have high levels of workload and responsibilities. Several respondents from the nursing area talked about the idea of experiencing 'stress of conscience', where nursing staff believe they are not delivering care to the level they are capable of or their professional experience tells them is required, due to a lack of time or resources. Others discussed similar issues around role conflicts. Support issues were mentioned as being important in helping workers cope with stressful conditions that cannot be eliminated in the health sector, and to help individuals cope with issues such as difficult patients and bullying managers. However, several respondents noted the lack of support from senior staff due to shortages and inexperience. This is obviously a politically sensitive issue, and very different accounts of the problem of resourcing, work pressure and stress were provided by workers, union bodies and management, although respondents generally agreed that greater resourcing of the sector would have a positive impact on care and worker well-being.

4.3.2.3 Policy and practice within the industry to manage stress

DHBs have policies on stress, although no detailed information was provided to the study. The OSH function in DHBs is responsible for training managers and providing a toolkit for minimising stress. This includes communication issues, and how to change the organisation of work to help individuals experiencing stress.

4.4   Findings for the education sector

4.4.1   Bullying in the education sector

4.4.1.1 Extent and nature of workplace bullying

Respondents from both the secondary and tertiary sectors indicated that high levels of bullying occur. One respondent from the polytechnic sector did suggest that "bullying in the tertiary sector has never been a big problem," although the evidence from the other respondents from the tertiary sector suggested otherwise.

Respondents from the PPTA produced evidence from a survey in 2004 which suggested that most secondary teachers either experience or witness an average of 85 'bullying' incidents every year and these only include bullying incidents directed at teachers not pupils. A third of all teachers reported the minor cumulative forms of bullying on a daily or weekly basis and 85% of teachers reported less frequent but more serious bullying incidents within a school year such as acts of vandalism, physical intimidation, physical assault, significant challenges to authority, isolation or exclusion from meetings or events, changes to contracts, and public reprimands and humiliation. Consistently the great majority of bullying incidents are from students, secondly from management and (far less) from other staff and parents.

Overall the perception from all respondents from the education sector bar one perceived workplace bullying in education to be a significant and difficult issue. Bullying was perceived to be more widespread among academics in the tertiary sector than with other employees but the evidence exists that claims of bullying occur fairly regularly among support staff as well. Respondents pointed to the fact that when dealing with bullying cases, senior management deal with the people that can be

managed and work around those who cannot be, that is, the bullies. Hence it is the targets of bullying who are dealt with, leaving the bullies to continue, to the detriment of both the targets of bullying and the organisation. Perceptions among the education stakeholders were in line with various other reports that bullying in the workplace is common and is a significant personal and organisational cost to the education sector.

Bullying was perceived to occur at all levels of the organisation, with those who lacked positional power more affected. It was noted by respondents in the secondary and tertiary sectors that upward bullying seemed to be on the increase, especially bullying of teachers by students in the secondary sector, and by both subordinates and students toward supervisors in the tertiary sector.

In terms of the nature of the bullying that occurred there were descriptions of quite overt bullying toward supervisors and managers in the tertiary sector and in other types of work places. More overt behaviours included verbal aggression, moodiness, demeaning comments, raised voices, threatening comments, gestures and public humiliation. One respondent stated that those who occupy lower positions in organisations may be more overtly bullied. Both cumulative and significant bullying came from students, parents, staff and management in varying degrees in the secondary sector.

Respondents in the secondary sector noted that bullying was more likely to take place along gender lines, with women teachers, older teachers (over 60 years), and younger teachers (20-29 years) most likely to be bullied. Also, staff who were contractors with little position power had experienced negative behaviours, such as changes being made that affected their business without consultation or consideration of the flow on effects. For example, changes being made to contracts that were not highlighted or discussed.

As with hospitality and health, it is likely that a lot of behaviours reported as examples of bullying in this study do not involve systematic repeated harm towards targets, but rather are more related to people reacting (inappropriately) under pressure. Respondents themselves noted that there are plenty of interpersonal disputes at various levels in education that probably do not fall within the recognised definition of bullying. Bullying in the secondary and tertiary education sectors was described as often covert, including poor or aggressive communication, lack of consultancy, decisions being made without explanation, support for aggressive and authoritarian styles of behaviour, overwork, isolation and exclusion.

Institutional bullying was noted in both sectors with "Tomorrows Schools" identified as the catalyst for this in the secondary sector setting the context/culture for manipulation/bullying through increasing managerialism and involving poor treatment from management through policy in relation to issues such as staffing, responsibilities and resourcing generally. Secondary sector respondents cited the NCEA and pressure on principals to increase numbers and reduce low decile rankings as indicators of prevalence of bullying. Electronic bullying is a new form of bullying identified by respondents in the secondary sector through such mechanisms as Facebook and Bebo. Both staff and students being bullied this way had lead to a number of stress cases and even suicide being reported. The intranet has become a mechanism for bullying and stress through access to teacher's email addresses. Tertiary sector respondents suggested that there was institutional support for bullies in the tertiary sector because of increasing managerialism, and also people in power having some of the tendencies of bullies themselves. Lack of knowledge, poor communication, ignorance, and uncertainty caused by reforms, were also perceived as factors increasing workplace bullying.

Overall, the perception of workplace bullying was of being a problem across the education sector, although good data on the extent of the bullying problem is currently not available due to the nature of reporting systems. It appears some level of institutional bullying is perceived by those working in the sector. Much of the aggressive behaviour evidenced in this sector does fit with established definitions of workplace bullying as it involves systematic and repeated bullying by individuals.

4.4.1.2 Hot spots for workplace bullying in the education sector

Human Resources and risk management issues
An observation was made by respondents in the tertiary sector that universities deal with harassment and bullying on a risk management basis, often dealing with the victims through compensation payouts for leaving. Respondents from TEU stated that this was a recurring issue. This was believed to be largely a result of a lack of training of HR staff. There was also a question raised over who were the appropriate investigators in cases of bullying when in most cases it was management who paid the costs of the investigator. The respondents have observed that across New Zealand universities, having a head of HR with a social conscience improves the way in which bullying is dealt with, and reduces complaints of bullying overall.

Hierarchical and peer-to-peer bullying
A number of respondents argued that people in power in the tertiary sector have so many of the tendencies of bullies themselves that they do not see the behaviour of a bully as a problem. Also, managers do not know how to identify or deal with workplace bullies. Hence, managers need training in disciplinary procedures related to bullying, and how to enforce them.

Students and teachers/supervisors
It has been noted that a significant problem in the secondary sector is the increasing trend of upward bullying from students to teachers. The evidence from a 2004 survey by the PPTA suggested that teachers are the new targets of schoolyard bullies. Bullying from students takes the form of verbal abuse, significant public challenges to authority as a teacher, verbal intimidation (threats), verbal sexual harassment and written or electronic bullying. In the tertiary sector there is also evidence of bullying of academic staff by students especially those in supervisory positions. Pushing and shoving their supervisors and spreading gossip were two upward bullying strategies identified.

Culture
Culture was believed by respondents to be one of the big issues. A culture of long work hours or overwork, for example, can increase instances of bullying as it takes away the socialising time people have to renew bonds and build relationships by having a chat and a laugh. Having a tea room and a time where people can expect to meet including management helps people keep in touch. Overwork was cited as a significant trigger for bullying allegations in secondary schools, as teachers often do not get a lunch break and few are able to linger in the staffroom for a chat and debrief as used to be the case. Exhausted people snap at small things. Respondents also noted that the Ministry of Education's 'obsession with data' has forced even middle managers to indulge in considerably more surveillance and management of staff than was the case in the past. In high stress jobs it is important to build a culture where people are aware of other people's needs and stress levels.

4.4.1.3   Perceived risk factors for workplace bullying

Risk factors identified include organisational/ situational, cultural, group, and interpersonal factors. Dysfunctional leadership and poor management were perceived

as the main risk factors (leaving aside the bully themselves) by all the respondents as with the hospitality and health sectors. The common view was that bullying would not be challenged and made unacceptable unless there was strong leadership present to lead the culture away from such practices. Respondents from the respective unions suggested that even where policies against bullying were in place, they were ineffective where strong leaders were not in place to challenge bullying and create an environment where bullying is unacceptable. A common response was that academically technically proficient individuals get promoted to management, yet there is no guarantee they have the necessary leadership or people skills to do the role effectively. There are also poor role models for individuals rising up through the system who see bullying as accepted or legitimate behaviour. This view was countered to some extent by the view that younger staff do not accept bullying and are more likely to resist adopting bullying behaviour. Measures are needed to promote this resistance, such as appropriate support and mentoring. A number of respondents noted the need to emphasise leadership over management in the development of senior people. The hierarchical nature of the education sector was also highlighted by respondents as a key factor in creating the conditions for bullying.

In conclusion, as for hospitality and health, it is noted that the majority of perceived risk factors identified by respondents are situational/contextual in nature, and represent latent conditions that underlie and create conditions for the risk of interpersonal workplace bullying. Again, it is emphasized that interventions should seek to address these latent conditions primarily if bullying is to be effectively reduced across the education sector.

4.4.1.4 Interventions/initiatives within the education sector to manage bullying

Policies are gradually being applied in relation to workplace bullying. Most institutions in the education sector have dignity at work or anti-harassment policies but not explicit anti-bullying polices. One educational institution who undertook their own review of workplace bullying and harassment has now introduced a policy against harassment and workplace bullying.

Some universities have offered internal training courses on well-being and how to manage stress in a more positive approach to well-being in the workplace, but this is again at the individual level as if it is the victim of bullying who needs to manage their own stress and well-being levels while the bullying behaviour is allowed to continue unchallenged. Respondents noted that some people in Human Resources were concerned that if attention was drawn to bullying in the workplace, and if they were to report it, this would open the floodgates, and they were therefore reluctant to draw attention to it. What needs to happen, according to respondents, is for better training to help managers to identify and manage bullying behaviour, and for all staff to be educated about how one is expected to behave in the workplace. Respondents also believe that Human Resources should be better equipped to stand up to senior management and work with them to do the right thing for the organisation and for individual employees.

Development of strong leadership, coaching for effective leadership, and giving people skills to resist bullying were high on the list of recommended interventions, although union representatives were sceptical any real change was occurring. Other respondents noted that leadership was being emphasised nationally in developing senior people.

Other interventions and initiatives mentioned included training, notably the WAVE course, and courses run by the late Andrea Needham.

4.4.2   Stress in the education sector

4.4.2.1 Extent and nature of workplace stress

High levels of stress are brought about by: the nature of the work, work pressure, lack of support, lack of appropriate communication between peers and between management and employees, bullying and disrespectful behaviour in interpersonal relationships, and the acceptance of toughness that includes bullying.

There have been a number of research studies done on both secondary and primary sectors which most respondents were aware of. PPTA respondents reported that their 2004 workload stress survey showed that 50.1% of secondary school teachers indicated their stress levels were very high at times in the year. 36.8% said that their stress levels were very high for most of the year. 35.9% indicated that their health was affected by work related stress. 35.4% felt that their ability to do their job was affected by stress. 34% felt that work stress would be the reason for them leaving their jobs.

Tertiary sector respondents described an alarming increase in the occupational stress experienced by university staff, both general and academic particularly, in the last 5 years. Five major sources of stress were identified including poor management practice, work overload, managerialism in higher education (related to PBRF especially), interpersonal relations and funding sources. Those engaged in both teaching and research reported increased pressure arising from funding cuts to universities, resulting in heavier teaching loads and greater difficulty in securing research funds, as well as a decline in facilities and support for both teaching and research. Traditionally university teaching has been regarded as a low stress occupation but it is suggested that increasing workloads, increasing pressure to attract external funding, 'publish or perish', the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF), poor management and staff shortages in some areas are the main risk factors which create a culture where bullying is more likely to occur, and to go unpunished. These factors interact in contributing to stress and bullying risk.

4.4.2.2 High risk areas for workplace stress

Workplace stress was reported at highest levels respectively from middle management in the secondary sector (who have to juggle teaching with other responsibilities), beginning and new teachers, and then the oldest teachers.

Interestingly, although most respondents were able to clearly articulate the main causes of work stress in the education sector, they only indirectly related these stressors to bullying such that work stressor could actually exacerbate bullying behaviour. Support issues are important in helping workers cope with stressful conditions that cannot be eliminated in the education sector, and to help individuals cope with issues such as difficult students and bullying managers.

4.4.2.3 Policy and practice within the industry to manage stress

Organisations are in the main developing their own policies and practices with regard dignity at work and harassment and bullying. The Open Polytechnic, for example, has just written their policy on bullying after commissioning a survey into the issue. The various parts of the education sector have policies on stress, some of which were provided by respondents. Respondents from the tertiary sector said that the process for dealing with reported stress problems involved individual staff reporting a stress-related problem to their line manager. Where problems are identified, the individual will be referred to occupational health and safety and/or EAP. If it is an organisational

issue underlying the problem, the manager is required to see if they can remove the source of the stress.

One organisation working in the secondary sector runs workshops for teachers on bullying and has developed resources for them. However respondents made the comment that the Ministry of Education needed to take some of the responsibility for the toxic climate it creates in schools through many of the recent policies and changes they have imposed on schools, rather than leaving the problems to individual Boards of Trustees to sort out.

Respondents were aware of Department of Labour information on workplace stress and many were aware of workshops run by the late Andrea Needham who had expertise in this area. Most respondents said that people were aware of legislation on work stress, but thought that managers generally do not realise they are required to provide a safe working environment, with consequences for not doing so. There was a general view that while there are increasingly guidelines for managing the problem of workplace stress, that these are not actualized in the workplace.

Generally there is provision for family friendly policies, provision of employee assistance programmes (EAP), and a move toward positive psychology with regard well-being in the workplace. There is a trend for Human Resource departments beginning to focus on the positive aspects of well-being and being more proactive in addressing well-being issues. However, the overriding consensus of respondents was that the quantity and quality of polices were irrelevant if these were not implemented or monitored properly, because of poorly trained managers or dysfunctional leaders.

4.5   Discussion and conclusions

The engagement and data collection aims of this exploratory stage of the research program were achieved, as set out in Chapters 1 and 2 of this report. Industry engagement in the project was achieved, although on-going liaison with key stakeholder groups and individuals was necessary beyond this stage in order to sustain the nascent relationships and also the momentum towards achieving the participative aspects of the project. For each sector, all of the participative components of the study (to contribute knowledge, provide feedback on findings and the development of methodology, facilitate access to workplaces and individuals for data collection in Stage 2, and to disseminate findings within each sector) were committed to by key stakeholder groups and/or influential individuals.

For each of the three industries, and each sector within, bullying and stress were fairly consistently recognised as significant issues. For health and education bullying appears to be widespread across the sectors, while in hospitality, bullying is associated with a number of 'hotspots', notably the kitchen. The nature of behaviours identified as bullying in each of the sectors was very varied, and the question arose as to whether certain forms of aggressive behaviours could be considered "bullying" from established definitions and models in the literature. A good example of this is aggressive and abusive behaviour directed from chefs towards kitchen hands and waitresses/front-of-house staff in the hospitality sector. Respondents' descriptions and experience of this type of behaviour suggest that the aggression and abuse is short-lived, linked strongly to periods of work intensification, and not particularly targeted at any one individual. It is also very public, rather than the more covert nature of much bullying. Finally, team sessions and drinks after busy periods in restaurants and hotels are used as opportunities to reinforce the team spirit and resolve any ill-feeling built-up during the pressure periods of work. It is likely some aspects of bullying in the other two

industries are also associated more with work demands than interpersonal factors. Based on these findings, it was recommended that the project explored this issue of work demand and situation specific bullying in more detail in Stages 2&3 of the research.

A large number of risk factors for bullying were identified, the majority of which were related to the social organisation of work. The most frequently mentioned and most greatly emphasised issue was that of leadership – particularly the absence of strong leadership to create conditions in which bullying was not acceptable. Leadership also played a role in supporting bullying targets and creating a healthy work culture. The problem of leaders being promoted on the basis of technical and clinical skills alone was a strong theme in the health and education sector, and it was noted that coaching of leaders was an important factor in the prevention of bullying. Based on these findings it was recommended that the project considered the issue of strong and effective (and its opposite dysfunctional) leadership in more detail in Stages 2&3.

For all sectors, the hierarchical nature of organisational structures and reporting arrangements was considered an enabler of high levels of bullying. In health, hospitality and education, those lowest in the pecking order were the most likely targets for bullying, and often received blame for outcomes that were a direct response to poor resourcing and other decisions made at higher levels. Staff at lower levels were sometimes afraid of reporting bullying for fear of their jobs, while certain groups such as immigrant carers and nurses, and new and older teachers, were treated generally as second-class citizens and lacked voice to defend themselves from improper treatment by management or co-workers. Nurses reported that it was generally difficult to form coalitions to stand up to bullying managers or doctors as rotating shift systems weakened them politically. It was recommended that the project considered hierarchical and power factors in more detail in Stages 2&3.

For both stress and bullying, general lack of resources and staff shortages were high on the list of risk factors. A range of contextual and situational factors were identified as contributing to these problems, and respondents argued that this affected their ability to do their job effectively, contributed to poor morale and subsequent bullying, and reduced the likelihood of strong leadership and effective support for staff. It was recommended that the project considered the issue of staffing and other resourcing in more detail in Stages 2&3.

Further important factors related to the Human Resources and OH&S practices of organisations in the three industries. For all sectors, there is currently an absence of monitoring for bullying and reporting in this area. This leads to a lack of information about the extent and nature of the problem, and reduces the likelihood of preventive action and addressing bullying problems in at-risk areas. It is likely that some resistance to further reporting will be experienced in the health sector and possibly in education and hospitality, while management may prefer to keep the bullying issue under the surface by not monitoring. It was recommended that the project considered the issue of bullying and stress reporting and monitoring in more detail in Stages 2&3.

A further human resources issue is that of the use of appropriate recruitment and hiring practices in hospitality and smaller concerns in the other two industries, reducing the chance of screening out bullies at the hiring stage. Staff shortages and an overwhelming focus on task-related competences further compound this issue. Effective workplace bullying policies may not be in place in many organisations across the three industries, while many organisations fail to adequately distinguish between harassment, bullying and physical violence.

Interventions and initiatives to address workplace bullying are few, with most sectors and organisations relying on a joint harassment and bullying policy – if anything, providing access to management to WAVE training, and provision of EAP support for staff. There appears to be insufficient leadership from industry bodies such of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education on policy, with individual DHB's and School Boards, for example, left to make their own policy and practices. It was recommended that the project considered the issue of interventions and initiatives for prevention in more detail in Stages 2&3.

To conclude, it was recommended that Stage 2 research should consider the following aims:

1. Identify quantitative and qualitative survey instruments which address the key factors noted above;
2. Select tools that have sufficient focus on organisational issues and latent conditions for bullying and stress risk factors;
3. Produce data through the qualitative Management Survey that builds on some of the issues addressed in this report.

5. Results: *Survey of Work and Wellness* and the Manager's Survey (Stages 3a & 3b)

This chapter details the main findings from the project. Its major content is concerned with the results from the prevalence study – the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, followed by a brief outline of key findings from the qualitative interview survey of managers within participating workplaces – the Managers' Survey.

5.1 *Survey of Work and Wellness*

5.1.1 *Respondent overview*

In total, 1728 individuals responded to the *Survey of Work and Wellness*. Respondents came from four sectors (with n = 77 unspecified): healthcare (42%, n = 727), education (27%, n = 459), hospitality (8%, n = 133) and travel (19%, n = 332). Of those specifying their role (90% response), the majority were non-managerial employees (59%), with middle-level managers also well represented (15%), then first-line supervisors (11%), and senior manager/ executive (5%). Most worked as members of a team all of the time (63%) or frequently (22%).

Table 5.1 shows a breakdown of respondents by age and gender. The age range of respondents was 16 to 71 years, with a mean of 43 years. Most respondents were women (79%, 1365), which reflects the four industries investigated.

Table 5.1. Age and gender of respondents

	Men	Women	All
16-25 years	12.4% (45)	8.4% (113)	9.2% (158)
26-35 years	18.8% (68)	20.9% (281)	20.4% (349)
36-45 years	21.8% (79)	23.7% (319)	23.3% (398)
46-55 years	29.8% (108)	28.4% (383)	28.7% (491)
56+ years	17.1% (62)	18.6% (251)	18.3% (313)
Total	362	1347	1709 (19 missing)

In terms of ethnicity, 75% were NZ European, 8% were Maori, 3% were Indian, 2% were Chinese, 1% Cook Island Maori, and nearly 1% Tongan or Niuean. In addition, many respondents identified with other non-listed ethnicities or multiple ethnicities.

Sixty-eight percent of respondents were married or living with a partner, 19% were single, 11% were separated or divorced and 2% were widowed. Eleven percent reported having health, injury, or disability problems that affected them at work.

Bullying was measured in two ways – as detailed in Section 2.4.2.1 of this report. First, respondents were asked questions about negative acts at work. The majority of respondents (86.7%) reported having experienced at least occasional negative acts in the last six months, with 13.3% having experienced no negative acts.

To identify respondents who had been bullied, the criterion of experiencing at least two negative acts, at least weekly during the last 6 months was used. Based on this criterion, 17.8% (n=308) of the sample had been consistently bullied in the last 6 months. The negative acts that were most frequently identified were: 'someone withholding information that affects your performance'; 'being ordered to work below your level of competence' and 'being exposed to an unmanageable workload'.

Bullying was also measured by direct self-report. Percentages were much lower for this question, with only 3.9% reporting that they considered themselves to have been bullied either "several times per week" or "almost daily".

Respondents were also asked about witnessing bullying, and 7.7% self-reported that they had witnessed bullying behaviours by others in their workplace either "several times per week" or "almost daily"..

Stress was measured with the 12-item version of the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ). The criterion for considering someone to be experiencing a high level of stress was reporting at least 4 symptoms of stress in the last 6 months "rather more than usual" or "much more than usual" (Murphy & Lloyd, 2009). This resulted in 75.5% of the sample reporting stress.

Table 5.2. Prevalence of negative acts, bullying, and stress

	Bullying case (NAQ)	Bullying case (self-report)	Witnessing bullying (self-report)	Stress Case (GHQ)
All	17.8% (308)	3.9% (67)	7.7% (131)	75.5% (1308)

Note. N = 1728

5.1.2.1 Stress and bullying prevalence by sector

The highest rates of bullying (both NAQ and self-report) and stress were reported in the education sector (Table 5.3). Analysis of Variance found significant differences between sectors in bullying (NAQ bullying: F (3, 1647) = 5.63, p < .01; self-report bullying: F (3, 1647) = 3.13, p < .05) and stress (F (3, 1647) = 19.97, p < .01). Post-hoc tests (Dunnette's C, which does not assume equal variances) assessed where the differences lay. For both NAQ and self-report bullying, participants from health and education reported higher levels than those in travel. For stress, participants in hospitality reported lower levels than those in all three other sectors. The overall picture across sectors, then, is one of considerable variability, although workers in the health and education sectors are particularly at risk for bullying and stress.

Table 5.3. Prevalence of negative acts, bullying, and stress by sector

	Bullying case: NAQ	Bullying case : self-report	Stress Case: GHQ	Total number of Respondents
Health	18.4% (134)	4.8% (35)	76.9% (559)	727
Education	22.4% (103)	5.2% (24)	81.5% (374)	459
Hospitality	15.0% (20)	2.3% (3)	49.6% (66)	133
Travel	11.4% (38)	1.5% (5)	74.7% (248)	332

5.1.2.2 Stress and bullying prevalence by gender

Although the samples are not representative of the NZ workforce as a whole, data were analysed for differences in stress and bullying among gender groups and for those at different organisational levels.

There were no significant differences between women and men in reported levels of stress, negative act bullying, and self-reported bullying (Table 5.4). Both gender groups showed relatively high levels of experiencing bullying behaviours (NAQ), lower levels of self-report bullying, and high levels of stress.

Table 5.4. Prevalence of negative acts, bullying, and stress by gender

	Bullying case: NAQ	Bullying case: self-report	Stress Case: GHQ	Total number of respondents
Men	20.9% (77)	2.2% (8)	72.0% (265)	368
Women	16.9% (231)	4.3% (59)	76.4% (1043)	1365
Pearson chi-square	2.91	3.05	2.80	
All	17.8% (308)	3.9% (67)	75.5% (1308)	1728

5.1.2.3 Stress and bullying prevalence by hierarchical level

There were approximately similar levels of experienced bullying and stress across different hierarchical levels. Analyses showed that there was a significant difference only for experiencing bullying behaviours, with fewer senior managers/executives experiencing bullying than would be expected (6 reporting versus 15 expected), and more first line supervisors than would be expected (38 reporting versus 33 expected). There were no significant differences between levels of self-reported bullying or stress by hierarchical level (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Prevalence of negative acts, bullying, and stress by hierarchical level

	Bullying case: NAQ	Bullying case: self-report	Stress Case: GHQ
Senior manager/ executive	6.8% (6/87)	1.1% (1/87)	68.6% (59/86)
Middle-level manager	16.6%(42/253)	2.0% (5/253)	81.0%(205/253)
First-line supervisor	20.7% (38/184)	3.8% (7/184)	75.5% (139/184)
Non-managerial employee	18.4% (188/1022)	4.4% (45/1022)	75.1% (766/1020)
Pearson chi-square	8.61*	3.19#	7.13
All	17.7% (274/1546)	3.8% (58/1546)	75.8% (1169/1543)

Note. * p < .05. # Senior managers were excluded from this analysis due to having only 1 case of self-reported bullying

5.1.3   Work experiences of targets and non-targets of bullying

In the four sectors studied, we compared those identified as targets of bullying (17.8% of our sample) with those not bullied, in terms of theoretical antecedents and outcomes of bullying. Targets of bullying reported that their workplace had lower levels of constructive leadership, higher levels of laissez-faire leadership, lower levels of colleague and supervisor support, less organisational support, and less effective organisational strategies than those who had not been bullied (Table 5.6). In terms of the likely effects of bullying, targets reported higher levels of stress, lower levels of emotional wellbeing, and greater use of resigned coping and selective coping than non-targets. Targets also reported lower performance, lower affective commitment, lower organisational citizenship behaviour towards others, and a higher intention of leaving, relative to those not bullied.

5.1.4   Organisational responses to bullying

Respondents were asked to indicate the effectiveness of organisational responses to bullying. When mean scores for effectiveness ratings for each action were considered there was very little variation, with most participants perceiving organisational responses as between 'somewhat ineffective' and 'somewhat effective'. The item 'encouraging open and respectful communication between people' was, on average, perceived as being slightly more effective than other actions (Table 5.7).

For further comparison, the modal answers for each organisational response were examined (Table 5.7). The modal answers tended to be extreme, either 'very ineffective' or 'very effective', although many respondents chose the midpoints of 'somewhat' ineffective or effective. Many respondents (almost 40%) indicated that they did not know or had no opinions about the effectiveness of organisational responses, suggesting that many employees may not be aware of how organisations deal with bullying.

Understanding stress and bullying in New Zealand workplaces – Bentley et al., 2009

Table 5.6. Means (standard deviations) of work-related variables for targets and non-targets of bullying

Construct	Target	Not target	
	Mean (SD)	**Mean (SD)**	*t*
Constructive Leadership	1.87 (1.26)	3.05 (1.35)	14.69 **
Laissez-faire Leadership	2.46 (1.47)	1.11 (1.15)	-15.06**
Manager Behaviour	2.48 (1.29)	3.49 (1.18)	12.59**
Supervisor Support	2.92 (1.36)	4.02 (1.32)	12.86**
Colleague Support	3.85 (1.31)	4.33 (1.11)	6.03**
Effectiveness of Organisational strategies	2.58 (1.36)	4.14 (1.45)	17.29**
Organisational Support	2.97 (1.68)	4.82 (1.62)	17.61**
Stress (GHQ)	1.83 (0.56)	1.22 (0.50)	-17.60**
Emotional Wellbeing	2.96 (0.87)	4.15 (0.87)	21.58**
Problem-focused coping	4.04 (1.12)	3.86 (1.23)	-1.49
Resigned coping	3.69 (1.44)	3.25 (1.32)	-3.04**
Selective coping	3.75 (1.18)	3.48 (1.07)	-2.21*
Self-rated Performance	7.23 (1.40)	7.82 (1.19)	6.83**
Citizenship – Interpersonal	4.33 (0.98)	4.13 (0.99)	-3.17**
Citizenship- Organisational	3.46 (1.07)	3.37 (1.04)	-1.33
Affective Org. Commitment	3.58 (1.42)	4.70 (1.44)	12.43**
Turnover intention	4.22 (1.52)	2.70 (1.50)	-15.95**

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 5.7. Perceptions of the effectiveness of organisational responses to bullying

How effective do you think your organisation has been in each of the following areas?	Mean	SD	Mode
Establishing clear consequences for those who engage in bullying other people	3.35	1.90	1
Its efforts to identify factors which might encourage bullying to occur	3.43	1.72	1
Monitoring and reviewing staff relationships, especially fair treatment of people	3.44	1.83	1
Its efforts to identify the occurrence of bullying in this workplace	3.48	1.73	4
Reviewing its procedures for dealing with bullying	3.52	1.78	1
Its efforts to increase awareness among its employees about bullying	3.65	1.78	6
Developing a system for reporting incidents of bullying	3.67	1.77	6
Providing training and support in the management of relationships	3.76	1.71	6
Its efforts to identify and resolve conflict quickly and fairly	3.84	1.71	6
Developing a workplace bullying policy	3.88	1.80	6
Developing a clear procedure for handling complaints about bullying	3.87	1.81	6
Encouraging appropriate ways for people to interact with their work colleagues	3.97	1.64	4
Encouraging open and respectful communication between people	4.15	1.60	6

Note. Scale was from very ineffective (1) to very effective (6). Hence, those at the top of the table are considered the least effective organisational responses.

As can be seen in Table 5.7, ineffective approaches were to identify factors which encouraged bullying, reviewing procedures, establishing consequences for bullies and monitoring and reviewing staff relationships. Responses that were most often reported to be effective were: Developing a system for reporting incidents of bullying, encouraging open and respectful communication, identifying and resolving conflict quickly, providing training and support, developing policy and procedure, and raising awareness about bullying. Overall the more effective approaches tended to be more

aimed at interpersonal interactions while less effective ones tended to focus on underlying factors that were assumed to be causes of bullying.

5.1.5 The negative impacts of witnessing bullying

Bullying may have negative impacts not only for those who are targets of bullying, but also those who witness bullying. We compared those who reported witnessing bullying at their work weekly or more frequently against those witnessing it less frequently than this or not at all. The means are compared below (Table 5.8), and show that, for most variables, those witnessing bullying had a more negative experience of work.

In terms of leadership, witnesses perceived leadership as more laissez-faire and less constructive, and perceived lower levels of supervisor and colleague support, and that organisational policies against bullying were less effective. They reported higher stress (GHQ), poorer emotional wellbeing, worse (self-rated) performance, lower affective commitment to the organisation and a greater intention of leaving. Interestingly, those who witnessed bullying were also those reporting higher levels of citizenship behaviour to others and the organisation, implying that they had remained positively motivated towards their colleagues.

5.1.5.1 Comparisons between those who had and had not witnessed bullying in perceptions of organisational responses

We also compared witness and non-witness respondents' perceptions of the effectiveness of organisational strategies. Overall, those witnessing bullying perceived organisational strategies to be less effective (Table 5.9). These differences were significant in all cases. The strategies where there were the greatest differences between the two groups were: Encouraging appropriate ways for people to interact with their work colleagues; encouraging open and respectful communication between people; efforts to identify and resolve conflict quickly and fairly; establishing clear consequences for those who engage in bullying other people; and monitoring and reviewing staff relationships, especially fair treatment of people.

Table 5.8. Means (standard deviations) of work-related variables for self-reported witnesses versus non-witnesses of bullying

Construct	Witness	Non-Witness	
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	*t*
Constructive Leadership	1.49 (1.31)	2.89 (1.38)	-8.49 **
Laissez-faire Leadership	2.85 (1.59)	1.28 (1.26)	7.94**
Manager Behaviour	1.95 (1.25)	3.37 (1.23)	-8.95**
Supervisor Support	2.68 (1.59)	3.87 (1.36)	-6.07**
Colleague Support	3.72 (1.32)	4.28 (1.15)	-3.41**
Effectiveness of Organisational strategies	2.05 (1.15)	3.93 (1.51)	-12.65**
Organisational Support	2.59 (1.74)	4.57 (1.73)	-9.13**
Stress (GHQ)	1.97 (0.67)	1.30 (0.54)	8.10**
Emotional Wellbeing	2.68 (1.04)	4.00 (0.94)	-10.19**
Problem-focused coping	4.45 (1.04)	3.83 (1.18)	4.30**
Resigned coping	3.52 (1.47)	3.44 (1.38)	0.43
Selective coping	3.92 (1.13)	3.54 (1.12)	2.47*
Self-rated Performance	7.31 (1.44)	7.73 (1.23)	-2.32*
Citizenship – Interpersonal	4.50 (1.07)	4.15 (0.98)	2.60*
Citizenship- Organisational	3.62 (1.06)	3.38 (1.04)	1.81
Affective Org. Commitment	3.27 (1.54)	4.56 (1.47)	-7.00**
Turnover intention	4.37 (1.54)	2.90 (1.59)	7.66**

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 5.9. Perceptions of the effectiveness of organisational responses to bullying for those who witnessed bullying versus those who had not witnessed bullying

	Witnessed Bullying	Not Witnessed Bullying	
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	*t*
Its efforts to identify the occurrence of bullying in this workplace	2.11 (1.42)	3.67 (1.69)	-11.16**
Its efforts to identify factors which might encourage bullying to occur	2.11 (1.38)	3.62 (1.68)	-10.95**
Developing a system for reporting incidents of bullying	2.23 (1.40)	3.85 (1.73)	-11.60**
Encouraging appropriate ways for people to interact with their work colleagues	2.30 (1.33)	4.14 (1.57)	-14.22**
Encouraging open and respectful communication between people	2.51 (1.47)	4.32 (1.52)	-13.08**
Its efforts to identify and resolve conflict quickly and fairly	2.06 (1.28)	4.03 (1.64)	-15.97**
Providing training and support in the management of relationships	2.22 (1.38)	3.93 (1.66)	-12.48**
Developing a workplace bullying policy	2.53 (1.61)	4.06 (1.75)	-9.56**
Developing a clear procedure for handling complaints about bullying	2.42 (1.55)	4.05 (1.76)	-10.61**
Its efforts to increase awareness among its employees about bullying	2.28 (1.51)	3.81 (1.74)	-10.12**
Reviewing its procedures for dealing with bullying	2.15 (1.37)	3.71 (1.75)	-10.81**
Establishing clear consequences for those who engage in bullying other people	1.72 (1.14)	3.58 (1.87)	-15.14**
Monitoring and reviewing staff relationships, especially fair treatment of people	1.76 (1.23)	3.64 (1.78)	-14.71**

Note. ** $p < .01$.

5.2   Managers' Survey

5.2.1   Introduction

This section outlines the key finding from the Managers' Survey. Section 2.6 described the method for this study, which involved semi-structured face-to-face interviews with managers responsible for the management of workplace stress and bullying, or general OH&S or HR issues at each workplace which participated in the *Survey of Work and Wellness*.

The following sections report on the perceptions of respondents about their organisations' efforts to manage workplace bullying. Questions about stress in the survey related only to management perceptions on the problem, with the focus on the prevention of bullying, as this is less well understood. The aim of the research was to examine the extent to which managers perceived bullying as a problem in their organisation, the nature and impacts of bullying, how well the concept of bullying was understood, and attempts to manage or eliminate workplace bullying from their organisation. These perceptions are compared with the findings from the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, reported in 5.1 above.

5.2.2   Managers' perceptions of the extent of the workplace bullying problem

As described in Section 2.6, respondents were provided with a definition of workplace bullying and, based on their understanding of this definition, asked their perception of the extent of a workplace bullying problem in their organisation. The majority of respondents (31/36 managers) believed that bullying was not a problem, with just three respondents reporting 'one or two instances of bullying', while one further respondent reported 'pockets of bullying'. These figures are at odds with those found from the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, conducted with individuals working within the same organisations, where 17.8% of respondents indicated that they had experienced bullying behaviours in response to the Negative Acts Questionnaire (at least two negative acts per week during the past six-months).

In partial explanation of this discrepancy, many respondents felt that where bullying had been reported in organisations, this had more to do with misperceptions and false allegations than actual bullying situations.

5.2.3   Areas of greatest concern for workplace bullying

Respondents were asked to comment on which situations in their organisation were of most concern in relation to bullying – these were referred to in our questioning as 'hotspots'. Responses were most frequently related to positional power and issues of hierarchy. Most common comments related to either peer-to-peer bullying (e.g. teacher to teacher, carer to carer), manager to employee bullying, or bullying that related to some specific situation. Pressure between peers to perform adequately, so as not to put pressure on the rest of the team, was a common response.

> "… where someone isn't pulling their weight or something, or were being too slow, then they might get taken to task, but would you consider that as bullying though? It's mostly the carers who are from different [ethnic] backgrounds, immigrants, who seems to be on the receiving end of it."

Individuals at the lowest level in the hierarchy – notably temporary, part-time, or unskilled staff, and those from minority ethnicities – tend to be targets of bullying from more senior or permanent staff as perceived by the managers that were interviewed. These findings are in line with those from the Stage 1 Key Informant Survey. In both of the studies, caregivers and housekeeping staff were identified as some of the lower-level workers who were most likely to be subjected to bullying.

> "…I definitely think the lower-level staff like your service staff, your housekeeping staff, laundry, kitchen, cleaning staff, some caregivers are involved in bullying. I don't see it in the registered staff and definitely not at upper level… I'm not being derogatory, but you tend to find more of those inappropriate behaviours coming in because there is not that professionalism …"

Respondents' comments and examples indicated that in the health sector, bullying often occurs on the basis of professional divisions, as noted in the above quote from the residential care sector. Examples of inter-professional bullying included bullying from health professionals to non-professions (e.g. clerical staff), bullying between different professional groups (doctors and nurses), along with intra-professional bullying (e.g. nurses to nurses).

Respondents noted that the most difficult situations to manage tend to be when managers are bullying subordinates, as employees do not always want to make a formal complaint against a person who has power over them – indeed, bullying often appears to involve abuse of such positional power. This problem was mentioned for each of the three sectors represented by respondents, but appeared particularly problematic in the education and health sectors, and again reflects the findings from our survey of key industry informants,

> "I can think of a senior manager who definitely bullies staff, academics, but also administrative staff, but when people tell me about it they also say they don't want me to do anything about it … and of course that is the biggest problem in trying to deal with [bullying]. When a manager bullies a subordinate, that is the hardest one to resolve in my experience … "

The greatest areas of concern, or hotspots, for the hospitality sector was the kitchen environment. Respondents' comments reinforced those expressed in our Key Informants Survey, where chefs commonly display inappropriate behaviour and non-respectful communication to kitchen hands and waiting staff,

> "The kitchens are the place where the chef is, and the chef says what goes and if you have a problem with it too bad … if you can't deal with how a kitchen operates then you may see it as bullying … if you work in the industry you know that is just how it goes, so if you are an outsider and never experienced this type of behaviour before you may consider it to be bullying. There is a great deal of stress felt by staff when this happens."

5.2.4   Perceived impacts of bullying on productivity

Despite the finding that the majority of respondents believed bullying to not be a problem in their organisation, approximately two–thirds of respondents believed their organisation was negatively impacted by bullying. Respondents who perceived a negative impact most frequently identified staff non-attendance, usually involving the target of bullying, and impacts on the productivity of the target and those attempting to

manage the situation as the major concerns. These findings are in-line with those of the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, where productivity was found to be significantly negatively related to the experience of being bullied, and also significantly negatively related to witnessing bullying.

Table 5.10 shows the most commonly identified perceived impacts of bullying on participating organisations.

Table 5.10. Impacts of workplace bullying on participating organisations

Type of impact	Number of respondents identifying impact
Staff attendance/absenteeism/stress leave/sick leave	13
Productivity of targets/productivity of teams/productivity of witnesses or colleagues	7
Administrative time spent investigating bullying complaints/managing bullying situations	5
Staff morale/motivation	5
Productivity of management/HR managers/OSH managers	3
Staff retention and turnover	3

5.2.5 How well is the problem of bullying understood in organisations?

Most respondents (27/34) believed that their organisation understood the problem of workplace bullying, although some felt it remained something of a 'grey area', particularly in relation to differentiating bullying from other unacceptable behaviours. For some, this understanding was achieved through use of employee surveys, while for many, a policy on bullying (usually an harassment policy, incorporating bullying) and/or training were the mechanisms for ensuring management and employees understood the nature of workplace bullying , what behaviours were acceptable and not acceptable, and procedures for complaints.

Exploring managers' comments, the most common responses were related to the issue of employees' understanding of what behaviours actually constituted bullying.

> "...what I do seem to find is misinterpretation of what bullying is, people tend to interpret conflict as bullying, people tend to interpret correction as bullying. You get a culture of people who want to do their own thing and if they are corrected they tend to say that it's bullying ... but I wouldn't agree that it was bullying."

Similarly, some respondents felt the term bullying was wrongly used to describe disagreement or conflict.

> "I do think that people being people have disagreements, and how people manage those disagreements can be interpreted as bullying. I think there is a perception that bullying occurs from people in senior positions towards people in less senior positions, but I don't particularly agree with that – I think bullying can occur between people in a similar level."

Some comments specifically mentioned the sustained nature of bullying as being a point of misunderstanding, with employees erroneously labelling 'one-off' behaviours as bullying, although it should be noted that this perception is unsupported from the perspective of the operationalisation for bullying used in the *Survey of Work and*

Wellness, which required at least two different negative acts weekly. This issue of mistaking one-off incidents as bullying, together with the aforementioned problem of employees interpreting conflict or correction as bullying, contributed to the term 'bullying' being used inappropriately from the perspective of respondents.

> "...increasingly we receive reports on being bullied where someone has had a one-off spat in the corridor and this has been alleged as being bullied. To give an example, one of our managers spoke at a handover meeting about some clinical issues that were clearly against the clinical standards of that particular group...that manager received an email to say that this person felt bullied, so it is a word that is bandied around when it is clearly not bullying - it is someone's performance issue ..."

Indeed, the issue of performance management and bullying was mentioned in respondents' comments from across all three sectors.

Some respondents highlighted the issue of whether or not perpetrators purposely engaged in bullying behaviour.

> "...one of the challenges is whether or not in accordance with your definition they would be called incidences of bullying, or whether they would be called something else and that is one of the challenges. The staff member is feeling bullied ... but is the perpetrator purposely engaging in that kind of bullying or even conscious that they are having that impact on the other person ..."

A further issue regarding definition was whether bullying caused harm to targets, which some respondents believed may not occur due to the normalisation of bullying-type language in the workplace, and the acceptance of inappropriate communication as a normalised way of interacting in some settings.

> "Well, I don't know [if it's bullying], that would depend on the definition ... is it causing them harm and causing them to have a negative impact? No, because there is not really that much, but some of the stuff that you say to each other in hospital would be considered bullying somewhere else ... so a lot of the time it's just in good jest, it is not really bullying to us ..."

It was noted by some respondents that instances of bullying were often not subject to normal reporting procedures, and tended to be dealt with informally by talking to the individuals concerned. These factors, coupled with the problem of targets of bullying being reluctant to report bullying, meant that organisations' understanding of bullying among their management and staff was limited. Indeed, the privacy around bullying investigations and disciplinary outcomes can mean that employees are unaware of how seriously management take allegations of bullying, and the measures undertaken to manage them.

> "... we usually just call the staff in together and be more of a mediator than part of any kind of process ... where we get the two people together and we get them to talk to each other rather than put it on paper ... and you know we have got better things to do with our time as managers than deal with personality clashes – which is a lot of it ..."

> "... when a case is found to be true you can't discuss it from an employer's perspective, we can do an investigation, confirm we have found the allegation to have substance and we have taken appropriate action. That is all the other

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person [the target] ever knows ... so employees often say "oh no they don't do anything", but it's because we can't actually share that, or say that in the last year we dismissed X, Y, and Z and gave written warnings to this person or that person ... The organisation needs to keep written records of around the number of cases, what actions, ..."

It was noted by two respondents that it was important that human resource managers have a good understanding of workplace bullying – although both noted the understanding of their HR manager was not very deep and underestimated the size of the problem.

5.2.6   Is bullying tolerated or accepted?

Two-thirds of respondents believed their employees were not accepting of bullying behaviours (24/36), with six respondents feeling a minority of employees did accept bullying, with the remainder unsure. This confidence in bullying not being accepted within the workplace or industry appears linked to shifts in culture where zero-tolerance approaches to such problems are espoused and people are increasingly unwilling to suffer bullying and increasingly willing to stand-up to bullies as their understanding of the phenomenon improves and bullying becomes more of a focus in training and other organisational initiatives.

> "... we have a zero tolerance [for bullying] and that is for our students, our parents, and the staff ... we have 'trespassed' a parent; I am here to make it good for everyone. That is what it has come down to."

> "It is much less now that staff are not prepared to take [bullying] particularly when we get younger people into the organisation - they won't take it anyway and the older ones are also saying 'then why should we take it' ... I think that part of it is changing."

However, for others, acceptance of bullying appears related to job security and fear of further persecution or 'rocking the boat'. As identified in the Key Informant Survey, this may be particularly an issue for contingent workers and those at the lower-end of the structure, such as workers from ethnic minorities, students and junior faculty, and health workers in support roles.

> "... there are some circumstances where people, if they feel they are being bullied, maybe for different reasons they will put up with it and not make waves or report it. This could be for their own benefit - maybe they are on a short-term contract or they are worried about employment ..."

> "Yes, I do think they put up with it because they don't want to rock the boat ... there are quite a lot of student academic complaints and quite a lot of them are about being bullied by their examiner or whatever senior lecturer, and it's quite interesting how they will put up with it for a couple of years and then when push comes to shove and they have had enough they put in a formal complaint."

In the hospitality sector, it appears the industry is accepting of bullying in certain situations, notably the kitchen environment, as found in the Key Informant Survey. Most believed their leaders were willing to stand up to bullies (31/34), although it is noted that they would have little evidence upon which to base this perception as in most organisations there was no perceived problem with bullying.

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This section deals with respondents' perspectives on the effectiveness of human resource policy and practices in relation to workplace bullying. Respondents were first asked to comment generally on the effectiveness of the human resource's response within their organisation to cases of bullying accusations. This proved a difficult question to answer as most did not recognise a bullying problem in their organisation, with 15/36 respondents reporting that their human resource response had been effective. It is noted that these findings are at odds with those from the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, where the majority of respondents perceived their organisation's response to bullying to be ineffective.

A majority of respondents (26/36) reported that workplace bullying was covered by organisational policy. Yet five respondents noted that there was no such policy. In most cases this policy was not primarily focused on bullying (usually a harassment policy or similar). This finding appears to be consistent with that of the *Survey of Work and Wellness* where respondents perceived the development of a workplace bullying policy as an area in which their organisation had been somewhat effective.

Risk management activity in relation to workplace bullying appears to be inadequate in many of the workplaces surveyed. Less than one-half of respondents (15/36 managers) reported that bullying was formally recognised as a hazard in their organisation, with nine believing it was not. Some 25/34 respondents believed that their organisation had an effective reporting system for bullying, although few had a specific reporting policy for bullying – as opposed to other workplace health and safety problems. These findings are of concern as the bully is often the person the target reports to, meaning alternative reporting lines are necessary for reporting of bullying. Where these are not in place it can present significant problems for the target, who may need to go further up the hierarchy to report a case of bullying.

> "I would expect them to make a complaint through the complaint procedure. I would expect them to talk to their manager unless of course the manager was the one that was doing the bullying. If they don't get any response or satisfaction from their manager then they would escalate it up to the next level which would be either the executive responsible for that manager or to me (HR manager) and we would document it."

Again, findings were in-line with those of the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, where many respondents believed their organisation had made some efforts to develop a clear procedure for handling complaints about bullying – with the most common response to this item being 'very effective'. However, many of those respondents who said that their organisation had a somewhat effective reporting system, also noted that informal verbal reporting of bullying was the most common practice. This meant that often records were not maintained of events, and was often a consequence of the target not wishing to escalate a complaint or to be identified by the bully as the person making the report. As noted above, this has important implications for maintaining accounts of individual cases – which often develop over time, and for the understanding of the bullying problem generally within the organisation.

Respondents' comments also suggested that there is a tendency for many organisations to use the same reporting procedures and forms for bullying as are intended for injuries of a physical nature. Consequently, concern was expressed by some respondents that this may not be appropriate as they are quite different health and safety issues,

requiring a different reporting system and response. Even where reporting procedures are designed to cover both physical and psychological injury, the predominant usage is for physical injury.

> "We have got a very effective health and safety reporting system and that is confidential… it covers physical and psychological injuries and the majority of our injuries are physical like slips, trips and falls … we then look at the facts – if someone tripped over and what the controls are and such."

Respondents were then asked about recruitment practices in relation to bullying. Just over half believed the organisation took steps to prevent employing bullies. Typically, this involved relying on reference checks and interviews, and in many cases, police checks. Only two respondents noted using psychometric testing to address the problem of appointing appropriate people. These findings are of concern as the interview and reference check methods that the majority of organisations relied on are unlikely to be effective in detecting bullies during the selection process.

> "… we have a lot of experience collectively, the three of us, we are probably good judges but we make mistakes and we have made a few over the years. A few big mistakes, but a lot of the time we can recognise [bullies] and have learned to look. The moment they start to criticise anything from someone else, warning signals go up …"

> ".. it would only be through situational questions – if they are not clever enough to answer them … we do ask specific questions which would hopefully bring something out like that, and if that didn't identify it they are going to slip through. Many times I have interviewed people and the person who comes to start the job is like the evil twin sister, unrecognisable, and you ask yourself 'who is this person', it is certainly not the one I interviewed."

A further problem was identified as managers, principals, and others giving less than honest accounts of individuals in written references, although the experience of some respondents was that the only true way to find out about a prospective appointment was to speak in person to their manager.

Training was mentioned by many as an organisational response to address workplace bullying, including induction programs and specialist courses. Indeed, approximately one-half of respondents believed that management and/or staff had taken some form of training related to bullying, although this was often harassment training rather than specifically for bullying. In the education sector, such training was more commonly provided to children, while not always extended to staff. Some respondents referred to training they had undertaken on similar issues, including communication skills and conflict management in the workplace. These forms of training appear to have been effective for some workplaces, having effected changes in interpersonal communication at least.

> "The whole staff worked through assertive discipline [training] … and since then we have a very stable staff, and have introduced new staff to assertive discipline which overcomes those types of behaviours … one teacher said to me that she had to change her whole teaching philosophy when she went through assertive discipline training and I told her that was obvious from the outside too …"

Other bullying prevention measures employed in responding organisations were most commonly secondary or tertiary prevention measures, rather than those designed to

eliminate the problem. One exception to this trend was the use of staff performance appraisals to discuss bullying issues, although this was mentioned by only one respondent. Examples of preventive practices mentioned across each of the three sectors included: provision for external support and counselling services such as employee assistance programs, management having an open door policy and/or talking with staff regularly; end of shift debriefs; the provision for break periods to allow for people to cool down or recover from stressful situations; and social drinks and other opportunities to meet socially.

It is noteworthy that two-thirds of respondents indicated that they would like to see guidelines or best practice information for their industry in relation to the management of workplace bullying, indicating that there is currently an absence of such information and support. This reflects the paucity and reactive nature of existing practices for those organisations surveyed, and the level of understanding organisations appear to have about bullying, which remains relatively low in relation to other employment issues. Some respondents from the education sector felt there were existing guidelines for professional standards for teachers, although it was noted that these may not necessarily fit with school culture and should be tailored to do so in order to be relevant to the teaching environment. Others emphasised that such guidelines would help organisations better understand bullying and provide clear direction for action in cases of bullying.

> "In my own mind I perceive bullying to be anything – a one-off or ongoing situation, but guidelines would probably be good because at least you would know what you were dealing with, how quickly you need to jump on it and how hard you have to jump on it ..."

5.2.8   Conclusions

This research indicates a disparity of perceptions between managers and employees about the existence of bullying in their respective organisations. It also suggests that the concept of bullying is not well understood in organisations, with serious implications for its management. The research indicates that, despite management's confidence that the problem is understood, the robustness of practices to manage workplace bullying is variable. In particular, human resource practices in relation to recruitment, training, and performance management appear limited at best. Less than half the managers in the sample believed that bullying was formally recognised in their organisation as a hazard. Additionally, although many believed that bullying was covered by an organisational policy, this was invariably as part of a broader policy relating to harassment. Furthermore, management's belief in effective reporting systems and low levels of actual bullying is at odds with the high levels (compared to international norms) of bullying being reported by employees. From an intervention perspective, it is also concerning that a large number of employees regard their organisation's responses to bullying as ineffective, while the most frequently identified practices to manage workplace bullying were secondary and tertiary measures, with organisations failing to remove the source of the bullying problem. On a more positive note, managers noted that they would welcome guidelines or best practice information for their industry in relation to the management of workplace bullying, presenting an opportunity to better inform organisations about the workplace bullying issue and its effective management.

6. Discussion and recommendations for a full prevalence study

6.1 Key findings

The major goal of the research reported here was to develop a valid and reliable methodology for the measurement of workplace stress and bullying. This goal has been achieved through the combination of a number of well-validated scales within the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, through the qualitative Managers' Survey, and the field trialling of an effective data collection strategy. The *Survey of Work and Wellness* has been evaluated across four distinct New Zealand industry sectors (education, health, hospitality and travel), and found to be an effective and valid tool for the measurement of workplace bullying and stress.

The findings presented in this report clearly show that workplace stress and bullying are significant issues across each of the New Zealand sectors considered in the study. Workplace bullying and its links with stress are poorly understood in New Zealand, and has been the major focus of this study. To date, only minor, industry-specific, studies have been undertaken to examine the extent of the bullying problem in New Zealand, with nothing known about the steps organisations take to manage workplace bullying.

Workplace bullying prevalence levels observed across the sectors considered in this research (18%) are at the high end of reported international prevalence levels, despite our use of the relatively stringent NAQ-R measure of at least two negative acts per week being experienced over the previous six months. Notably higher prevalence levels were observed for the education and health sectors, while differences in stress and bullying levels between male and female respondents and management and employee groups were not significant.

It will be necessary to determine whether these prevalence levels are observed across a much wider span of the New Zealand workforce, through further research using the *Survey of Work and Wellness* developed in this research. It is also crucial to ensure intervention-focused research determines effective methods for the control of workplace bullying, along with other key psychosocial workplace hazards, notably stress and violence. These initiatives are particularly important for the education and health sectors.

Highest bullying and stress prevalence was observed in the education sector, with participants from health and education reporting higher levels than those in travel and hospitality. It was concluded that workers in the health and education sectors are particularly at risk for bullying and stress.

Consistent with international studies, the negative impacts of workplace bullying for individuals and organisations were clearly observed. In the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, targets of bullying reported higher levels of stress than non-targets, along with lower levels of emotional wellbeing. Targets also reported lower performance, lower affective commitment toward their organisation, lower organisational citizenship behaviour towards others, and a greater intention of leaving, relative to those not bullied. Similar findings were observed regarding those who witnessed bullying, indicating that the impacts of bullying extend beyond the target. Furthermore, findings from the Managers' Survey strongly indicate that organisations are heavily impacted by bullying. Of note were the perceived impacts on target and target's team productivity,

absenteeism, the productivity of managers and those investigating bullying complaints, staff moral and motivation.

Several organisational issues were associated with the experience of being bullied. Targets of bullying reported lower levels of constructive leadership, higher levels of laissez-faire leadership, lower levels of colleague and supervisor support, less organisational support, and less effective organisational strategies than those who had not been bullied. These findings point to the important role of effective leadership and appropriate organisational strategies in the management of bullying. Findings from the Managers' Survey, however, indicate that participating organisations did not perform well in this area. In particular, ensuring that organisations have a specific bullying policy, an effective reporting system for bullying, and human resources practices that were effective in addressing workplace bullying. A lack of understanding about bullying and its management appears to be a major barrier to progress in the prevention of this problem.

6.2 Methodological issues and implications for a full stress and bullying prevalence study

This section briefly discusses methodological issues arising from the project, notably those related to the administration of the *Survey of Work and Wellness*. This review is necessary as the research described in this report was essentially a pilot project, for the development and field trialling of a methodology for measuring the prevalence of workplace stress and bullying. It is important, therefore, to reflect on key methodological issues as they relate to this project, and their implications for the design of a full prevalence study.

6.2.1 Workplace and sample recruitment

6.2.1.1 Stakeholder Group roles in data collection

Our key Stakeholder Groups provided many advantages, as described in Sections 1.2 and 2.1 of this report. Notable among these were the provision of a high level of industry confidence and buy-in to the project, and facilitation of access to workplaces through organisations represented on or by Stakeholder Groups, such as the Safer Industry Forums. The engagement of Stakeholder Groups, while providing these crucial advantages, was a highly expensive element of the study with considerable resources expended on the various engagement activities, notably travel to visit different stakeholders, reports, and ongoing correspondence with stakeholders. In any further expansion of this study (for instance, a full nation-wide prevalence study), the engagement activities should be streamlined to make industry participation more cost-effective.

6.2.1.2 Workplace-based data collection approach

The workplace-based data collection approach was an effective and efficient methodology for the recruitment of respondents. Access to respondents was generally facilitated through internal email and intranet invitations from the organisation's OH&S or HR manager, enabling employees from across a wide range of work groups and roles to be included in the sample. Response rates across participating workplaces were moderate to high, although participation was voluntary. The workplace-based approach gave the participating organisations a stake in the project, and allowed access to management to address issues to do with the organisation's perception of psychosocial problems and measures to control these. A further advantage of the workplace focus

was that the engagement of management and employees created an improved awareness of issues to do with bullying and stress.

Alternative approaches to data collection/sample recruitment include randomised telephone interviews, and postal or on-line questionnaires to random samples of individuals. These options would not provide the advantages described above for workplace-based data collection, although they might prove more cost-effective where the goal is simply to obtain a large respondent sample – without regard to workplace engagement and participation.

6.2.2   Data collection strategy

A number of different data collection techniques were used to administer surveys to respondents, using the same data collection instrument (*Survey of Work and Wellness*). The three data collection methods were:

1. Electronic version delivered on laptop computers at workplaces
2. Electronic version delivered on-line (administered through the organisation's human resources or OH&S function)
3. Paper-based surveys provided in workplaces.

While there are many advantages to the use of laptop computers, there were mixed results in terms of response levels. On-line surveys were preferred where workplaces were geographically distant from the researchers and in large organisations where most employees had reasonable access to computers and an intranet/internal email system for the distribution of invitations to participate. For the travel sector, containing a large number of small and widely distributed retail outlets, on-line data collection was the only option. Paper-based surveys were used in workplaces where the majority of employees did not have access to computers (notably in hospitality), and as an alternative medium for individuals preferring not to use computers.

In conclusion, on-line (and optional paper-based) survey administration is the optimal approach for a full prevalence study. The potential advantages of laptop-based data collection tend to be outweighed by the lower cost-effectiveness of this approach.

6.2.3   Research scope and sample size

The scope of the project, involving three distinct stages, was appropriate for this pilot study which focused on methodology design and evaluation. The Exploratory stage allowed for industry engagement and the gathering of information about industry perspectives. This was crucial to the design of the *Survey of Work and Wellness*, as well as the data collection strategy. The Methodology Design stage allowed for a thorough review of current scales used to measure bullying and stress internationally, as well as decision making in relation to the inclusion of key predictor and outcome variables (correlates) in the survey content.

The sample size, 1728, was an excellent outcome, and was obtained through the high level of industry engagement and the various data collection approaches employed in the study. This respondent number was sufficiently large to ensure all planned statistical analysis/modelling could be undertaken. While not wholly representative of the four sectors, the respondent sample was large enough to allow for meaningful conclusions to be made from the data in terms of prevalence, and for modelling that allowed associations with predictor and outcome variables to be determined.

6.3 Dissemination strategy

The findings of this study will be disseminated through the various industry Stakeholder Groups, notably the Safer Industry Forums and representative groups such as the New Zealand Nurses Organisation and the PPTA. Some organisations have requested individualised feedback of results, which will be provided, but in a manner that ensures individual respondents or work groups cannot be identified. Industry publications will provide a further opportunity for industry-focused dissemination, while broader dissemination will occur through national publications such as Safeguard Magazine, the national media, and peer-reviewed conference papers and journal articles.

6.4 Limitations

This study was subject to a number of limitations. The most important was the limited representativeness of the sample for the health, education, and hospitality sectors. While the travel sector achieved a well-distributed sample across all New Zealand regions and the full range of industry sub-sectors, the sample size and workplace-based date collection strategy for the other three sectors, while effective in terms of respondent recruitment, were not fully representative. However, while most participating organisations were located in the Upper North Island of New Zealand, respondent numbers were relatively large for a study of this type, and care was taken to ensure inclusion of individuals working across a range of sub-sectors and job roles, with the exception of hospitality, where the response to invitations for organisations to participate was very low.

Nearly 80% of the respondent sample was female. However, this is likely to be representative of workforce demographics across the four industry sectors participating in the research, although a greater proportion of male respondents would have been preferable. Additionally, the sample would have ideally had a more representative ethnic distribution, with a somewhat lower Maori, Pacific Island, and Asian response than expected.

6.5 Recommendations for a full workplace stress and bullying study

Based on the experience of this research, the following recommendations are put forward for the design and administration of the full national workplace stress and bullying prevalence study.

1. The study should be industry focused, and include a broader range of industry sectors than covered in the present study. We do not recommend collecting further data from those industry sectors included in the present study (health, education, hospitality, travel). We suggest that the following industry sectors might be included as a minimum: retail; manufacturing/processing; police and emergency services; banking/financial services; building and construction; and local government services. These sectors would comprise a broad mix of organisational types, job roles, white and blue collar employees, and, importantly, larger proportions of male employees than those who participated in the present study.

2. The study should engage participating sectors through existing industry groups, including Safer Industry Forums (where available). For industry sectors without Safer Industry Forum representation, liaison is recommended with industry level umbrella organisations and representative organisations including unions.

This engagement, while important, should be streamlined to ensure an efficient use of resources. The key outcomes of engagement should include contextualisation of the survey to cover industry-specific issues without altering the key scales of the survey, and the dissemination of information about the study to encourage participation.

3. The study should use a workplace-based data collection strategy, first disseminating information about the project through industry stakeholder groups, followed by direct approaches to organisations with invitations to participate. Invitations to individuals to participate can be distributed effectively via email and/or intranet throughout the organisation by OH&S or HR professionals.

4. The study should use an on-line data collection strategy with options for paper-based administration for sectors or workplaces where computers are not readily available or where computer skills are low.

5. The study should aim to achieve a meaningful respondent sample from each industry sector, including several workplaces in each sector to minimise respondent bias. It is suggested that at least six workplaces covering a wide ranges of sector roles and positions, and small to large organisations, be included in the survey. It is also recommended that data from at least 300 individual respondents be collected for each sector. On the basis of broadening the present study to cover a further six sectors (see point 1 above), this would involve the collection of data from a minimum of 1800 respondents. This number would be sufficient to cover a wide range of occupational groups, and achieve broad demographic and regional coverage. It would also allow for statistical modelling. The cost of this additional data collection should be reasonable as the tools and protocols for engagement and data collection have already been developed. The research approach would also improve awareness of psychosocial hazards and their control across each additional sector included in the study.

6. New datasets should be added to those of the present study to allow a more complete analysis of workplace stress and bullying prevalence and patterns within the data, including industry comparisons across a wider range of sectors.

7. The study should include the qualitative Managers' Survey with at least one interview per workplace with the person responsible for workplace health and safety or human resources. This will provide further information on current strategies for controlling psychosocial hazards, and ideas for further initiatives.

8. The full prevalence study should take place within the 2010-2011 timeframe to allow data to be combined with the present dataset, with all data collected within a reasonable timeframe.

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