

**A public or private matter? Sectoral patterns in
workplace bullying in Ireland**

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Introduction

In Ireland, as elsewhere, bullying has been firmly established as a significant issue for contemporary workplaces; and the public sector in particular where research suggests that workers are more likely to report bullying than in the private sector (Hoel & Cooper, 2001; Zapf *et al.*, 2003; O'Connell & Williams, 2002; O'Connell *et al.*, 2007). Bullying is often perceived as primarily an interpersonal conflict and not a 'normal' industrial relations issue. Much research to date has focused on the individual or personality characteristics of the victim of workplace bullying as a possible explanatory variable (Baron & Neuman, 1996; Randall & Seigne 1999; Seigne *et al.*, 2000; Coyne *et al.* 2000; Zapf *et al.*, 1999; Aquino & Bradfield 2000; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Agervold & Mikkelsen 2004). However, recent research problematises this assumption by increasingly highlighting the importance of job and organisational factors, such as job intensification and organisational change, on the likelihood of a person reporting bullying. In addition, a comprehensive understanding of bullying, like industrial injury, must arguably take account of its social production and broader institutional context (Nichols, 1997). This paper investigates along three main lines of enquiry in order to address this central research question: why are workers in the public sector more likely to report bullying than those in the private sector?

First, research has increasingly found that bullying is more likely to be reported in organisations undergoing change (O'Moore *et al.*, 1998; Hoel & Salin, 2003; O'Connell & Williams, 2002; Harvey *et al.*, 2006). Research in Ireland attests to the greater perception of organisational change in the public sector, compared to the private sector (O'Connell *et al.*, 2003) and this may be one possible explanation as to the higher reported levels of bullying in this sector. Second, the paper explores the importance of the institutional framework, for example, formal policies and procedures, in influencing the extent to which bullying is recognised as a legitimate grievance in the workplace (McCarthy & Mayhew, 2004). The public sector by virtue of its proximity to Government is likely to well-developed policies and greater sensitivity to bullying than the private sector. Research has shown that familiarity with legislation on workplace bullying and the likelihood of having both informal and formal policies is greater in the public sector (O'Connell *et al.*, 2007). The present paper suggests that there are therefore important differences in how bullying is recognised as a legitimate type of complaint in the workplace in the public and private

sector which may therefore effect reporting rates. Third, whether the expected differences in job mobility, and job security, in the public and private sector affect the reporting rates in these sectors. Researchers have suggested that it is the job characteristics within the public sector, for example, permanent contracts and longer tenure, which may explain the higher reported levels of bullying (Zapf *et al.*, 2003). For example, public sector workers may be less likely than private sector workers to seek alternative employment elsewhere if they perceive inappropriate behaviour in the workplace. To explore why workers in the public sector are more likely to report bullying than in the private sector, I draw on a cross-sectional, nationally representative survey of workers in Ireland specifically addressing the issue of workplace bullying. In addition, I also draw on a nationally representative survey of Irish employers in both the public and private sector. Both surveys were conducted in 2007.

Relevant debates

Workplace bullying - emergence of research

Workplace bullying emerged as a topic of research in the Scandinavian countries as early as the 1980s (Leymann, 1996), growing out of studies on bullying among children in schools. However, until 2000, empirical research in Ireland was relatively sparse, limited to surveys of nurses (Condell, 1995) and teachers (Costigan, 1998). More recently, Government agencies have commissioned several national surveys (O'Moore, 2000; O'Connell & Williams, 2001; O'Connell *et al.*, 2007). In addition, various smaller scale surveys of the health sector have also been conducted in recent years (Seague, 2004; Cheema, 2006). By general consensus amongst researchers, a dual time dimension is at the core of any definition of workplace bullying (Einarsen *et al.* 2003). While it is recognised that one-off incidences of “inappropriate behaviour” do occur, bullying is most often conceptualised as something that happens repeatedly. The durational aspect of bullying has been emphasised in order to differentiate it from “normal” social stress in the workplace (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Vartia, 1996; Zapf *et al.*, 1996). Therefore arguably the definition itself aims to distinguish and legitimate bullying as a separate phenomenon in the workplace. The relationship between how the prevalence is measured and the phenomena ‘under study’ is clearly not unproblematic and as Lee argues (2000), large-scale surveys have been instrumental in establishing workplace bullying as a ‘legitimate type of workforce harassment’.

In Ireland, the issue of workplace bullying has steadily risen up the agenda in recent years. As well as a raft of “semi” legislative *Codes of Practice* and several Government-commissioned national surveys, numerous newspaper articles have emphasised the potential damage to workers’ mental health and stress levels, and also organisational productivity issues such as absenteeism and staff turnover (e.g. Irish Times, 19/09/06; Irish Examiner, 05/10/05). Therefore bullying has been firmly established as a significant issue for Irish workplaces, and the public sector in particular where survey research suggests that workers are more likely to report bullying than in the private sector (O’Connell *et al.*, 2007).

Organisational change

The contemporary period is marked by growing economic globalisation and pressures such as competition are increasingly experienced at an organisational level, from restructuring, downsizing, outsourcing peripheral functions and so on. There is a growing amount of research paying attention to the speed and pace of changes taking place within contemporary organisations, and the implications of these changes on experiences of work, for example, job intensification and autonomy (Burchell *et al.*, 2002). Scholars such as Beck and Bauman argue that flexibility has become a ‘political mantra’ (Beck, 1992) or ‘slogan of the day’ (Bauman, 2001), which has had particular resonance for the structure and organisation of the public sector in recent years. As Lane (2000) argues, the umbrella term “new public management” is frequently invoked to capture all the different kinds of changes in the public sector in the last few decades. These include decentralisation, privatisation, introduction of internal markets, outsourcing, public private partnerships, performance management and performance-related pay. Organisational restructuring may therefore take on various guises but can involve redundancy and redeployment, retraining in new skills and new terms and conditions, and workers may experience these changes in terms of increased job intensification.

Organisational change and restructuring is becoming increasingly salient in research concerning workplace bullying; studies have found that bullying is more likely to be reported by employees working in organisations undergoing change (O’Moore *et al.*, 1998;

Hoel & Salin, 2003; O'Connell & Williams, 2002; Harvey *et al.*, 2006) and reporting high job intensification/job stress (Salin, 2003; Calvert & O'Connell, 2008).

Research in Ireland attests to the greater perception of organisational change in the public sector, compared to the private sector (O'Connell *et al.*, 2003) potentially reflecting the public sector modernisation project, as borne out by programmes such as the *Strategic Management Initiative* (1994) and *Delivering Better Government* (1996) and the more recent decentralisation plans. These factors may be one possible explanation as to the higher reported levels of bullying in this sector.

Institutional framework

Another argument of this paper is that, as with industrial injury, attention must be given to the institutional context (Nicholls, 1997) for example, the extent to which an organisation may be “sensitised” to bullying. Sensitivity includes *Dignity at Work* Charters, anti-bullying training, well-developed formal policies and procedures, which may increase the likelihood of individuals perceiving inappropriate behaviour as bullying and influence the extent to which bullying is recognised as a legitimate complaint or grievance in the workplace. This organisational “sensitivity” is arguably greater in the public sector, given its closer proximity to Government, and may therefore be one factor explaining higher rates of reported bullying in this sector (McCarthy & Mayhew 2004). Research has shown that familiarity with *Codes of Practice* on workplace bullying and the likelihood of having both informal and formal policies is greater in the public sector (O'Connell *et al.* 2007). There may be therefore important differences in how bullying is regarded as a legitimate complaint in the public and private sector which may affect reporting rates.

Exit and voice?

It's possible to utilise the concepts provided by Hirschman (1970) which workers may draw on when confronted with a perceived problem with their current workplace: particularly “exit”, i.e., leave the organisation or “voice”, i.e., stay and try to resolve the issue. It is suggested by this paper that there may be sectoral differences with respect to how workers exercise, or have the capacity to exercise, these alternative actions. We might expect that the public and private sector have different labour market characteristics, for example, with respect to job mobility and job security. Workers in the public sector are likely to have

permanent contracts, with associated benefits built up through longer tenure; this could potentially explain the higher reported bullying rates in this sector (Zapf *et al.*, 2003). Given this, public sector workers may be less likely than private sector workers to seek alternative employment elsewhere if they perceive inappropriate behaviour in the workplace. In addition, public sector workers may have occupationally specific skills which may limit their mobility; unlike their private sector counterparts. Research in Ireland attests to fact that public sector workers are less likely to be mobile than their private sector counterparts (Bergin, 2008).

Methodology, measurement, data

The analysis in this paper draws on the Survey of Employees (2007) which was a nationally representative cross-sectional survey of workers following up an earlier similar survey in 2001. These surveys specifically addressed the issue of bullying in the workplace. It was conducted by telephone with over 3,500 adults (age 15 and over) who had been in the workplace in the previous six months. The reference period for the survey was the six-month period ending at the date of interview. The analysis is restricted to employees only. The paper also draws on the 2007 Survey of Employers which surveyed by post over 1600 senior management and Human Resources personnel in organisations in the public and private sector. This survey was also nationally representative. However, these surveys were not matched.

The 2007 Survey of Employees utilized a definitional approach in order to measure the prevalence of bullying. Before any mention of bullying in the questionnaire, however, background classificatory information, employment and job-related information, health and stress measures were recorded. The survey instrument utilised, as opposed to the *Negative Acts Questionnaire* (Einarsen & Raknes 1997), for example, is arguably predicated on individuals perceiving and labelling the negative/inappropriate behaviour as “bullying” (Hoel & Cooper, 2001). The definition was as follows:

By bullying I mean repeated inappropriate behaviour, direct or indirect, whether verbal, physical or otherwise, conducted by one or more persons against another or others, at the place of work and/or in the course of employment, which could reasonably be regarded as undermining the individual's right to dignity at work. An isolated incident of the behaviour described in this definition may be an affront to dignity at work but is not considered to be bullying.

Respondents were then asked the following question:

Would you say that you have personally experienced bullying or any behaviour of this nature during the past 6 months at work?

Analysis will be undertaken of the relationship between reported bullying and a range of individual, job and organisational variables. The data provides information on individual characteristics such as age, gender and education. Job characteristics include employment contract type, tenure, job intensification and autonomy. A job intensification scale was constructed using the mean of the following items: (i) The nature of my job has changed over past year or so; (ii) The pace of work in my job has increased over past year or so; (iii) Pace of my work is too intense.¹ Job autonomy was measured using three items: (i) You decide how much/how fast you work during the day; (ii) Your manager decides the specific tasks you do from day to day; (iii) You need permission to take a break during the day. The scale was calculated from the mean of these three items.² Organisational level variables include sector as well as different types of organisational change: new management, restructuring, new technologies and ownership change. In regards to organisational policy, two policy-related questions were initially asked of all respondents. The first was a straightforward yes/no response as to whether the organisation where the respondent was currently working had a policy regarding workplace bullying. The follow-up question was open-ended and asked the respondent for details of this policy. This open-ended question therefore provided the opportunity for further detailed coding concerning the type of policy, whether formal or informal, for example. Attention was paid to whether the respondent was in the same organisation where the bullying occurred (if appropriate) and if not, the values were imputed from the subsequent information provided.³ A decision rule was decided for the post-coding of the open-ended question. If the answer was “formal” or “informal”, the decision was straightforward. However, some respondents answered “yes” to the presence of a policy, but then answered “Don’t know” or “Not sure” to the open-ended question. It is important to differentiate these respondents. If the respondent

¹ These items have a Cronbach’s Alpha of 0.6.

² These items have a Cronbach’s Alpha of 0.5.

³ All respondents who reported bullying were asked subsequently whether the organisation *where the bullying took place* had a policy regarding workplace bullying. It is therefore possible to take account of this further information when computing the new organisational policy variable.

answered “report to supervisor”, this was coded as “informal”. However, if the respondent answered “report to supervisor and then human resources/trade union”, this was coded as “formal” as it clearly indicates the presence of some sort of developed procedure with regards bullying complaints. This measure was then used to develop an “awareness” measure, ranging from no/very low through to high awareness.⁴ For example, formal, well developed policies involving human resources or trade unions were coded as high awareness. Informal arrangements were coded as medium awareness. No policy or don’t know was coded as very low/no awareness.

Research Hypotheses

Following from the literature reviewed, the following research hypotheses have been developed. First, workers reporting organisational and job change (for example, increased job intensification) are more likely to report bullying; given the higher rate of change in the public sector, workers in this sector are more likely to report bullying than those in the private sector. However, we also might expect that individuals with lower job autonomy, such as those employed on casual contracts, may be more likely to be exposed to negative and inappropriate behaviour in the workplace. Given that casual contracts are more prevalent in the private sector, we might expect that this leads to these workers reporting bullying. Another hypothesis relates to organisational awareness: the public sector has a greater sensitivity and awareness of bullying which creates an environment whereby workers are more likely to articulate their grievances in the workplace as “bullying”. Owing to differing labour market characteristics in the public and private sector, we might expect that private sector workers have greater capacity to exercise the “exit” option if confronted by negative behaviour in the workplace.

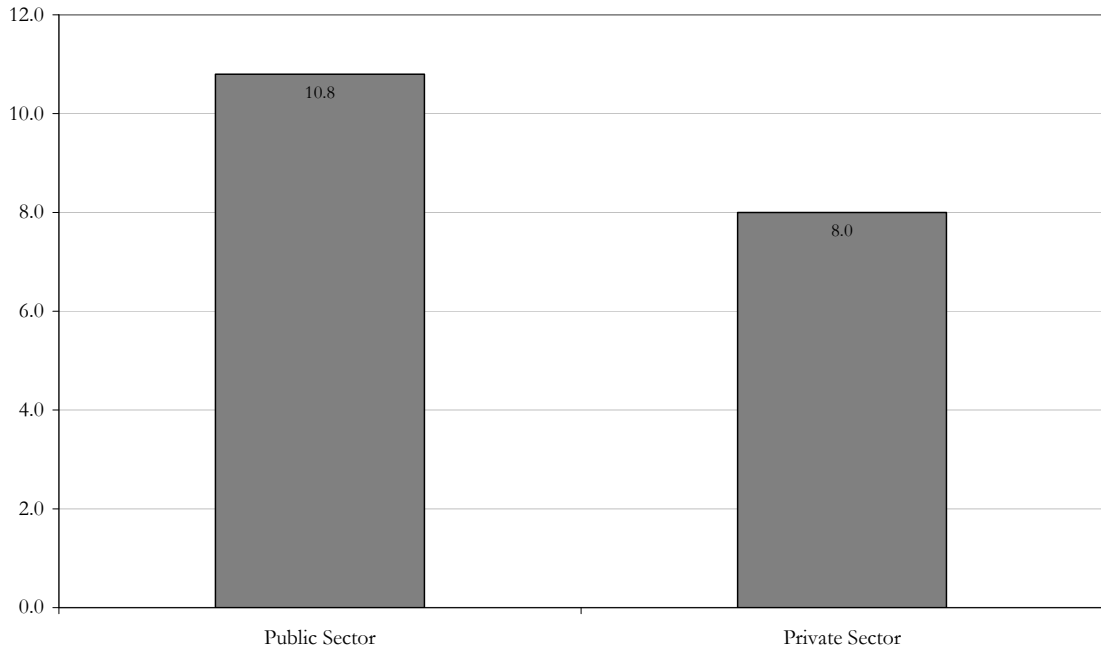
Results

As Figure 1.1 shows, workers in the public sector are more likely to report bullying than those in the private sector: nearly 11% compared to 8%. However, this masks significant variation across the economic sectors. While only 4-5% workers in Business and

⁴ Interpretation with caution as one could expect that a person who is experiencing bullying is more likely to seek information about the existence of a policy, and to be more familiar with it. Next step is to explore creating a sectoral average (taking into account size) using non-bullied respondents and/or impute a measure from the Employers Survey.

Traditional Manufacturing report bullying, this figure reaches over 13% for those in Health and Education.

Figure 1.1: Reported bullying by sector (%)



Organisational and job change

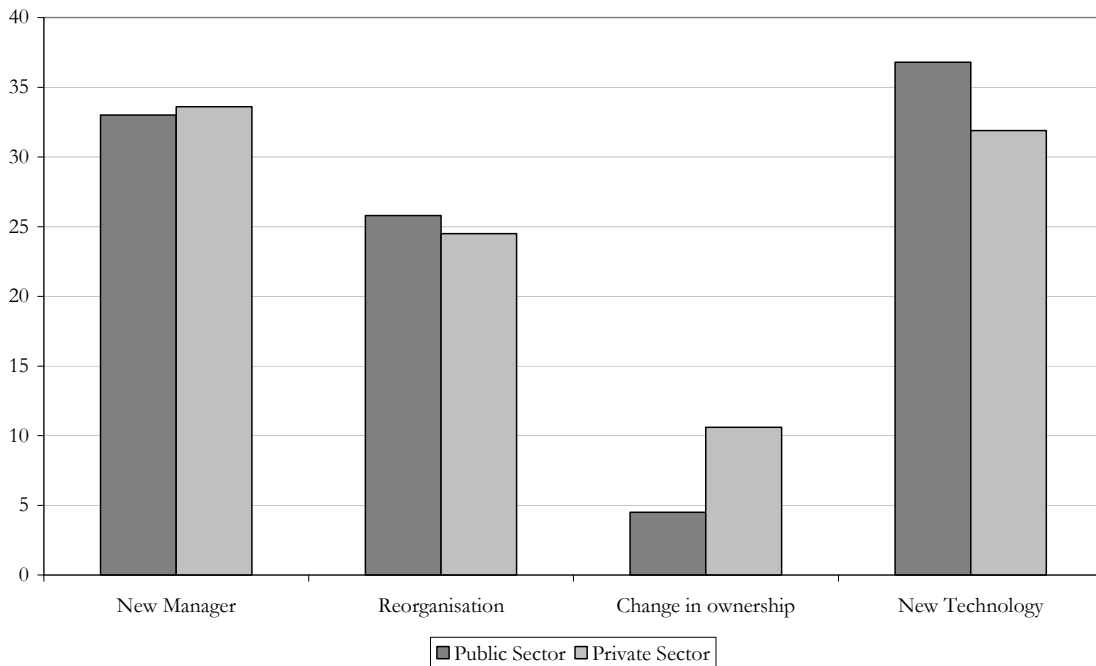
It is possible to draw on the Survey of Employers to explore general sectoral trends with respect to organisational change. Very clear patterns are evident: as Table 1.1 illustrates, organisational restructuring, workforce expansion or reduction and the introduction of technological change are all more prevalent in the public sector.

Table 1.1 Percentage of senior management reporting some/lot of change (%)

	Private Sector	Public Sector
Changes in organisational structure	38.0	55.6
Technological change	47.5	65.4
Expansion/reduction in workforce	37.6	50.3

In the 2007 Employees Survey, only in the case of introduction of new technology do we find that public sector employees are more likely to report change than private sector workers (Figure 1.1). As might be expected, private sector workers are more likely to report a change in the ownership of the organisation.⁵

Fig 1.1: Reported organisational change by sector (%)



However, how does organisational change relate to reported bullying? First, workers who report organisational change are more likely to report bullying than those who do not. Overall, 10.4% of workers who report *any* organisational change report bullying, compared to 6.1% of workers not reporting change. Second, do these patterns differ according to sector?

⁵ It is unclear what the small number of public sector workers who responded positively to this question actually mean by this. They could be implying some sort of major organisational change but should be interpreted with caution.

Table 1.2: Reported bullying by organisational change by sector (%)

	No organisational change	<i>Any</i> organisational change
Public sector	8.3	11.6
Private sector	5.0	9.8

Here, we see that in both sectors, bullying is more prevalent in organisations undergoing change. However, comparing across organisations with no change, it also clear that the rate of reported bullying is still more prevalent in the public sector. We might expect that the type of organisational change may matter somewhat. Table 1.3 breaks down the type of reported bullying by organisational change by sector. Across both sectors, reported bullying is significantly higher among respondents reporting a new manager or reorganisation. However, the introduction of new technology seems to have little difference on the rates of reported bullying. For the private sector, somewhat surprisingly, a change in organisation also seems to have little impact on the rate of bullying.

Table 1.3: Reported bullying by organisational change by sector (%)

		Public Sector	Private Sector
New manager	yes	12.5	11.0
	no	9.0	6.1
Ownership change	yes	25.5	8.8
	no	9.5	7.6
Reorganisation	yes	13.5	11.1
	no	9.1	6.7
New technology	yes	10.3	9.1
	no	10.1	7.1

Next we consider the importance of job change and characteristics including job intensification and job autonomy (Table 1.4). Overall, those who report bullying score higher on job intensification (meaning greater job intensity) than those who do not report bullying (2.70 compared to 2.48). This pattern is similar for both the public and private sector.

Table 1.4 Mean scores on job intensification & job autonomy indexes by sector

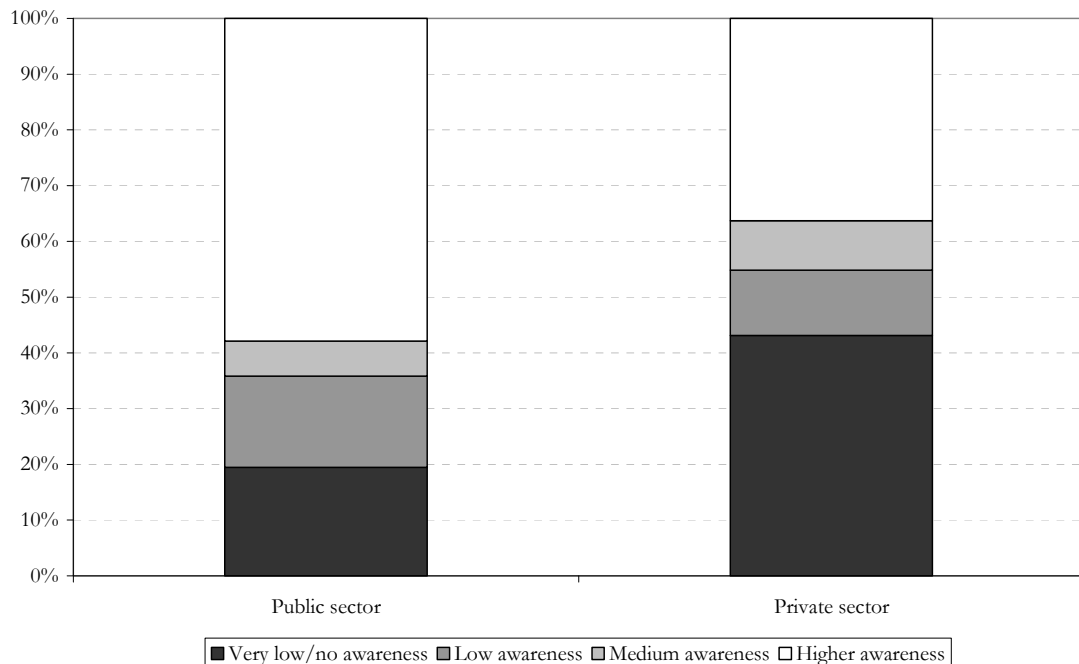
	Public Sector	Private Sector	Total
<i>Job intensification</i>			
Reporting bullying	2.72	2.69	2.70
Not reporting bullying	2.46	2.49	2.48
Total	2.49	2.50	2.49
<i>Job autonomy</i>			
Reporting bullying	3.38	3.24	3.30
Not reporting bullying	3.71	3.65	3.67
Total	3.68	3.62	3.64

As expected, overall, those who report bullying have lower job autonomy than those who do not (3.30 compared to 3.67). Again, these patterns are similar across both sectors.

Institutional environment

Comparing organisational awareness across the sectors, we see that overall, awareness is higher in the public sector than the private sector (Figure 1.2). While nearly 60% of public sector employees report high awareness, the comparable figure is just over a third for the private

Figure 1.2: Organisational awareness by sector (%)



sector. At the other extreme, while under 20% of public sector workers report very low or no awareness, this figure more than doubles for the private sector. . This echoes the results found with regards the Employers Survey which found much more familiarity with legislation and more well-developed procedures in the public sector. However, how do these patterns relate to the reporting of bullying? Care needs to be taken interpreting these figures as we are faced with the problem of directionality. Workers who are experiencing inappropriate behaviour in the workplace may be more likely to seek out information about the organisational policy.

Fig 1.3: Reported bullying by organisational awareness by sector (%)

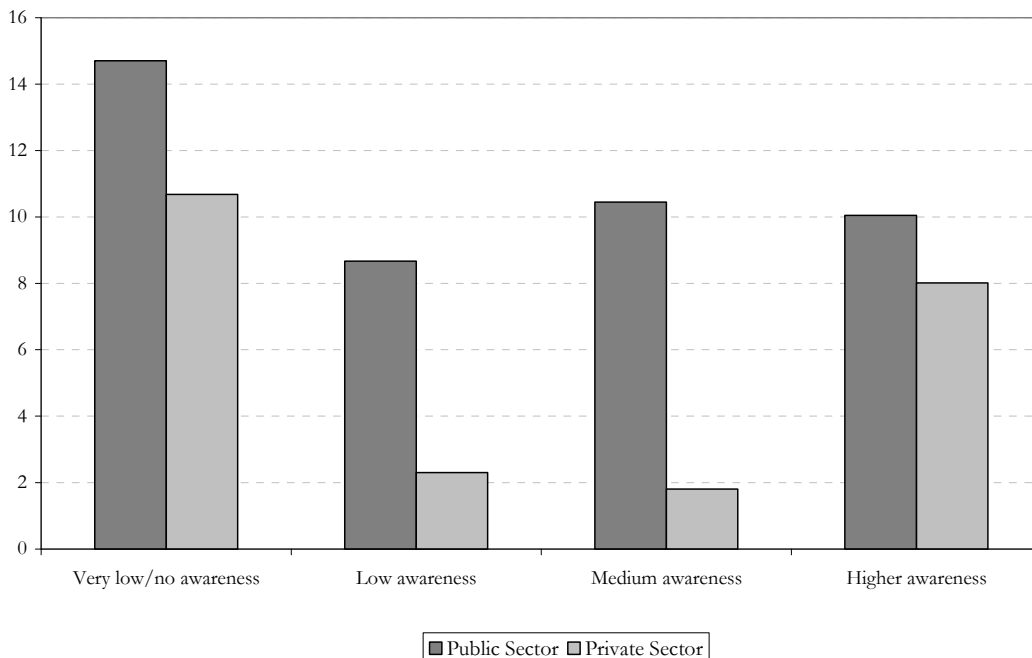
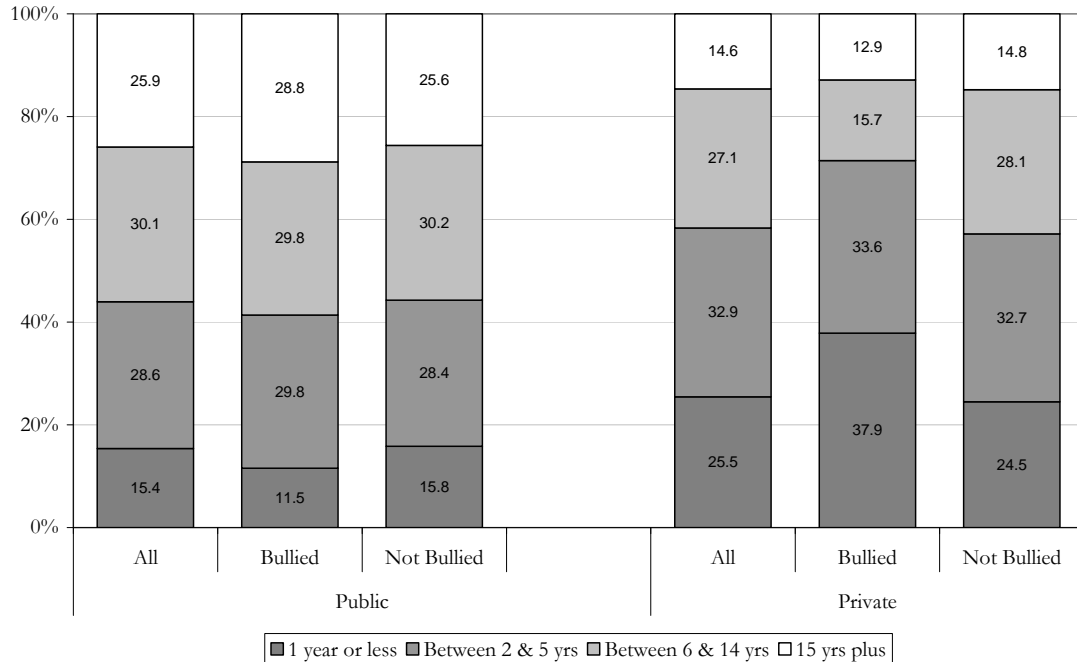


Figure 1.3 shows that reported bullying is highest in organisations with very low or no awareness and higher awareness. However, the differences in the public sector are not statistically significant.

Exit & Voice

As might be expected, we find on average longer tenure in the public sector compared to the private sector. 26% of public sector employees have tenure of 15 years or more, compared to 15% of private sector employees. Figure 1.4 shows the composition of respondents by tenure and by sector.

Fig 1.4: Composition of respondents by tenure, by sector (All, Bullied, Non-bullied)



As Figure 1.4 shows, the tenure patterns of bullied respondents in the public sector does not differ substantially from the non bullied respondents. However, in the private sector, those respondents reporting bullying are more likely to have short tenure. Looking again at the rates of bullying according to tenure and sector (Table 1.5), we see that the highest rate for the private sector is those respondents reporting less than 1 year tenure; for the public sector, it is the opposite – the highest rate is for those employees with 15 years plus tenure (although these differences are not statistically significant).

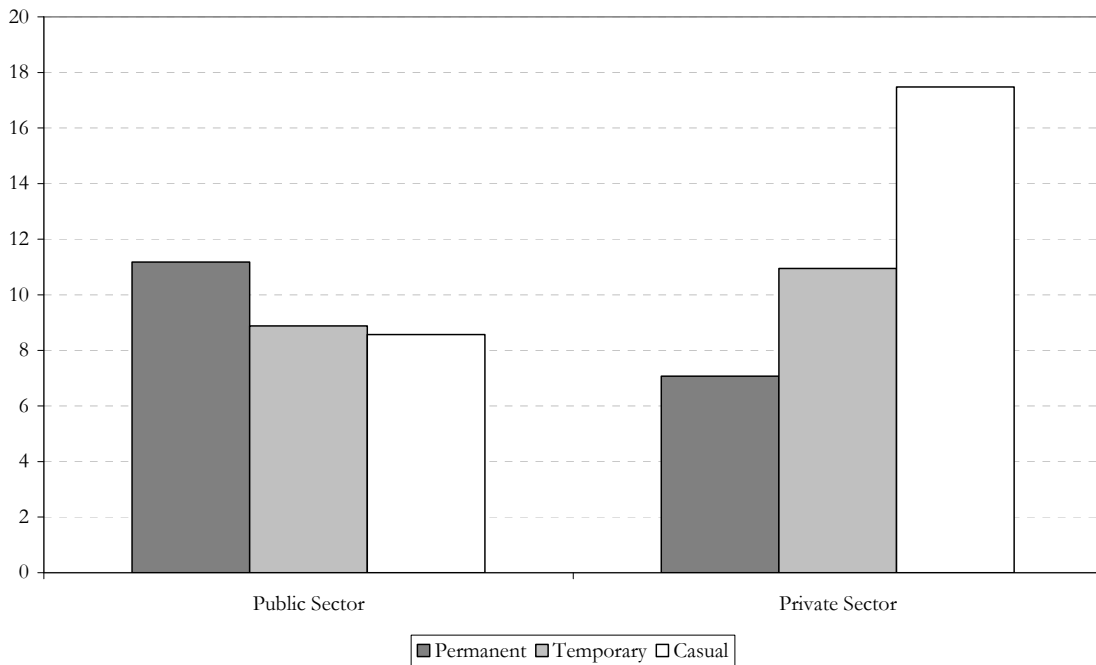
Table 1.5: Reported bullying by tenure by sector (%)

	< 1 year	2 - 5 yrs	6 - 14 yrs	15 yrs +
Public Sector	7.59	10.58	10.03	11.28
Private Sector	11.47	7.93	4.48	6.79

Clearly, we would expect that there might be some relationship with employment contract; given that it is possible that these private sector workers with short tenure may also be employed on casual contracts. Indeed, we find that that the private sector has a greater proportion of workers on temporary/casual contracts than the public sector (20% vs 16%). However, this masks significant variation within sectors. For example, this figure for the

public sector is driven largely by Education and Health (which has seen huge moves in this direction in recent years). Less than 6% of Public Administration workers are on temporary/casual contracts. When exploring the relationship between reported bullying and employment contract, we see that there are quite different trends evident in the public and private sector. While permanent workers in the public sector are slightly more likely to report bullying, the highest rate for private sector workers is for those employed on casual contracts.

Fig 1.5: Reported bullying by employment contract by sector (%)



Clearly, there is difficulty in looking at turnover patterns relating to reporting bullying; however, the data provides the opportunity to explore overall “mobility” patterns and attitudes to mobility in the public and private sector. We do find a greater “churn” in the private sector, with 35% of employees having had more than 1 job in the previous 3 years, compared to 28% of public sector employees.

Respondents who reported bullying were subsequently asked about their responses to their experiences. Considering the differences between the sectors, we find that 70% of private sector workers reported contemplating quitting their job; the comparable figure for public sector workers was just over 40% (see Table A1 in Appendix).

The above results have provided the basic sectoral patterns with respect to reported bullying. However, in order to tease out these findings, a series of logistic regression models is selected, with the dependent variable, reporting bullying, taking on values of 1 (if positive) and 0 (if negative). Primarily, it is of interest to see if the higher rate of bullying found in the public sector can be “explained away” by any of the covariates. The Exp (B) refers to the odds ratio. When an event (i.e., reporting bullying) is less likely to happen, we represent the odds as a value less than one. When an event is more likely to happen than not, we represent the odds as a value greater than one.

The first model (Table 1.6) shows the odds of workers in the public sector reporting bullying compared to the private sector and basically represents the results (expressed in odds) in Figure 1.1. Individual level variables are introduced in Model 2: marital status and education. We do find that being divorced (compared to all other marital states – married/single/widowed) increases the likelihood of reporting bullying. As does having third level education (compared to those with lower secondary or less). When tenure categories are introduced (Model 3) we can see that those with more than 1 year tenure are less likely to report bullying than those with less; however none of these categories of tenure are significant. Caution is needed when interpreting the organisational awareness variables (as outlined previously). However, we can see that having any kind of awareness, from low to high, decreases the likelihood of reporting bullying. In terms of organisational change, a new manager and reorganisation are both associated with an increased risk of reporting bullying. While those with greater job intensification are more likely to report bullying, the risk is reduced for those with higher job autonomy. In the final model (7) we can see that public sector workers are still more likely to report bullying than those in the private sector, when controlling for individual, job and organisational characteristics.

When models were run separately for the public and private sector (not shown here), we find that divorce only has a strong increased risk for the public sector. While males in the private sector are less likely to report bullying; there is little gender difference in the public sector. Having a new manager only increases the risk of bullying in the private sector.

Discussion

Somewhat counter intuitively, those with third level education are more likely to report bullying than those with less than third level. One possible reason for those with higher education have higher expectations as to their rights and acceptable/appropriate behaviours in the workplace; possibly they may be more inclined to classify such behaviour as inappropriate and perceive it as bullying. Divorced people (mostly females) may be more likely to report bullying because of an involuntary return to the labour force/less than ideal job match; further analysis would be necessary to explore this possibility. Both organisational change and job intensification represent increased risks of reporting bullying. Echoing research indicating that job autonomy reduces the risk of stress at work (Mauno *et al.*, 2006; O'Connell *et al.*, 2003), we also find that increased job autonomy reduces the risk of reporting bullying. There is a vast literature on the impact of technological change on experiences of work. While some research argues that technological change has a potential negative consequences for workers' satisfaction (Burnell, 1993) there are other studies suggesting that such change leads to an improvement in job quality (for those that still have them). In any case, we do not find any evidence to suggest that it is related to an increased risk of bullying at work. Finally, controlling for various individual, job and organisational characteristics⁶, public sector workers are more likely to report bullying than in the private sector. We do find greater mobility/positive expressions towards mobility in the private sector; it is possible that workers in the private sector leave when confronted with inappropriate behaviour at work. In addition, it is likely that the organisational awareness variable is not adequately measuring organisational "sensitivity" to workplace bullying. Next step is to explore creating a sectoral average (taking into account size) using non-bullied respondents and/or impute a measure from the Employers Survey. Further analysis will explore the direction, severity and types of bullying behaviours experienced.

⁶ Including organisational size; analysis not shown here but inclusion does not change the results significantly.

Table 1:6: Logistic Regression Models of Reporting Bullying

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Public sector	1.729	0.000	1.615	0.000	1.618	0.000	1.612	0.001	1.745	0.000	1.855	0.000	1.844	0.000
Male			0.822	0.148	0.820	0.144	0.810	0.124	0.802	0.109	0.778	0.070	0.794	0.101
Divorced			1.871	0.005	1.865	0.006	1.842	0.007	1.841	0.007	1.703	0.020	1.542	0.066
<i>Ref: Lower sec/less</i>														
Upper sec.			1.454	0.107	1.452	0.109	1.429	0.125	1.409	0.143	1.307	0.255	1.371	0.192
Tertiary			1.717	0.011	1.714	0.011	1.698	0.013	1.681	0.016	1.519	0.054	1.794	0.010
<i>Ref: Temp/casual</i>														
Permanent					1.051	0.793	1.106	0.620	1.119	0.583	1.065	0.760	1.187	0.418
<i>Ref: <1 yr tenure</i>														
2-5yrs tenure							0.853	0.426	0.846	0.406	0.814	0.310	0.874	0.514
6-14yrs tenure							0.753	0.173	0.764	0.198	0.730	0.136	0.818	0.351
15yrs + tenure							0.950	0.813	0.966	0.872	0.917	0.693	0.979	0.926
<i>Ref: no/v low</i>														
Low awareness									0.453	0.002	0.419	0.001	0.402	0.000
Med awareness									0.388	0.007	0.366	0.004	0.325	0.002
High awareness									0.780	0.114	0.702	0.027	0.703	0.031
New manager											1.374	0.028	1.246	0.136
Change ownership											1.214	0.400	1.156	0.540
Reorganisation											1.525	0.007	1.414	0.031
New technology											1.034	0.814	0.907	0.509
Job intensity (1-4)													2.023	0.000
Job autonomy (1-5)													0.633	0.000
Constant	0.080	0.000	0.057	0.000	0.054	0.000	0.061	0.000	0.077	0.000	0.071	0.000	0.050	0.000
Nagel R ²	.014		0.026		.027		0.029		0.041		0.058		0.117	
N	2977		2977		2977		2977		2977		2977		2977	

Appendix

Table A1: Intentions cited by respondents reporting bullying (%)

	Public Sector	Private Sector
Considered seeking transfer	32.4	27.6
Sought transfer	10.8	11.6
Considered quitting job	41.2	70.3
Left job	5.9	20.0
Considered leaving work completely	19.8	20.0
Taken sick leave	23.5	17.2

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